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CARDINAL WISEMAN

VOL. II.

Walker & Boutall, phot.

Cardinal Wiseman.

Ætatis (c.) 48 from a miniature after an oil painting at Oscott by J. R. Herbert, R.A.

THE LIFE AND TIMES

OF

CARDINAL WISEMAN

BY

WILFRID WARD

AUTHOR OF 'WILLIAM GEORGE WARD AND THE OXFORD MOVEMENT'
'WILLIAM GEORGE WARD AND THE CATHOLIC REVIVAL'
'WITNESSES TO THE UNSEEN' ETC.

IN TWO VOLUMES

VOL. II.

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From a miniature after an oil painting at Oscott by J. R. Herbert, R.A.

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From a photograph taken at the Congress of Malines.

THE

LIFE AND TIMES

OF

CARDINAL WISEMAN

CHAPTER XIX

THE SEQUEL TO WISEMAN'S APPEAL

THE effect of Wiseman's Appeal was immediate in visibly modifying, among the more reasonable minds, the violent agitation which the preceding month had witnessed. 'It is so temperate and logical,' wrote a popular journal,[1] 'as to increase public regret that it did not appear a month ago, before the mischief was done, and before this angry flood of theological bitterness was let loose over the land. We wish we could indulge the hope that it will be effective for the purpose for which it appears to have been framed, and shall greatly rejoice if at the eleventh hour it should tend in any degree, however slight, to abate the public mistrust of any class of our fellow-subjects. Whatever distrust may remain will be entirely chargeable upon the blatant indiscretion of the many over-sanguine priests of the Roman persuasion, who have

[1] *London News*, November 23.

tortured what, if we are to believe Cardinal Wiseman, was a harmless domestic arrangement among the Roman Catholics themselves, into an aggression.'

The ability of the Appeal appears to have struck many who had spoken of Wiseman with the utter contempt with which Exeter Hall regarded the abstract embodiment of Popery. 'There can be no doubt at all,' said the 'Spectator,' 'of his controversial power. Whether confuting the Premier on grounds of political precedent, meeting ecclesiastical opponents by appeals to principles of spiritual freedom, rebuking a partisan judge, or throwing sarcasm at the 'indiffusive wealth' of a sacred establishment which has become literally hedged from the world by barriers of social depravity, he equally shows his mastery of dialectical resource.'

'The most astute and the most polite reasoner of his time,' was the verdict of another organ of public opinion.[1] 'The Cardinal has astonished the natives,' we read in another. 'Our anti-Papacy zealots hardly knew that Dr. Wiseman had left the Flaminian Gate when lo, he appears, and issues a Manifesto in which he certainly deals slashing blows among his assailants right and left, even if he does not succeed in parrying all those that have been aimed at his own party. We have seldom read an abler specimen of controversial writing than this document.'[2] And similar was the tone adopted by nearly the whole press.

There were, however, still a minority who contented themselves with simply reiterating their attacks. 'We have our own way,' we read in one of these

[1] *Atlas*, November 23. [2] *Weekly News*, November 23.

papers,[1] 'of viewing and stating this great national question, and we shall not cast it away for the Cardinal's. We believe that this venturesome prelate is born to work out the fact that Popery of the Ultramontane school is utterly incompatible with the progress of civilisation in Europe, or the existence of good civil government anywhere.'

Important as showing the change of public opinion, though marking also the limits of that change, were the comments of the leader of the original attack—the 'Times'—which ran as follows:

We have now before us, in the 'Appeal' of Dr. Wiseman, which appeared in our columns yesterday, and in the pamphlet of Mr. Bowyer, so frequently referred to in the 'Appeal,' all that can be said, or at least all that it is deemed prudent to say, in defence, or rather in palliation, of the recent attack upon the Established Church of England and the feelings and principles of her people. The question thus raised is well worthy of our most attentive consideration. If we have pronounced an opinion against the Pope and the Cardinal unheard, it has not been from any wish to deny them fair play, but because they did not condescend to give us any more tangible explanation of their acts than was to be gathered from empty gasconades and pompous manifestoes, the very sweepings of a literary wardrobe now nearly worn out, and never very tastefully selected. We congratulate Dr. Wiseman on his recovery of the use of the English language. If the popular demonstrations with which the arrival of the new Cardinal, who has come with a commission from Rome to govern half a dozen of the dioceses of our Church, and some two of the kingdoms of the Saxon Heptarchy, have not been all that was agreeable in other respects, they have, at any rate, as the Scotch say, brought him to his English. We hear no more in the 'Appeal' of the planetary system either of Cullen or Copernicus; suns, planets, and comets dance no more in the mazes of metaphorical confusion. England is suffered to remain where she is, and is no longer forced, to the

[1] *Morning Post*, November 21.

great discomfiture of the Continent, to revolve round the Eternal City. The golden chain of St. Peter rings no longer in our ears, and the adjacent islands to the Doctor's diocese, Thanet, Dogs, and all, do not once appear above the horizon. Grateful for the relief from the constant strain on our imaginative faculties, we can only express a wish that it were consistent with the rules of orthodoxy and infallibility that the Church of Rome, as she has one head, one faith, one code of morality, one system of politics, would be pleased to add to these multifarious unities the unity of language, so that her advocates might be spared the necessity of writing long arguments to prove that her public and authorised documents mean exactly the reverse of what they say. If Dr. Wiseman meant, as he and Mr. Bowyer say he did, that he merely came amongst us as a Dissenting minister, the head of a voluntary association, to manage the spiritual affairs of the Catholics scattered up and down England—if it was never intended to assume any rights, save those which are cheerfully conceded to a Wesleyan, or a Baptist, why, in the name of common sense, could he not have said so? And why is it only when the unmistakable response of the people of England has shown him that his inflated pretensions will tend but little to the glorification or advancement of himself and his Church, does he first inform us that counties do not mean counties, but the Roman Catholics residing in them; that England is not restored to the Roman Catholic Church, but that her scanty Romanist population has received a new form of government? It is because the Roman Catholic Church has two languages, an esoteric and an exoteric—the first couched in the very terms of that more than mortal arrogance and insolence in which Hildebrand and Innocent thundered their decrees against trembling kings and prostrate emperors; the second, artful, humble, and cajoling, seizing on every popular topic, enlisting in its behalf every clap-trap argument, and systematically employing reasoning the validity of which the sophist himself would be the last to recognise.

But, let her speak what language she will, the spirit of that Church is unchanged. Pliable and ductile without, she is stern and unbending within. Within her pale is salvation, without is heathen darkness. The Greek, who differs from her in thinking that the Procession of the Spirit was from one Person of the

Trinity instead of two, is, according to her, as far removed from salvation as the worshipper of Vishnu or Siva. Claiming universal dominion, to be established to the exclusion of all other forms of faith, is an essential requisite of her existence. Toleration to others she has ever regarded as a crime; toleration to herself, theoretically at least, as an insult. The commonly recognised distinction between *de facto* and *de jure* is no distinction with her. In her authorised documents whatever is not within herself is treated as non-existent; her language, her logic, are all founded on this principle. Whatever is not her own she absolutely ignores. The Pope employs the same style in constituting an Archbishop of Westminster as in appointing a prelate of some petty town of Latium. The existence of the Crown, of the prelates, of the mighty people of England, he cannot acknowledge; all he sees is the land, a few Roman Catholics scattered up and down it, and those bishops among whom he divides it; the rest to him is nothing.

Two other elements combined with the Cardinal's Appeal to moderate the hostility of the country. Lord John Russell's attack on the 'mummeries of superstition' was avowedly aimed at the Puseyites as well as the Catholics, and men of influence, such as Mr. Roundell Palmer and Mr. Gladstone, spoke up for their friends. Moreover the Catholics themselves, if Ireland and the colonies were taken into account, were a powerful body. Mr. Howard of Corby Castle wrote an effective letter, pointing out that such a phrase was 'a deliberate insult to the faith and religious practice of at least one-third of the loyal subjects of the British realm.' And his letter was not slow to find an echo.

There were, moreover, enemies of the Government in abundance, who were ready to point out the inconsistency of the Premier, and his violation of the principles of religious toleration. His attitude towards

Cardinal Wiseman was, they observed, diametrically opposed to the rules he had laid down for dealing with the Catholic Bishops in Ireland.

Mr. Disraeli had already taken up the latter ground in a characteristic letter to the Lord-Lieutenant of Buckinghamshire. Writing at the height of the agitation, he made no defence of Wiseman, but contented himself with pointing out that any censures on his course must involve a censure on the concessions of the Government, in the matter of the status of the Irish Catholic Bishops. The two cases were precisely parallel. His letter ran thus:

My Lord,—I have received numerous appeals from my constituents, requesting that I would co-operate with them in addressing your lordship to call a meeting of the county, in order that we may express our reprobation of the recent assault of the Court of Rome on the prerogatives of our Sovereign and the liberties of her subjects.

I think it very desirable that a meeting of the county should be called for that purpose, but, as far as I can gather from what reaches me, great misapprehension is afloat respecting the circumstances which now so violently, but so justly, excite the indignation of the country.

Men are called upon to combine to prevent foreign interference with the prerogatives of the Queen, and to resist jurisdiction by the Pope in Her Majesty's dominions.

But I have always understood that, when the present Lord-Lieutenant arrived in his Viceroyalty, he gathered together the Romish Bishops of Ireland, addressed them as nobles, sought their counsel, and courted their favour. On the visit of Her Majesty to that kingdom the same prelates were presented to the Queen as if they were nobles, and precedence was given them over the nobility and dignitaries of the National Church; and it was only the other day, as I believe, that the Government offered the office of Visitor to the Queen's Colleges to Dr. Cullen, the Pope's delegate, and *pseudo*-Archbishop of Armagh, and to Dr. M'Hale, the *pseudo*-Archbishop of Tuam.

What wonder, then, that His Holiness should deem himself at liberty to apportion England into dioceses, to be ruled over by his bishops! And why, instead of supposing he has taken a step 'insolent and insidious,' should he not have assumed he was acting in strict conformity with the wishes of Her Majesty's Government?

The fact is, that the whole question has been surrendered, and decided in favour of the Pope, by the present Government; and the Ministers who recognised the *pseudo*-Archbishop of Tuam as a peer and a prelate cannot object to the appointment of a *pseudo*-Archbishop of Westminster, even though he be a Cardinal. On the contrary, the loftier dignity should, according to their table of precedence, rather invest His Eminence with a still higher patent of nobility, and permit him to take the wall of His Grace of Canterbury and the highest nobles of the land.

The policy of the present Government is that there shall be no distinction between England and Ireland. I am therefore rather surprised that the Cabinet are so 'indignant,' as a certain letter with which we have just been favoured informs us they are.

I have made these observations in order that, if the county meets, the people of Buckinghamshire may understand that the question on which they will have to decide is of a graver, deeper, and more comprehensive character than, in the heat of their laudable emotion, they may perhaps suppose.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,

Your faithful servant,

B. DISRAELI.

Hughenden Manor, Nov. 8.

More forcible and comprehensive was Mr. Roebuck's letter, addressed, three weeks later, to Lord John Russell himself. The standpoint he took up was that of a Liberal statesman, the inheritor of the principles which had won Catholic Emancipation, and one who therefore regarded religious disabilities as intrinsically unjust. He wrote as follows:

Milton, December 2, 1850.

My Lord,—. . . I address myself to your lordship because I believe that great principles are in danger, and that to you is attributable the imminent risk to which they are exposed.

The great principles which are thus imperilled are those which your party and the great leaders of your party have for above half a century resolutely supported, and to which the chiefs of every party have, during the present century, rendered singular and honourable homage ; which Mr. Pitt recognised and acted upon, when he resigned and broke up his Government in 1801 ; which Lord Grenville and the Whigs of his Cabinet obeyed when, in 1807, they left office rather than yield to the unconstitutional demand of the King, that they should pledge themselves never again, as a Ministry, to agitate the question of the Catholic claims ; which governed the conduct of Lord Wellesley, Mr. Canning, Mr. Grattan, Lord Grey, and a host beside, during the long and wearisome contest that followed, upon the great question of justice to be done to the Roman Catholic subjects of the Crown ; and which at length, my lord, induced the chiefs of your party, in 1829, and yourself, as one of their followers, to forego all considerations of personal ambition and party aggrandisement, and give a hearty assistance to the Duke of Wellington and Sir Robert Peel, when they, under compulsion, consummated, as we believed, the victory of common sense and justice, and, as we hoped, for ever laid the foul demon of religious intolerance by passing the celebrated measure for the relief of our Catholic fellow-subjects from all civil disabilities. These, my lord, are the great principles which I believe now to be in danger, and which you, in my opinion, have put in peril.

I will not quote 'Hansard' against you. I leave to others a task which, though to me ungrateful, will be pleasant to themselves and most amusing to their hearers. . . . I will tell you why I believe these great doctrines of civil and religious liberty to be at the present time in danger. I will endeavour to give a reason for the *fear* that is in me.

I find the public mind of England stirred from one end of the kingdom to the other. I hear fierce denunciations hurled against one large class of our Christian brethren, and I see politicians nearly of all classes bending beneath the storm, and

joining in the cry against Papists and the Pope, and I most sincerely assert that I am utterly at a loss to understand how a really tolerant people could be thus carried away by an intolerant feeling. Does any danger really exist? . . . No real danger exists. It is not fear, but blind intolerant hate, that has aroused the land. The same sort of feeling as that which, in 1780, roused the mobs of London against Sir George Saville, and made that madman Lord George Gordon a hero, the idol and leader of the people, is now exercising a fatal influence upon the good sense of the English people. This feeling you have most unfortunately countenanced; you have given dignity and importance to an antipathy which you ought certainly to have allayed; and, by your ill-timed support, have done your utmost to keep alive for years a detestable intolerance, of which in your heart I believe you to be thoroughly ashamed. . . .

The work of years has in a moment been destroyed, and all the weary labour of eradicating those now vigorous weeds in our fair garden, religious hate and ecclesiastical intolerance has again to be encountered. When you were a labourer at this work you had to aid you many Protestant sects then suffering under legal disabilities. These you helped to remove, and now, that assistance will no longer be afforded to the friends of religious freedom, for every Protestant sect will band together on the one hand, and range themselves in fierce hostility to all the Catholics on the other. And now, my lord, I put to you the question which you, as a statesman, ought long since to have asked yourself. *How is Catholic Ireland to be governed?* . . . . Will not Catholics in Ireland assert their own pre-eminence in that country, and insist upon equality, at least, in the baneful right of persecution? And here, possibly, I shall have the Pope brought forward, and I shall be insulted by being asked if I believe the people of Ireland bear allegiance to Queen Victoria? Let me answer this question by another. If, in fact, Catholics bear a divided allegiance—if by their religion, as we hear, they really give one-half of their obedience to the Pope—if this be a tenet of their faith, how, I ask, is their allegiance affected or diminished by the nominal distribution of England into Catholic sees? Let us, if we will, fulminate an Act of Parliament against the Catholics; does anyone suppose that their faith will be in the slightest affected thereby? We cannot

make people loyal by Act of Parliament ; we cannot, by excluding certain names, keep out the doctrines of the Catholic religion. But what we can do is to keep up religious dissension ; we may make the empire a divided empire ; we may band Protestant against Catholic, England against Ireland, and to you, my lord, posterity will refer as a man who, just when the real difficulties were conquered ; when, by the united and continuous labours of our greatest statesmen, the law had become just, and peace and good-will were about to be established, took advantage of your great position to rouse up the spirit of strife and hate among us, to quicken into active life the demon of persecution, and to rend asunder a great empire, which, but for your fatal interference, would soon have become firmly united, peaceful, and prosperous. A melancholy distinction this, my lord, for one who all his life has styled himself the friend of religious as well as civil freedom. Your common sense must long since have been shocked at the wretched fanaticism which you have evoked, and which, unfortunately, you will find a spirit beyond your power to lay.

I remain, my Lord,

Your obedient servant,

J. A. ROEBUCK.

In this struggle—as in the Jacobite wars—Papist and High Churchman were in alliance against ultra-Protestants. The most noteworthy utterance of the Puseyites came from Mr. Bennett of St. Barnabas's, in which parish Lord John Russell himself resided. Lord John had effectually aroused popular feeling against the Tractarians. St. Barnabas's was mobbed Sunday after Sunday, and Mr. Bennett wrote the following indignant remonstrance to the Premier :

December 2.

MY LORD,—I am desirous of informing your lordship, as one of my chief parishioners, and as one charged by our Sovereign Lady the Queen to administer the government of this kingdom, and therein to keep order, peace, and harmony among her subjects—I am desirous of informing you, in both these

capacities, that I am in great trouble and distress of mind at the present moment in regulating the affairs of my parish.

I wish to inform you, my lord, that on Sunday, November 10, while I was performing the duties of divine service in the church of St. Barnabas, a tumultuous crowd assembled in the streets round about the church, and that a band of persons who had congregated together, no doubt for this purpose, within the very church walls, was guilty of a violent outrage against all decency, in uttering hisses, and exclaiming 'No mummery!' 'No Popery!' and other similar cries, alarming the decent worshippers who are in the habit of frequenting our church. I wish to inform you that, in consequence of this outrage, being literally in fear lest some very grievous act of desecration might be committed, the churchwardens and myself thought it advisable to close the church for the evening service, and so it must continue to be closed, until these tumultuous assemblages are stopped, and that, consequently, our poor parishioners, and other respectable persons who are in the habit of attending divine service at St. Barnabas's, are now hindered from so doing, and are in great degree deprived of their spiritual privileges.

I wish to inform you that since that time it has been thought necessary by the Police Commissioners that our church and residence should be guarded night and day; and that we are at present under the vigilant inspection of police constables, who are watching the streets without cessation lest mischief should arise. I wish to inform you that on Sunday, November 17, a very large mob of most tumultuous and disorderly persons collected together a second time all round the church, and this with a much greater demonstration of violence than on the preceding Sunday; that a force of one hundred constables was required to keep the mob from overt acts of violence; that, notwithstanding the exertions of the police, much violence was committed, and a leader of the rioters taken into custody; that the mob again assembled at the evening service at three o'clock, and were guilty again of violent cries, yells, and other noises, battering at the doors of the church, and disturbing the whole congregation; that similar scenes occurred again on Sunday, November 24, when I was interrupted in my sermon by outcries and other signs of disaffection as before.

I wish to inform you that, in consequence of this, we on our part I mean the clergy are very seriously crippled and hindered in the various pastoral works of our calling ; that the minds of our parishioners are disturbed, and kept in an unhealthy stretch of excitement ; that the peace and love with which it is our duty to look upon each other, however great our difference of opinion, are gone ; that hatred, animosity, and bitterness of spirit, are engendered among us all ; and that we are, in short, both clergy and people, in a very great state of trouble and distress ; that we look forward to the next Sunday, when the greater services of the Church will again be performed, under considerable fear that some violent outbreak may take place. In short, the whole idea of worshipping our God in the peace and love of Christians is almost destroyed. It is time, indeed, my lord, . . . that we ask ourselves the question —What is the meaning of all this? How has it come to pass? Where is the cause of it? Who has done it?

I am about to tell you, my lord, who has done it. . . .

In walking through my parish but a few days since I was met by a man offering to me for sale a slip of paper, purporting to be a letter from your lordship to the Bishop of Durham. And, shortly afterwards, I saw in a shop the same letter advertised, with a great show of attraction, at the price of two shillings and sixpence per hundred. Of course I could not but be attracted by seeing your lordship's name appended to a letter to the Bishop of Durham. Knowing the troubles which now beset our unhappy Church, its many schisms, wants, and infirmities, I might have been pardoned if I had imagined a letter to the Bishop of Durham suggesting some healing medicine for our wounds, pointing out some stay and comfort in our troubles, promising some synod or convocation for deliberation on our distracted state ; I might have imagined a scheme for additional bishops—some enlargement of the national education of the poor—something, in fact, to help us on and guide us to deeper unity and more fervent love among ourselves.

But, my lord, what was my surprise when I found that your letter was no more nor less than an attack upon the Bishop of Rome ; that it was a manifesto full of anger and indignation against a power said to be feared now, though it

had been for twenty-five years, or thereabouts, sedulously courted, cultivated, and nursed up into its present condition by no other than yourself. And what was my surprise, not unmixed with something deeper, to find that, although the Bishop of Rome was held up as a great source of danger to the mighty empire of Great Britain—at which I wondered—there was a still greater danger behind, at which I wondered more.

[Mr. Bennett goes on to quote that portion of Lord John Russell's letter in which his lordship sees from 'clergymen of our own Church' a danger which 'alarms him much more than any aggression of a foreign sovereign.']

Having read this letter, which I did very carefully, my attention was fixed to the peculiar day of its date, November 4, and I could not help remarking that it was a curious coincidence that this condemnation of the Bishop of Rome should tally so closely with the popular delights concerning Guy Fawkes. Then I looked on from November 5 to November 9, the one almost as great a day as the other in the annals of the City of London; and when the day came, I anxiously read the speeches of the Lord Chancellor and the Chief Justice, and of yourself; and it was curious to remark how only one topic seemed to engross all parties. . . .

I compared the unhappy disturbances at our church of St. Barnabas with those speeches at Guildhall. I compared the mob, with its outcries of 'No Popery!' 'No mummeries!' and the like, with your lordship's letter, which breathes the same spirit, of 'no mummeries of superstition,' 'no superstitious ceremonies,' and the like. I said to myself: It cannot be very much a wonder that ignorant persons, consisting mostly of the lowest orders of society, should be so stirred up to molest us poor people of St. Barnabas's, when the Prime Minister himself writes them a letter, and tells them that we are more dangerous than even the Pope of Rome.

The letter ran to great length, and at its conclusion Mr. Bennett maintained in the strongest terms that Lord John Russell's opposition to the Puseyites was due to a fear that they would emancipate the Church of England from State control. To oppose

this attempted emancipation was, in Mr. Bennett's opinion, to oppose all renewal of spiritual life within the Establishment. To succeed in such opposition was to doom the Church to atrophy and ultimate extinction. And then, indeed, there would be cause to fear Rome.

If you drive the Church out of England, the Church will rise up, my lord, elsewhere. If you destroy her as a component part of the institutions of this country, you will have her riding over your head triumphant, in that foreign prince whom then you will have good reason, according to your own principles, to dread. The Rock of Ages does not depend upon the Crown or any temporal prince, nor rest for its security on Acts of Parliament.

But now to bring this letter to a conclusion. I would say to you, my lord, in the language of Hosius to the Emperor Constantine : 'Stay, I beseech you. Remember that you are a mortal man. Fear the day of judgment. Keep your hands clean against it. Meddle not with Church matters. Far from advising us about them, rather seek instructions from us : we may not bear rule upon earth ; you, O Emperor, may not bear rule in the things of worship. I write this from a care for your soul'

I pray God, my lord, . . . that you may be spared from being the instrument under God's hand for the destruction of the Church of England. . . . For ourselves, the greater the fierceness of the people's madness, so much the greater our patience ; the more violent their outcries of wrath, the more earnest and longer our prayers.

I have the honour to be, my Lord,
Your Lordship's humble servant and parish priest,
W. J. E. BENNETT.

This letter was followed by a correspondence between Mr. Bennett and the Bishop of London which ended in Mr. Bennett resigning his living.

Cardinal Wiseman remained, by all accounts, self-possessed and alert. He and Father Whitty urged

Newman to speak; and eventually their wishes prevailed, and the lectures in the Corn Exchange of Birmingham, on the 'Present Position of Catholics,' were delivered.

One source of strength to the English Catholics at this time was their union. There can be little doubt that, in the days of the 'Catholic committee,' the bulk of the laity would have opposed perseverance in a scheme which aroused such undisguised opposition among Englishmen. As it was, only two members of influential Catholic families raised a discordant note. Lord Beaumont wrote to the Earl of Zetland on November 20, giving his opinion that 'the late bold and clearly expressed edict of the Court of Rome cannot be received or accepted by English Roman Catholics without a violation of their duties as citizens,' and that 'the line of conduct now adopted by Lord John Russell [was] that of a true friend of the British Constitution.' A week later the Duke of Norfolk wrote to Lord Beaumont as follows:

Arundel Castle: Nov. 28, 1850.

MY DEAR LORD,—I so entirely coincide with the opinions in your letter to Lord Zetland that I must write to you to express my agreement with you. I should think that many must feel, as we do, that Ultramontane opinions are totally incompatible with allegiance to our Sovereign and with our Constitution.

I remain, my dear Lord, faithfully yours,

NORFOLK.

Lord Stourton, on the other hand, wrote to the 'Times' on December 1, and took the occasion to explain his enforced absence from a Catholic meeting in Yorkshire, which had protested against the agitation, and presented an address to the Queen on the

subject. He wrote as follows: 'I most fully concur in the religious principles and opinions expressed by the Roman Catholics on that occasion, and I trust that those same principles, for the support of which my ancestors have suffered for so many generations . . . will be held sacred and inviolate by me to my dying breath.'

And this was the sentiment expressed in nearly all the public utterances of English Catholics, although there were those who privately regretted the measure as likely to bring a return of the old penal legislation. The 'Guardian,'[1] commenting on the Duke of Norfolk's and Lord Stourton's letters, treated them as representative of divided counsels among the old Roman Catholic families of England. 'But,' it added, 'the strength of Romanism in this country, even as a political power, is no longer confined to noblemen's castles. . . . It is something rougher, more energetic, more aggressive, less English in its attachments and sympathies, and less amenable to influences which may not uncharitably be supposed to have some weight with the Premier Duke, Earl Marshal, and hereditary Marshal of England.'

Meanwhile Wiseman, confident that eventually persistent explanations of the true facts of the case would bring the popular mind to its senses, announced a series of lectures at St. George's Cathedral.

They were attended by crowds of persons of all religions. The Cardinal went straight to the heart of his subject in his first lecture on December 8, and pointed out that the popular alarm was not only

[1] December 11, 1850.

groundless, but, for those who took the trouble really to look at facts instead of being carried away by feeling, even ridiculous. Whatever danger was to be feared from Rome would come from deeds and not from words. Rome had, in fact, been multiplying Bishops and Vicars Apostolic for many years past in Ireland, Scotland, the British Colonies, and England itself. These measures had undoubtedly been *actions* on the part of Rome. Not the slightest sign of displeasure had, however, been shown by the British Government or the Anglican Church. The Pope now makes a change in a matter of words, in the titles of his English Bishops; and the country is in a panic. Yet the change made is the very change which, fifty years earlier, Pitt had advocated for the purpose of diminishing the Papal power in England—a substitution of local titulars for the Pope's Vicars.

I. And now let the first question be [Cardinal Wiseman began], To whom or to what is any danger threatened? Is it to the State, or to the religion of this country?

In the confusion of ideas which has prevailed during the recent period of excitement, there certainly seems to have been no thought of unravelling this question, and deciding which of the two was in danger. The usual results followed: all were mixed up, and the cry embraced every possible or imaginable peril. It was the State in every department, which was invaded by the Pope's granting to Catholic Bishops mere titles in England. The Crown was wounded in its prerogative, its supremacy, its right to allegiance, its very sovereignty; the Constitution was endangered in its principles of civil and religious liberty; the nation assailed in its 'spiritual independence'; individual freedom jeopardised by the intended introduction of the Inquisition, of the Confessional, and of some undefined mysterious agency on the mind; the Church was endangered, and suddenly, after years of acquiescence not only in dissent of

every sort, but in latitude of pasture within its own pale, to the extent of a desert, it has been again asserted to be so completely part of the Constitution, that to assail it is to attack English nationality ; its episcopal rights are encroached on, its universality of jurisdiction in the realm trenched on, and the toleration graciously granted by it to Catholics abused. And, finally, this is not all : Protestantism, as a general and comprehensive form of religion, embracing many divisions, has been insulted, attacked, threatened, and almost put in peril.

Now, my brethren, all this is but a small part of what has been said of this ecclesiastical change in our body. And let me put it to your common sense, must it not be something of vast magnitude, of huge power, that could at once, in one moment, produce all these complicated and tremendous effects ? Ought it not to be a political earthquake, and a religious hurricane combined, that could thus shake the stability of a vast empire from throne to hearth, from cathedral to cottage ? Would news of a foreign invasion by a vast confederated army, united with a wide conspiracy detected at home, have done more, or threatened more, or alarmed more ? Could there have been, in the event of such a concurrence of foreign and domestic dangers, more warm expressions of feeling, more enthusiastic resolutions of resistance ?

Now let me ask you another question. Suppose that anyone had told you six months ago, that the Bishop of Rome had it in his power to throw this vast empire into convulsions ; to upheave, by 'the breath of his nostrils,' the granite foundations of the noble British Constitution ; to shake to its basis the throne of our gracious Queen, which rests secure upon the affections of every subject (of none more than of Catholics) ; to despoil of its rights and prerogatives a Church which has a thousand roots in the very substance of the nation ; to imperil the religion of the Bible in all its various [branches], and, finally, to introduce all that has been a popular bugbear in Popery into your very families ;—had anyone told you six months ago that the Bishop of Rome had power to do all this in England, you would have laughed, yes, you would have laughed to scorn the man who should have presumed to tell you that he had such tremendous power.

And if, by way of jest, or through curiosity, you had asked

the fanatic who told you so, by what wonderful machinery, by what magical agency he could do all this; and he had answered you, 'By a scrap of paper, wherein he should desire the Catholic districts of England to be thenceforth called Dioceses, and the Bishop of Trachis to be called Bishop of Beverley, and the Bishop of Tloa to be called Bishop of Liverpool'; you would, I am sure, have considered the man little better than an idiot, who asserted or believed in such effects from such a cause.

And yet, now that this has been done, all those terrible consequences are seen to have flowed from it: the nation is made to believe that the Pope has possessed and has exercised this tremendous power. But go back to your former cooler judgments, and through them look at the matter now effected, as you would have looked upon it when spoken of as future, and you will see that it is ridiculous to attribute such mighty results to so simple an act of ecclesiastical jurisdiction.

II. And in truth, my brethren, if the Holy See does possess the power attributed to it, we may reasonably infer that the effect of its actions would be in proportion to their strength and vigour. . . . The sending of a Bishop into a country must be a more direct and effectual exercise of the Pope's strength than the change of that Bishop's denomination. The communicating to him an immediate and personal delegation from himself, and placing him on the scene of his activity . . . as a vicarious self, an *alter Ego*, would naturally appear to anyone as a more direct bringing to bear of the Papal jurisdiction and strength upon a country, than the appointment to it of Bishops constituted as they are in Catholic countries, with ordinary, not extraordinary, powers. And again, the multiplying of such agents, the doubling of those active centres of his own power, would seem to be much more alarming (if cause of alarm there be) than the altering the style and title of those already holding those vicarial offices.

But in the present state of feeling it is not so; it cannot be allowed to be so. The Pope has named Bishops where there were none before, whether in Ireland, or the Colonies; but it mattered not. He has had his Vicars in this island and in its dependencies, Bishops with more than ordinary faculties; yet no one heeded them. Within these few years he has doubled their number in England, and nearly so in Scotland; and still nobody

gave himself concern. But now he changes their titles, and all England is on fire at the dangers, as at the supposed boldness, of the deed. Then is a title more to give, or more to fear, than authority? Is a name more powerful than jurisdiction? Does more strength lie in a sound than in action?

But even taking the question of names, I have scarcely any doubt that a very few years, or perhaps even months, ago, had the question been put to the great mass of the English people, 'Whom would you rather have to govern the Catholic Church in this island, the Pope's own Vicars, or Bishops belonging to the country?' the latter would have been preferred and chosen, as being more thoroughly native, English, and domestic, and as implying, in name at least, a less immediate connexion with that great object of Protestant prejudice the Pope of Rome. Indeed, I have been assured, upon what I consider excellent authority, that even in 1790 Pitt suggested to Cardinal Erskine, as one good mode of diminishing English prejudices in regard to Catholics, that the Bishops should cease to be Vicars Apostolic and become local titulars.[1]

I cannot, therefore, consider the strong commotion which has agitated the nation to be the result of reasoning upon the realities of the case. Indeed, those who boast most loudly of it, and extol it as a grand national movement, are better pleased to speak of it as an unreasoning, spontaneous, and instinctive uprising of national antipathies, and national traditionary feeling. They forget, however, that they themselves industriously, perseveringly, and recklessly first kindled the match among the dormant materials of mischief, and have never ceased to fan the conflagration. Nor is this all; after it has been asserted that the outburst preceded all argument, and has been conducted independently of it, it is [proposed] to be acted upon as the deliberate result of the country's reflecting will.

III. Throughout all this excitement one important element of calculation, one obvious source of deduction seems to have been overlooked. Public speakers and writers treat the matter as if England were the only country in the world to which certain acts, and still more certain possibilities, could apply. They overlook the experience and tests of other vast countries. They forget that there are Catholic countries which exercise great

[1] The statement came from the late Sir John Cox Hippesley.

vigilance over the Church, and are as jealous as England of either foreign or ecclesiastical authority. They seem not to know that there are other powerful countries which have a mixed population, containing Catholic Bishops and their flocks.

Calm and reasonable minds would look at the working of the Catholic system in these [other countries], and thence judge of the reality of dangers announced to England by prophets of evil. Have not the people been threatened with the fear of the Inquisition or other terrible institutions as being necessary consequences of the prevalence of Catholicity? And yet is there any Inquisition in Spain, in Portugal, in Brazil, in Mexico, in any of the South American republics—countries exclusively Catholic? Certainly not. Is there any in Austria, in Bavaria, in Belgium, countries with a mixed population, but with Court, Government, and majority, eminently Catholic? Certainly not. Then is it not mere imposture to tell the people that there is even the remotest danger of the introduction of such a tribunal into England, of all places in the world, should it even all become Catholic? Could not the people resist what is called Papal tyranny, or interference in temporal concerns, as well as the natives of Spain or Portugal?

I put all this as a supposition, as an imaginary case; for it is too ridiculous to put it seriously to thinking men. And it is only to get up a cry, and to gull people (I use a homely but expressive word) into fanaticism, that interested persons pretend to fear what they know to be, not remote, but (to use now a more scientific phrase) too distant to have a parallax.

But, it will be objected to such an account as this, is it conceivable that so strong a popular feeling should be as groundless as Cardinal Wiseman's version of the matter would have us suppose? The Cardinal replies that history shows that it is possible—that the English nation is capable of working itself into frenzy over a mere delusion. He instances the Titus Oates plot and the Gordon riots, and, in a very different sphere, the South Sea 'bubble'

of the last century. 'The entire mind of a nation,' he said, 'may be worked up into a fallacy from which it awakes as from a dream . . . lowered in self-esteem' and in the esteem of 'surrounding nations.'

The Cardinal gave some account of the disgusting epithets applied to things Catholic, which were being publicly bandied about, and even written up in the streets. He hailed the insults offered to the new Bishops as unfailing signs of Divine favour. The ritual, he said, directs flowers to be strewn on the path by which a new Bishop approaches his diocese; 'our road,' on the contrary, has been 'hedged with thorns and our way sown with briars.' So much the better, for 'the more deeply and broadly any work bears the impression of the Cross, the more surely does it come to us sealed of God.'

But, he asks, 'Am I simply representing Catholics as the Christians who have the truth, and all on the other side as the pagans who are in darkness?' On the contrary, he replies, we regard 'those separated from us . . . as brethren most dear to us though in error.' It is not against the action of those without the Church *as such* that we protest. The Church is always enduring wrong at the hands of 'the world.' 'The world' may be at one time represented by Catholics themselves; at another by pagans; at another by Protestants. And in the present persecuting movement the Catholics claim to have with them the Church, which decries injustice and slander, and against them 'the world'—the unjust, powerful, and tyrannical forces of the hour. The battle is not between Catholics and members of the

National Church, but between justice and injustice, the Church and the world.

The Word of God [he said] represents the Church of Christ, as engaged in perpetual conflict, not with Jew or Gentile, but with an enduring visible power, called 'the world.' This always exists, and always combats, in one form or another, the Church. It was not merely heathenism or Judaism that formed it at the beginning, but it was the first of these combined with the viciousness, the sensualism, and the refinement of its age, and the second mixed with the pride, self-conceit, and carnality of its race. And so at a later period the world consisted of oppressive princes, proud barons, and mailed knights, with their overbearing retainers, who crushed the poor, and defied the Church, though members of it. Still later it was to be found in the luxury of royal courts, and the lurking infidelity of the learned, hanging still on the borders of Christianity, and not abandoning it. Then came open conflict with misbelief, rampant and persecuting. And now, perhaps, it may come to be found in the practical and mechanical genius of the age, in league with materialism, and expediency, and fear of too much faith. But at every stage, whether 'the world' be in the Church or out of it, its characteristics are marked. It contains within it the strength of earth, according to the age ; its wisdom, or its might, or its energy. It comprises generally what is considered most noble or enviable in position. It is a large and winning power, up to a certain point, till it grapples fairly with the truth.

To this world the disciples of Christ belong not ; they are prayed for [as] distinct from the world ; they weep when the world rejoices ; the world even hates them, and they must not love *it*. The world cannot comprehend the true doctrine of Christ, but must be opposed to Him (John xiv. 17, xv. 18, xvi. 20, xvii. 14 ; 1 John iii. 13). This world, then, is somewhere now, and it has its antagonist in the Church of Christ. Now, my brethren, it surely is important to ascertain with whom and against whom it is. It is an equation to be solved ; the world and the true Church cannot be on the same side ; but find one, and you have the other. There is, at present, clearly a religious conflict going on in this country. The Catholics here

are not, and never have been, merely a collection of persons holding certain opinions in common, but are a systematised, organised religious community, representing here the Catholic Church of the universe. Against it has come forward in every place and in every possible way the Church of the State, and round it have gathered, for the first time in the century, and have been received under its wings, many ministers and congregations of various religious persuasions. With which side has been the intellectual boast, the pompous display, the influential action of great wealth? With whom the command of public voices, public organs, public demonstrations? With whom the clamour, the accusations, the personal attacks, the rude and even coarse words, the appeal to the world's power and to its protection? These are not the Gospel marks of the 'little flock.' Then, you who believe, with me, that the Gospel of Jesus Christ is eternal, as Himself, in its truth, and the standard, now as ever, of just measure, apply this unfailing rule; see with whom 'the world' stands, and answer me, on which side is it better to be? Is it best to be its ally, or the object of its animosity? And which are we?

This passage—from the last of the three lectures, delivered on December 22—raised the discussion to a higher level than that of party warfare, and claimed the sympathy of all earnest Christians for the small band of Englishmen who were the object of the popular clamour.

And this note, struck by Cardinal Wiseman, was taken up in the House of Commons by a voice which even at that time controlled the thoughts and feelings of a large number of Englishmen—that of Mr. Gladstone. On February 7, 1851, the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill was introduced into the House of Commons, Cardinal Wiseman being present at the time. A majority of 332 in a House of 458 members was ominous as to its ultimate success.

The Bill as first introduced inflicted a penalty of 100*l.* on persons assuming titles to pretended sees in the United Kingdom, declared all deeds and legal documents executed by such persons to be void, and all endowments of the pretended sees to be forfeit to Her Majesty. Logically the Bill would have applied to Bishops of the Episcopal Church of Scotland, but a special clause exempted them. It need not be said that this exemption offered an effective weapon to opponents of the Bill. Mr. Gladstone, with his strong instinct of sympathy with a persecuted minority, urged this point unanswerably. 'If,' he said, speaking on March 25, 'the appointment of Bishops is a spiritual act, why interfere with it? If temporal, why exempt the Scotch Bishops?'

But in fact Mr. Gladstone, Mr. Roundell Palmer (afterwards Lord Selborne), and a few others maintained, from the beginning, what the majority of Englishmen admitted ten years later. The whole ground of offence really was the use, by the Pope and Cardinal Wiseman, of *language* which appeared boastful and hurtful to the national pride. The exclusive claims of the Roman Church are an integral part of the Roman Catholic religion. But nevertheless their public assertion may be offensive. For a powerful nation, in which Roman Catholics are an insignificant minority, to be reminded by that minority of its claim to the possession of an exclusive spiritual authority, was naturally irritating. Mr. Gladstone considered that such language was reprehensible; but then it was only the language of Pope Pius and Cardinal Wiseman; and it was unfair to

molest the bulk of English Catholics for an offence which was not their own. As to the traditional fear of Rome and horror of Popish doctrine, which had been awakened by the Bull, it was to a large extent a relic of national superstition, which advancing liberal thought had already doomed to destruction.

Mr. Gladstone at the outset stated the one real cause of offence—the language which had been employed by the representatives of the exclusive Church.

'The language which had been used both in the Brief of the Pope and in the letters which announced to us the appointment of this English Hierarchy,' he said, 'was not only unfortunate, but of a vaunting and boastful description . . . of which complaint might justly be made. But was it just to pass a proscribing Act affecting our Roman Catholic fellow-countrymen on account of language for which they were not responsible?'

If the substance of the Bull were looked at, *apart* from the language, it deserved the sympathy and not the resentment of Englishmen. The new measure was in the direction of lessening the immediate influence of Rome on English Roman Catholics, and giving them local government. And the proposed Bill, if it effected anything at all, would check the tendency of Catholics to develop national sympathies, and increase their absolute dependence on Rome. Mr. Gladstone traced the history of the English Catholics from the days of Elizabeth, and showed, on the authority of Dodd and Butler, that whereas there had always been a moderate party and a Jesuit or Papal party among

them, it was the moderates who had wanted local Bishops, and the Jesuits who wished to keep up the immediate dependence on Rome. What a paradox, then, that the opposition to the more liberal policy, hitherto confined to Jesuits and 'Roman emissaries,' should now come from a Government of 'modern Whigs who had spent their lives in advancing the cause of religious liberty.' The Bill would not in any way check Roman Catholic *influence* or *organisation*; for the Solicitor-General had expressly said that it would not have the effect of preventing the holding of synods or the introduction of canon law. It would be simply an inoperative display of a persecuting spirit, exercised in response to an act of the Pope which had a purely spiritual purpose, and should be exempt from secular animadversion. The Government ought to take no cognisance of the Bull. But if the Bull were to be considered, it deserved sympathy, as a measure for the religious freedom of Roman Catholics. 'You are throwing back the Roman Catholics,' he said, 'and preventing their improvement by this little miniature of a penal law.'

But, above all, Mr. Gladstone appealed to the principle of religious liberty, to the steady march of the recognition of the rights of conscience, of which England was supposed to be the most conspicuous defender. Was the irritation caused by boastful words to make England false to this great principle?

So little did Mr. Gladstone believe the proposed Bill to be in harmony with the real views of the people whose clamour was hastening to transfer it to the statute book, that he confidently prophesied, amid

ironical cheers, that a few years later the popular voice would be on the side of the tiny minority which he now represented. The House was proposing to stereotype a temporary loss of temper on the part of the nation and its Parliament. And on this ground he entered his protest, in the name of the consistent march of principles for which England was renowned. Petty persecution would not only sully our good name before foreign nations, but would incur for us all the odium attaching to a measure which Englishmen were too just really to carry out.

Are you [he said] going to undo in the last half-century what your greatest men did in the first? No, surely not. Recollect your functions in the face of the world. Recollect that Europe and the civilised world look to England as the mistress and guide of nations in civil legislation. What is it that they most admire in you?

It is not the rapidity with which you frame constitutions and approach abstract theories. On the contrary, you know that abstract theories are opposed to your views, and that you resist what is new until you know its safe and beneficial tendency; but they also know that when you make a step onward you keep it—that you are not a monarchy one day, a republicanism another, and a military despotism the third day; but that you are free from these vicissitudes. I say your fathers and yourselves have earned this brilliant character. Do not forfeit it. Show if you will to the Pope, and his Cardinals, and his Church that you have your centre diadem, and that, when England has made an advance in the great principle of public legislation, destined to mark the course of her policy for ages to come—show that when she has done this, slowly, it may be, with hesitation and difficulty, but deliberately, she can no more retrace her steps than the river that bathes this giant city can flow back in its course. (Loud cheers.) We cannot turn back the deep and profound tendencies of this age towards religious liberty. It is our business to guide and lead them, but to turn them back is idle and childish, because every step you take in

that direction will only recoil on yourselves. We are here strong in the consciousness of a strong cause. My honourable and learned friend the member for Midhurst (Mr. Walpole) said he would claim justice on his side. He is sustained on this occasion out of doors by strong popular feeling, and here by the compact organisation of the Government and the opposition. We have none of these aids. We are in a minority, insignificant —more insignificant still because we have no ordinary bond of union amongst us. We are in groups of twos and threes. We act, however, because we have a conviction of justice and that we shall soon see on our side the force of public opinion.

The truth of this prophecy became apparent in a very short time; and twenty years later Mr. Gladstone quietly repealed, in an entirely apathetic House, a measure which had been a dead letter from the day of its enactment.

The Bill was approved by very few, as it was first drafted, and it ran through a fire of criticism for six months. The second reading was passed in the Commons by 433 votes against 95; and it received the Royal Assent on August 1. The measure, as ultimately passed, amounted to little more than the record of a protest. The fine of 100*l.* for the assumption of territorial titles was retained, but never inflicted. The clauses invalidating deeds executed by the Catholic Bishops, were dropped. The text of the Bill is given in Appendix C.

Thus came about the curious result that the nation, while professing to deal with an imminent and practical danger, and to meet it with a practical measure, more just in action than in word, responded to an imaginary menace by an imaginary penalty. The Act proved to be no more a persecution than the Bull proved to be a dangerous aggression.

Even in its original form it could at most have led members of the new Hierarchy to conceal their titles in public or legal documents: and the disproportion between the bark and the bite of the English Government puzzled some foreign observers, as we see in the following letter from Döllinger, dated February 8, 1851:

> It is with a degree of interest amounting to anxiety [he writes from Munich] that we follow in Germany the development of your ecclesiastical affairs. As the generality of Continental readers will always judge of the intensity of a movement by the agitation of the surface, they cannot but think England the most Protestant country in Europe. But I think that such a state of excitement might be improved in favour of Catholicism by the leaders of the Catholic body, and I find that conversions are still going on. . . . We have just seen the tenor of the new Bill respecting the Catholic Bishops. It appears to me to be a very harmless thing, notwithstanding the big words in which it is couched—in fact, to be meant only as a sop thrown to the Cerberus of public excitement. For, if I mistake not the meaning of the phrases, the position and authority of the Bishops will be after the passing of that law just what it was before.

The extent of the agitation still remains a phenomenon which has not been fully explained; but its comparatively short duration and the acquiescence of Parliament in the inoperative Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, are facts which must be weighed in appreciating the real limits of the popular feeling aroused. Let those who wish to estimate its depth compare the records of the Gordon riots with those of the Papal aggression. The former involved the destruction of life and property, and were only quelled by military interference, in which hundreds of lives were lost; the latter was almost entirely a display of threatening

words. And the contrast represented the march of events between 1780 and 1850. It may be worth while to set down here the estimate of the popular feeling formed by Wiseman's friend, the late Lord Houghton :

> The circumstances of the affair [he writes] were crowded with misapprehension on all sides. There had been much to induce the belief, on the part of the Catholics, that a Prince of the Roman Church and Court would be received without disfavour in England. The Government had only lately passed an Act of Parliament authorising diplomatic relations with Rome ; and in the debate on Lord Eglintoun's clause, which limited the selection of the Papal envoys to this country to laymen, it had been distinctly stated in the House of Lords, on the Liberal side, that there would be no objection to the presence of a Cardinal in England. Again, the extent and power of the High Church party that had lately developed itself at Oxford were extravagantly exaggerated by the Catholics both at home and at Rome. The entirely intellectual character of the movement and the certainty of its indignant repulse, the moment it came into contact with the habits, instincts, and traditions of the English people, were not perceptible to Dr. Wiseman, whose recent few years of residence in his native land could not compensate for an early life of foreign impressions. How far he may have been encouraged in his notion of the improved feelings of this country towards Roman Catholicism by members of the Tractarian party I have no means of knowing ; but with some of them he had friendly relations, and he had been one of the first of the authorities of his Church to approach them with a sympathetic interest, and to attract them to what he believed to be the only safe conclusion, by a kindly appreciation of their doubts and difficulties.
>
> He had also had an interview and conversation with Lord John Russell before he left England for Italy, of which he always spoke as affording a vindication of his future proceedings.
>
> . . . If this is so, it is the more singular that the first overt act declaratory of opinion in high places, and premonitory of public indignation, should have proceeded from Lord John Russell.

What was called 'the Durham Letter' was, no doubt, his personal production, and in no way sanctioned by his Cabinet ; but it had all the effect of a political encyclic. Looking back on the affair, after the lapse of years, the chief mistake seems to have been the simultaneity of the new ecclesiastical arrangement and the advent of the Cardinal Archbishop. Either the one or the other by itself would have met with the usual amount of popular criticism, as an unwelcome novelty, and would have died away after a nine days' bluster. When the vivacity of public feeling then aroused is remembered, it seems now fortunate for the religious liberties of our country that the issue was no worse than the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill, which in its result, and probably in its intent, exactly corresponded with the judgment of an *abus de pouvoir* delivered by the French High Court against the prelates who interfere too prominently in political concerns. It was an official censure, *quantum valeat*, and nothing more. An eminent foreign statesman said to me that if we had civilly conducted him to Dover with an escort, and put him on board a ship, we should have acted in strict accordance with the traditions of Catholic Governments.

But on the minds of individual Catholics, especially those prominently engaged in the matter, the Protestant demonstration produced a sense of indignant surprise. There was so much to be said in their favour on logical grounds, and the inferences from arguments of religious freedom were so patent, that the public condemnation struck them as something beyond the ordinary condition of public policy, and as tainted with personal ill-feeling and special injustice. Thus the Cardinal placed himself before his countrymen in the attitude of constant reproach for a grave wrong committed not only against his person and his community, but against the liberal principles of the men and the party with whom the Catholics of England had been for so long connected.

It is probable that, in addition to the causes set down by Lord Houghton, the events of 1845 had their share in disposing the English mind for alarm and anger. The language of Sydney Smith, as to Popery being a wholly effete force, represented one

motive for the somewhat contemptuous toleration extended to English 'Papists.' And this attitude had received a rude shock from the secession of Newman and his friends. The alternative views of 'Popery' which were still competing in the popular mind, were the legendary ideal of the 'Papist' (of which some account has been given in these pages), including a political connotation of the name which belonged to a past phase of history, and the liberal view, the tolerant and contemptuous attitude of the 'Edinburgh Review.' To defeat the latter was for many minds to reinstate the former. If Popery was after all a power, this was proof positive that the Papists, in securing toleration under the plea of being harmless, had maintained their old reputation for craft. Whatever may be said of individuals, the body of Englishmen were unable so far to reverse the prepossessions of centuries, as to look upon Popery with philosophic calm. The suspicion, perhaps, existed in many who would have disowned it, 'Are the Papists still plotting against the nation after all?' and the exodus of 1845 suggested an affirmative answer. Such is the account which used to be given by a shrewd observer, the late Father Whitty; and the documents cited in this chapter would seem to confirm such a view.

The struggle was followed with great appreciation in the pages of 'Punch,' whose caricatures of Wiseman and of Newman were admirable.

The caricatures were accompanied by a running commentary on the events, which has its place as an indication of the progress of public opinion.

At first 'Punch' proposes to make the assumption of the titles 'high treason'; but after Wiseman's 'Appeal' his counsels are milder. They are conveyed in a dramatic scene in Punch's apartments.

Punch's Irish servant announces 'Mr. Wiseboy and Mr. Newboy,' and adds, 'They have brought your honour a little bull.' Toby growls at the visitors. Newboy pats him soothingly, and says, 'What, Toby! Don't you remember *me*, Toby?' Wiseboy presents his bull, and he and Newboy are indignantly turned out of the house by Punch. Toby follows them with sinister designs. Punch calls him back and reads him a lecture. 'You were going to bite the calves of that gentleman in the red legs. . . . I'll have no persecution, Toby. I say keep your teeth out of the Cardinal's legs. The great object is to show that most of us in this country utterly scout his claim and laugh at his red hat and red stockings. . . . Do him no harm. He has as good a right to his crimson as a Quaker has to drab, and must have free leave to set up his pulpit.'[1]

A little later Punch institutes a comparison between Wiseman and Wolsey. That Wiseman does not yet pose as the haughty and autocratic Cardinal is no proof that he would not if he could.

'That Wiseman is at the present moment only Wolsey in his early state—like a young hedgehog in the wool, to come out all over prickles . . . we can readily believe; but that Wiseman—give him his growth—would be Wolsey in all his glory, we have the authority of his unchanging infallible Church for our assurance.'[2]

[1] *Punch*, vol. xix. p. 243. [2] p. 250.

The danger diminishes as the country unmistakably asserts its determination not to be ruled by the alien prelate.

In January 1851, Cardinal Wiseman appears in a cartoon with dejected mien on the quay to take steamer 'from Westminster to Melipotamus,' and Mr. Punch with a profound bow says 'Good-bye—a happy New Year to you *in Melipotamus*.'

When the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill is brought in in February, we have Lord 'Jack the Giant Killer' 'going for' Giant Wiseman.

The anger of the 'Papists' at the defeat of their machinations is supposed to be deep; but a contradiction is published (by authority from Golden Square) to the report that among the timber smouldering in the new Houses of Parliament was found the foot of a red stocking.

When the Bill is in difficulties and Lord John seems disposed to modify it, 'Punch' represents him as a naughty boy who chalked up 'No Popery' on Wiseman's door in Golden Square, and then ran away.

When the dissensions over the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill appeared to threaten its success, Punch wrote the story of the 'Decline and Fall of the British Empire' as told by an Australian historian for the benefit of Macaulay's New Zealander. The narrative includes the persecution of St. Nicholas by the tyrant Punch, and the ultimate triumph of the saint.

'At the commencement of the second half of the nineteenth century,' we read, 'the ancient faith was suddenly revived in England by the pious energy of St. Nicholas of Seville. Landing in the country

amidst the almost frantic hostility of the islanders, the most powerful in arts, arms and commerce, although the most benighted of the inhabitants of Europe, St. Nicholas was assailed on his first arrival by the Sovereign (styled head of the sect calling itself a Church and dominant in that part of Britain), by the Prime Minister, a deplorable fanatic of Calvinistic opinions, by the Legislature, and the vast majority of the nation. The country rose against him; persecutions were threatened, tortures were in preparation, chains, fines, imprisonments were devised for St. Nicholas and his clergy. But aid was at hand, and the arm which the powerful Minister raised to smite the meek check of the Cardinal was stayed by an influence which we must, &c. &c. The clergy of the neighbouring island of Ireland (since removed by the application of scientific means a thousand miles into the Atlantic)—headed by the profound Cullen and the gentle McHale—the Hibernian members of the Britannic Legislature, remarkable for the polish of their manners and the fervid piety of their lives—above all, the dissensions among the English themselves, caused the uplifted arm to fall powerless, which was about to descend upon St. Nicholas, and averted the glaive which would have found a willing and joyful martyr. St. Nicholas and his clergy were suffered to live unmolested, and continued in and about London, making many converts, until the arrival of the great Austro-French force under the two Emperors, accompanied by the Pope in person, whose religion was established finally in this country, to be disturbed no more. The

unmarried Bishops of the late Establishment were admitted *ad eundem*,'[1] &c. &c.

The ultimate defeat of Wiseman is celebrated in a cartoon. Buckled shoes, mitre, and crozier are taken off by the Cardinal, the tears streaming down his face, and are sold to a Jew; while the words 'Alarming failure,' 'Must be cleared off in a few days,' are placarded over his house, and another notice informs Puseyites 'that a number of Roman collars and clerical waistcoats will be almost given away.'[2]

[1] The following are some of the decrees of the Pope to be promulgated when St. Nicholas is installed as Primate of England:

That the earth does not move—under the present Pontiff never shall.

That the sun is sixty yards in diameter.

That the moon is made of green cheese.

That the stars are Roman candles.

That the North Pole is in the shape of a Cardinal's crozier.

That the equinoctial line is the fishing line of St. Peter.

Vol. xx. p. 235.

[2] 'Dicky' Doyle, indignant at seeing his friend Cardinal Wiseman gibbetted week by week, resigned his connexion with *Punch*.

CHAPTER XX

AFTER THE STORM

1851-1854

THE extraordinary injustice of the popular outcry gave Newman an opportunity which he turned to good account in his lectures delivered in the Corn Exchange, Birmingham, in the summer of 1851, on 'The Present Position of Catholics.' With characteristic perception of the situation, Newman completely transformed his style for the occasion. The falsehoods current could only be fitly dealt with by deserting the moderation of language habitual to him. The lectures hardly drew upon his greatest mental qualities; but they are admittedly the best examples of his powers of irony, and rank high as specimens of his gift of rhetorical exposition.

Dr. Whitty used to say that not one newspaper alluded to them at the time. A policy of absolute silence seemed the only possible course when to dispute was to challenge retaliation. No writer was found with the rashness of Kingsley.

But an attempt of another kind was made to take revenge. Two years earlier an apostate priest, Dr. Achilli, had been lecturing in Ireland against Catholicism. He was a man of notorious immor-

ality; and Cardinal Wiseman had exposed his character in the 'Dublin Review' for July 1850. For this purpose he had carefully collected evidence of a career of extraordinary licentiousness. Newman, before delivering his lectures at Birmingham, asked Wiseman if he were in a position to prove his facts, and receiving an affirmative answer, launched out into a scathing denunciation of Dr. Achilli in his fifth lecture. Such (he said) were the witnesses to whom the Protestant English public were trusting.

Achilli was encouraged by the state of public opinion to sue Newman for libel. At first he proposed to sue Wiseman himself, who had originally published the charges in England. But Wiseman's Essay had been anonymous, and Newman was therefore selected for attack. Newman applied to Wiseman for the documents necessary to prove his case, before the 'rule' for the trial had been made absolute. Wiseman could not find them. Newman wrote and wrote again, but received no answer. He persuaded himself that Wiseman had simply omitted to search for the documents. 'The *origo mali* alone is silent,' he wrote to Father Gordon of the London Oratory. Father Gordon, perceiving the gravity of the situation, went to the Cardinal to urge him to send Newman the *pièces justificatives*, and found him in the greatest distress of mind. 'Father Newman is surprised not to have heard from you.' 'I dare not write to him,' was the reply; 'I have hunted in vain and cannot find the documents.' And then (according to Father Gordon's description) the Cardinal, unwieldy and huge, knelt down amid the

heap of papers which he had been sorting and examining, and once more hunted for the missing ones without success.

The documents *were* found; but just too late. The rule had been made absolute, and Newman was committed for trial. Newman, who knew Wiseman's dilatory habits, evidently continued to believe that he had not looked for them, and the following letter to Mr. W. G. Ward shows his feelings on the subject:

Oratory, Birmingham: Nov. 26, 1851.

MY DEAR WARD,—The marvellous mistakes which have been made show most strikingly that God's hand is in the whole matter. As to its hurting my influence, it is absurd, but it will be a most severe cross.

I have anticipated it since August last, and said with St. Andrew, 'O bona crux, diu desiderata.' Nothing has been wanting on my part in point of vigilance and promptitude.

Lewis had *nothing to do* with the affidavit. I will tell you *in confidence* the *origines mali*.

1. The Cardinal, who *did not look* for his documents till the hour when the Rule was made absolute, and it was too late. In that hour he looked and he found. Father Hutchinson brought them to me. I took up my hat and went to Lewis. He had just returned from Westminster. It was all over.

2. The Cardinal ditto; who sent our dear Fathers to Naples, with introductions not *strong enough* to open the Police books. They were told there that everything could have been done had the Cardinal been more alive.

3. The Attorney-General, who said confidently that we should gain till Easter—who took it for granted, and threw us off our guard completely. Consequently the affidavit was drawn up as a form, and the Attorney-General had it with him several days, before he brought it into court. When it was unsuccessful, Badeley drew up other and stronger affidavits, but the Attorney-General would have nothing to do with them.

4. Lord Campbell, who from the first has been against me.

I brought the point of the 'Dublin Review' before my lawyers,

but they said that it would only tell in mitigation of punishment—as, indeed, Hope had told me *before* I published the passage.

I cannot help thinking matters will go on to conviction and imprisonment; but for three months I have been saying 'Nothing but prayer will save me,' and I have been a Cassandra—my words have fallen idle; men have but laughed.

Ever yours affectionately,

J. H. N.

The sequel is well known. Some, but not all, of the charges against Achilli were established, and the unproved accusations constituted a libel. Conviction, with a fine, followed in June 1852; but in January 1853 a fresh trial was granted, and the fine imposed was purely nominal.

The Cardinal did his best to repair the injury he had unwittingly done to the Oratorian. He set on foot a subscription to meet the heavy expenses of the two trials, and he gave Newman his support in another matter. Dr. Brownson, the American theologian had been attacking the 'Essay on Development'; and the Cardinal wrote strongly to Newman deprecating the attack, and declaring the work to be entirely in keeping with traditional Catholic theology. Newman's answer, referring both to the Achilli case and to Brownson's attack, shows that their correspondence had resumed its usual pleasant character:

Edgbaston: Nov. 14, 1852.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—I thank your Eminence with all my heart for your most kind letter. I have not allowed Dr. Brownson's rudeness to annoy me, yet it is a very great satisfaction and comfort to receive such an assurance as you have written to me on the subject of his attack. So conscious am I of my own simplicity and sincerity in this matter, that your

Eminence's words, if I may say it without presumption, were but an external utterance of what had already been uttered by a voice within—that is, so far as this, that I had no wish at all to say or hold anything whatever but what the Church said and held—but considering, on the one hand, the chance of self-deception, and, on the other hand, how men of real sanctity and saintliness have been for a time mistaken and suspected, of course I prize your letter very much, and need nothing else from anyone to set against Dr. Brownson.

I also have to thank you for the sympathy you show me in this home matter which presses on me. Your Eminence knows, I suppose, the great success of the subscriptions, which is chiefly owing to your own exertions. They reach the *expenses*; the fine and costs alone remain, which will soon be known now. I should have nothing to dread were I a little stronger in *health*, but my medical men speak very seriously of the effect of imprisonment on my health; but, the course of Providence has been so wonderful in the whole matter, and things have so happened by contraries, that physicians may be out in their calculating, as well as lawyers.

I am going to stop at Lord Arundel's [in Carlton House Terrace], and shall be in great measure at his disposal, else I would most gratefully accept the offer of your carriage.

Kissing the sacred purple, and begging your blessing, I am, my dear Lord,

Your Eminence's affectionate friend and servant,

JOHN H. NEWMAN,
of the Oratory.

The relations between Newman and Wiseman remained always what they had been from the early days of Newman's Catholic life. The sensitiveness and shyness of both men prevented intimacy, in spite of a real admiration on both sides. Newman fully appreciated the value of the Cardinal's great influence throughout Christendom. 'It is an occasion such as this,' he wrote, when the Cardinal was ill in 1853, 'which will bring out how much you

are in the hearts of the Catholics of these islands, or rather, I should say, of all places which the report of your indisposition reaches.'

On the other hand, Wiseman, from the immense multiplicity of his occupations, was unable to give Newman the constant support and attention which were necessary to enable him to carry out some of the works entrusted to him. Thus, when Newman was made Rector of the Catholic University in Dublin, it was of importance that he should have a titular Bishoprick, and that Wiseman should support him as Chancellor of the University. The Cardinal, in spite of his goodwill, failed in the end to assist him in either way. And he failed also to enable Newman to carry out the translation of the Bible, entrusted to him by the Second Synod of Westminster. Possibly a certain want of tenacity to his own schemes, in the face of opposition, had its share in such failures. This was Newman's own view. Cardinal Wiseman 'always meant kindly,' he wrote to Dr. Russell, 'but his impulses, kind as they were, were evanescent. And he was naturally influenced by those who got around him and occupied his ear.'

Lord Houghton has told us[1] that from the time of the Papal Aggression, Cardinal Wiseman went less than heretofore into general society. Indeed, in many places Catholics underwent a species of social ostracism for some time.[2] One leading object of the Cardinal's

[1] In his Monographs.

[2] Father Whitty tells me that this ostracism made it for a time impossible for domestic servants or governesses to obtain employment outside Catholic families. Priests also who had been friendly with their neighbours were for some years cut by their old friends.

remaining years was to restore the good feeling between Catholics and their fellow-citizens which his own action had inwittingly impaired. And, for disarming prejudice by personal intercourse, he was in many ways remarkably well endowed. His genial presence and English stamp of face and manner contrasted strongly with the preconceptions of Protestant prejudice. His wide information made him an agreeable companion in any society; and his natural interest in neutral subjects—as archæology, botany, philology, Oriental studies—were far more effective weapons at such a time than mere controversy, in the struggle against bigotry. Many cases are on record of his entirely disarming the prejudices of whole groups of persons by the interest of his conversation and public lectures. He paid a visit to Jersey in 1851, where he was received with brickbats, the windows of his carriage being broken, and his progress impeded by a howling mob, as he drove to the Catholic church at which he was to preach. A crowd of Protestants came to hear him; and the English directness and common sense of his discourse so won upon them, that a complete revulsion of feeling took place. The Cardinal ended by staying several days, making friends with many of the inhabitants, and dining with the Lieutenant-Governor.[1]

General Sir Arthur Herbert tells the following anecdote of the pleasant impression made by the Cardinal on men of the world:

[1] This incident was related to me by the Rev. Mr. Swift, who accompanied him.

His information on all subjects was truly wonderful. I remember in 1856 his coming to Colchester to give confirmation. I happened to be on the staff there, and my General, a very liberal-minded man, expressed a great desire to make the Cardinal's acquaintance, and asked me if I thought the Cardinal would dine with him. I replied I would inquire, as I knew he was only to remain the night. The Cardinal accepted, and after dinner the General, who was a very well-informed man, began talking about the organisation of the Continental armies (peace had not then been ratified), when, to our astonishment, we found the Cardinal was far better informed on the subject than either of us. Indeed, there was scarce a subject I ever heard brought forward he was not well up in.

We get a glimpse at one of Cardinal Wiseman's occasional appearances in general society in the following letter from the late Sir Emerson Tennent to Mr. John Doyle—brother of 'Dicky' Doyle—an interest being imparted to the occasion by its effect on a presidential election in the United States. The letter was written shortly after the Cardinal's death:

Our first interview [he writes] was at Rome in 1853, but before that time my name was known to him in connexion with my share in the government of Ceylon. Under the constitution of that possession of the Crown, the Roman Catholics, both European and natives, have claims which I did not fail to respect. . . . Under these circumstances, when I met the Cardinal in the winter of the year alluded to, he received me with a degree of kindness that made a very lasting impression.

To the greater portion of my family the occasion was that of a first visit to the Eternal City, and its enjoyment was infinitely enhanced by his judicious suggestions and influential introductions. To him we were indebted for a personal reception by the Pope, and for some kind expressions from his Holiness, which will be ever agreeably remembered.

On our return to London, the pleasant association commenced at Rome was maintained by occasional visits to his Eminence; and these were always enlivened and rendered

memorable, on his part, by discussions on topics connected with literature and the arts, which to me presented the unusual attraction of exhibiting the feeling of a connoisseur, who to perceptions awakened by classical education superadded the emotions developed by long association with the museums and treasures of Italy.

Such were our mutual relations, when, in the autumn of 1854, I had one day a visit from the United States Minister, Mr. Buchanan, who was shortly about to take his farewell of England. When rising to leave, Mr. Buchanan said to me that one object of his calling was to tell me that now, when on the point of leaving London, there was one person whom, of all others, from the period of his arrival, he had been most desirous to know, but who, his experience had shown him, was the very last person he had the remotest chance of meeting in society—and that was Cardinal Wiseman. He added that he had heard the Cardinal was a friend of mine, and that if I could give him an opportunity of making his acquaintance, the obligation would be duly appreciated.

A few days after, I saw the Cardinal, and told him, as I have now told you, the desire expressed by the American Minister to be presented to him. This was met by a ready acceptance on the part of his Eminence of an invitation to dine with us on July 8 following.

And now I must break the narrative by telling you that in the autumn of 1861, I happened to be mentioning the above incidents to a gentleman of political eminence in America, Mr. Thurlow Weed, who was then in England, entrusted with a special mission from the Government of the United States. Mr. Weed listened to the story with more interest than I had anticipated, and stopped me by saying, 'Now pray tell us everything about that party, for it has a peculiar interest for me.' I did so accordingly; I told him that the guests, besides the Cardinal and Monsignor Searle, who came in his suite, consisted of the American Minister and his beautiful niece, Miss Lane; the Dowager Lady Talbot de Malahide, Prince Gholam Mohamed and his grandson, Prince Feroze, of the family of Tippoo Sahib; Lord and Lady Houghton; Mr. Peabody, the American banker; Mr. Stanfield, the Royal Academician; yourself and Miss Doyle, Mr. Mackinnon, Mr. P. Jas. Rye;

and Mr. Johnston, a son of the Right Honourable Sir Alexander Johnston, formerly Chief Justice of Ceylon. Your recollection is correct, that the table surrounded by guests was a very picturesque one, for it is seldom that the turbans and golden embroidery of the East meet at the same board with the sober but more impressive purple of the Cardinal and those in waiting upon him.

I concluded my narrative by telling Mr. Thurlow Weed that, as a social assemblage, no party could be more agreeable; that the Cardinal evinced his wonted vivacity and attractive powers of conversation, and as regarded the American Minister, at whose instance I may say the party was brought together, Cardinal Wiseman gratified the wish he had expressed to make his acquaintance, by devoting to him after dinner a large share of his attention in the drawing-room, and the close of the evening found them in earnest conversation when their carriages were announced. 'Yes,' said Mr. Thurlow Weed, laying his hand emphatically on my arm, '*and that dinner party made Mr. Buchanan President of the United States!*' His election was then about to commence; its success was in a main degree dependent upon the Roman Catholic vote; and Archbishop Hughes of New York, by whom that vote could be influenced, was likely to attend to the suggestions of Cardinal Wiseman; and the result of the Presidential contest attested that the opportunity which you afforded the new candidate of making a favourable impression on the mind of your powerful friend was judiciously and successfully used.'

The giving of public lectures was, however, Wiseman's most regular means of influencing public opinion. At first he confined himself to matters connected with religion, using the church as his lecture-hall. But persons of all denominations came to hear him, and, as time went on, he was asked to speak on artistic and archæological subjects or matters of general interest at the Marylebone Institute, the Society of Arts, and literary institutions at Liverpool and Manchester.

Some contemporary reports of his early appearances as a lecturer are worth preserving, as indications of the state of public feeling with which he had to deal, and which he did so much to change. I may cite as an example his lecture in the Catholic church at Bath, on Sunday evening, May 23, 1852. A clergyman—Mr. Hobart Seymour—had been propagating some stories of Popish nunneries, of the character at that time so general, and Cardinal Wiseman invited Protestants to attend and hear his account of the conventual life.

The 'Bath and Cheltenham Gazette' thus recorded the occasion :

> In the course of Friday placards appeared on the walls of this city, giving notice that 'his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman' would give a lecture, on Sunday evening, at the Roman Catholic Chapel, Pierrepont Street, on the subject of 'Nunneries or Convents.' . . . Independently of the interest excited on the subject in this city by the eloquent lecture lately delivered by the Rev. Hobart Seymour the importance of which, by the way, Cardinal Wiseman's appearance here attests—much curiosity was created to see and hear a prelate who has become famous by the prominent part he has played in the Papal Aggression. . . . The chapel was, therefore, quite filled long before the hour fixed for the lecture, by a Protestant audience. We have given below a long report of the proceedings, on the principle of hearing both sides, and because it is possible that a subject which has excited so much public attention will not be suffered to remain in its present position.

Another local journal (the 'Bath Chronicle') describes the scene—and we may note the naïve surprise of the writer at the 'John Bull' appearance of the astute Romish emissary.

> The admission was by ticket, half-a-crown each ; but not-

withstanding this, such was the anxiety to secure places, that the doors were besieged a full hour before the time announced for the commencement of the lecture, and the pressure to obtain admission was inconveniently great.

His Eminence entered the chapel, preceded and followed by some of the officials of the place, soon after seven o'clock, and took his seat in a chair placed for him in front of the high altar. He is a portly and 'comfortable'-looking man, with little of the appearance or the expression conventionally attributed to the priesthood of his Church ; he is thoroughly English in feature and in accent, with a good deal of curling brown hair descending from his head. He was dressed in the scarlet robes of his office, including a small skull-cap of that colour on the crown of his head, which remains after he removes his many-cornered hat. After a few sentences from the Romish Liturgy had been chanted, the Cardinal advanced a few paces, and commenced—'In the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, Amen.' The exordium of his address he delivered standing : when he addressed himself to the matter of Mr. Seymour's pamphlet, he took his seat in the chair, and remained sitting until the close of his lecture, which occupied nearly two hours and a quarter in the delivery.

This writer, however, remains quite firm in his resolution not to let sight triumph over faith, or to allow specious appearances to lure him into forgetfulness of the true nature of Popery. He writes as follows :

The manner in which Cardinal Wiseman has forced himself upon the notice of the Protestant inhabitants of this city is strikingly characteristic of the Romish Church. To challenge their attention for a secular and semi-political lecture on a Sabbath evening exhibits the arrogance which requires that every thing shall bow to its convenience ; to fix upon a place of worship, and to summon the police, are signs of that timidity which shrinks from discussion ; to levy blackmail upon Protestants for Popish objects because the opportunity offers, is an exemplification of its mischievous rule of 'doing evil that good may come.' The Roman Catholic Church, like the clan of the

Campbells, is 'ever fair and false.' One might have supposed as he listened to Cardinal Wiseman's appeals to humanity, to justice, and to Heaven, that the velvet concealed no claw.' No one would have dreamt that so soft-spoken, mild-mannered, and insinuating a gentleman was the audacious violator not merely of the law, but, what is more, of the political and religious feeling of this realm. No one would have dreamt that the Church which he insinuated was so meek, holy, and long-suffering had kindled the fires of Smithfield, commemorated the horrible massacre of St. Bartholomew, and gloried in the unspeakable atrocities of the Inquisition. . . .

It was a cunning address—its greatest ability consisted in that. . . . It was an appeal *ad misericordiam*—a trap to catch the generosity of men and the sentiment of women, and thereby to stifle reason. To paint a picture of weak and defenceless women charged with ill for doing good—the rude invasion of their homes by men—the violation of the privacy due to modesty—was a sure card in the game which the crafty Cardinal was playing.

The Cardinal had in the next year an opportunity of carrying out his wish to speak publicly on more neutral topics. Lord Beaumont in a speech at Leeds had aroused the 'No Popery' cry, and Wiseman was bent on undoing the false impression he had created. He writes on the subject in 1852 to Canon Walker. A meeting at the Leeds Catholic Institute, open to all comers, was already on the cards ; and his hopes for the future were on a larger and more general scale.

If in a place like Manchester [he writes] not the Catholic, but the great Institute would take it into its head to ask me to go to a soirée, I think I could give a lecture or two original in idea and illustration, and practically bearing upon the objects of the Institute, such as might serve to show that with priests the people's real good is not less at heart than with peers, and that we may say, 'Humani nihil a me alienum puto.'

The following letter, dated January 10, 1853, to the secretary of the Institute, gives Wiseman's views of the nature of the meeting at Leeds :

1st. I have no objection to Protestants being invited ; on the contrary, I should be glad to give the meeting, as far as possible, the character of a *literary* assembly got up by Catholics. Otherwise it will assume the air of a close, party meeting, will be despised, not properly reported, and made as little of as possible. My idea in consenting to attend was this : —Let us show Protestants that we can give the public as good an intellectual treat as they can, and prove as great an interest in the improvement of the people as they display. Now for this we should court their attendance as freely as possible, and show that we are willing and not afraid to have them to listen to us. Moreover it has been the fashion to invite noblemen to make speeches, and give lectures on those occasions, and I do not think what they have done or said so far is such as to make us afraid of similarly addressing the people. . . . Lord Beaumont indulged in an atrocious calumny or two about the Church in his speech.

These were the considerations which mainly induced me to accept the invitation to what otherwise might have been out of my way, presiding at a purely literary meeting. And as such I shall be glad to have it considered—as such a meeting given by the Catholics of Leeds to their fellow-citizens. Of course we shall have a strong body of Catholic aristocracy present, to give weight and importance to the occasion, but still more to show the interest which Catholics take in such things.

2nd. I have consequently understood that the burthen of the evening must fall on myself, and that the object of the meeting would principally be to enable me to address the people out of church on purely scientific or literary subjects, such as would give information and recreation. In this manner the object described in No. 1 will be accomplished, the work of showing that the Catholic Church does not fear science and does not discourage it.

I should, of course, be sorry to engross the time and attention of the meeting ; but if I have to speak I fear I must claim a sufficient freedom not to feel that I am keeping others,

perhaps better qualified, from delivering what they have prepared. This may be the case if a great number of persons are engaged to address the assembly.

3rd. On the other hand we must avoid mere crude and unprepared speeches, offhand talk, and slipshod eloquence, which will suit a tea party, but not such an assembly as I should wish this to be. Yet the chance is, that if you invite a multitude to speak, many will take their chance of what comes uppermost at the time, or may be suggested by what they hear. I beg you, therefore, to consider well whom you engage to *speak*; let them not be mere platform or hustings orators, but persons of some attainment, of reputation if possible, and of pleasing address.

The meeting fulfilled his expectations; and less than two years later his growing popularity with the general public was shown, as I have already indicated, in the invitations he received from undenominational literary and scientific institutes to address them. One of his strongest wishes had been to restore Catholics to their place in the national life and their influence on public opinion. He responded with alacrity to the requests which now came that he would speak publicly on matters of general interest. On August 19, 1854, by the invitation of the Council of the Society of Arts, he delivered in St. Martin's Hall the first of a series of lectures on the 'Home Education of the Poor,' in which he urged that great care should be taken not to corrupt the minds of the young by miscellaneous and dangerous reading. The 'Times' devoted a column to the occasion, and its words mark, at once, the general interest in the Cardinal, and the remains of the suspiciousness which had been rampant in 1850. 'Of course the theatre was crowded to excess,' says the writer,

'more so even than it was when Dr. Whewell read his paper on "Material Aids to Education." The audience repeatedly applauded his Eminence, whose graceful eloquence at least deserved that compliment. It may, however, be doubted whether the subtle argument which he presented to them concealed under his flowery language, merited the same compliment. . . . It amounted to an artful and covert attack on the liberty of the Press.'[1]

Wiseman henceforth spoke frequently on various subjects. He lectured on the Crimean war, on the latest Roman excavations, on the 'Perception of Natural Beauty in Ancients and Moderns.' In May and June 1857 he gave a series of lectures at the Marylebone Literary Institution on 'The best Mode of Collecting and Arranging a National Gallery of Paintings.' And ultimately the Royal Institution invited him to lecture at Albemarle Street.

One who remembers some of the Cardinal's addresses supplies me with the following particulars as to his manner and presence :

Cardinal Wiseman's public speaking had two special characteristics ; he appeared to be full of his subject, and he was in close sympathy with his audience, and had the art of winning their sympathy. Both his voice and his manner were sympathetic. His presence was extremely impressive, but very different from the no less impressive presence of his successor, Cardinal Manning. I should say that Manning suggested the ascetic Apostle, whose words and thoughts were in a region above the hearer ; while Wiseman's presence was that of the great prelate or Prince of the Church, and his discourse, though less highly finished than Manning's, showed greater eagerness on his part to enter into the minds and tastes of his hearers and persuade

[1] See *Times*, August 21, 1854.

them. A certain *bonhomie* accompanied the dignity of his manner, which was absent in Cardinal Manning's case. His discourses were remarkable for abundance of poetic imagery. At his best he was very fluent and brilliant, but at times illness diminished his readiness, and his delivery appeared somewhat laboured.

The contrast was emphasised in the sermons of the two Cardinals. Both displayed imagination in their sermons ; but Manning's was the imagination of the prophet or seer, Wiseman's of the Christian poet. Many of us remember passages in Cardinal Manning's discourses in which he appeared almost to *see* the City of God, or the Great White Throne, or the angel guards with flaming swords, and his audience listened as to one who saw what they did not see. Wiseman, on the contrary—so the witness already cited testifies —would help you by his imagery to see as he did :

I recall, in a sermon preached in Cowes in 1858, his explaining how the grace of God in the soul intensified its beauties and revealed its sins and deformities. And he brought this home to his hearers by comparing it to the sunlight flooding a great Gothic cathedral, showing the glory of its arches, statues, and stained windows, and revealing, too, each nook or cranny where dust might have accumulated, or where dirt might have previously lain unnoticed. He made us feel as though we saw the great nave at Amiens or Bayeux filled with the radiance of the midday sun.

In 1852, when the acutest phase of social persecution began to diminish, Wiseman had to face the fact that the great measure of 1850 entailed the founding of an ecclesiastical polity in England.

A Church independent of lay control—its priests no longer normally the chaplains of the squire—had to have its constitution accurately defined. Their

due functions had to be assigned to Bishops, Cathedral Chapters, monastic orders, secular clergy. And in the legislation which ensued matters of ecclesiastical discipline came to the front, the adjustment of which proved in the end extremely trying to Wiseman. The restoration of the Hierarchy had, as we remember, been originally conceived as a national and anti-Roman measure. Ordinary Bishops were to replace the Pope's Vicars Apostolic, and constitutional self-government was to be the order of the day.[1] The rulers were to be elected by the local clergy ; the constitution of the Church in England was to be determined by National Synods. On the other hand, Cardinal Wiseman, closely associated as he had been with the new Ultramontanism, and with its centralising policy, eager also to carry out many plans which needed a free hand for himself, was by no means inclined either materially to limit the influence of Rome, or to fetter his new power by constitutional restraints. Had the restoration of the Hierarchy implied that the Church was restored to its normal condition before the Reformation, the aspirations of the section of the clergy whose sympathies were national would have been to a greater extent fulfilled. But they were gradually brought to understand that England was still a missionary country,

[1] Even as recently as 1840 the secular clergy had drafted a petition to Rome deprecating the delay in restoring the Hierarchy, asking for a voice in the appointment of their pastors, who had hitherto been named by the Pope, and praying that candidates for the Episcopate should be limited to the secular clergy, regulars being ineligible. See *Declaration of Secular Priests of the London District* (London : G. Taylor, 7 Little James Street, 1860), pp. 6, 8, 9.

under 'Propaganda,' the Congregation in Rome which controlled the administration of all bodies of Catholics settled in non-Catholic countries. Provincial Synods were indeed established, but the Bishops were supreme; and for a time the Cardinal himself was almost the absolute ruler of the synodical proceedings. The inalienable rights of parish priests, which in a country like France are so serious a check on episcopal absolutism, could not exist in England, where there were no parishes, but only, as in any other country separated from the Roman obedience, 'missions.' Chapters were allowed to submit three names to the Holy See for a vacant see, but the names were often set aside by the Episcopate, and sometimes by the Pope himself. In the end it was found that while to some extent the opportunities for Roman interference had diminished, the gain of influence was not to the clergy as a body, but to the Episcopal Bench. The Presidents of the Colleges, formerly supreme over their domain, were now not much more than the delegates of the Bishops.

Wiseman, in the early years of the adjustment of claims, was to some extent for greater limitations to episcopal authority, and for more constitutional methods than he came later on, under the influence of Dr. Manning, to favour.[1] But from the beginning various questions arose between himself and his brother Bishops in the matter of their respective rights, notably in the direction of the Colleges. Students belonging to various dioceses were neces-

[1] So at least I gather from his letters to Mr. Walker of Scarborough. (This Mr. Walker was not Newman's friend, Walker of Brasenose.)

sarily educated at the same college, as the number of dioceses far exceeded that of the Colleges. Thus it became a delicate matter to adjust the rights of the Bishop in whose diocese a college was situated, and of the other Bishops whose subjects largely contributed to its support. Moreover Wiseman received powers as Apostolic Visitor over Ushaw, which was out of his diocese, and included among its students none of his own immediate Diocesans.

There was evidently a feeling among some of the Bishops that Wiseman was too autocratic ; and in 1853 a movement appears to have been set on foot by them for treating with the Government through some other intermediary—on matters connected with Catholic soldiers and sailors—on the plea that Wiseman's position made it embarrassing for the Government to deal with him on such subjects.

Another matter which divided the clergy was the introduction of the religious orders. Such men as Dr. North of Greenwich, Dr. Rock, Mr. Tierney, disliked both Roman interference and the importation of the regulars, whom, from their long disappearance from England, they appear to have regarded as something like foreign intruders. Wiseman's predecessor, Dr. Griffiths, had strongly opposed the introduction of the Jesuits at Farm Street. Here, again, Wiseman was in marked opposition to the 'national' party ; and the converts, to whom the monastic life had ever been an inspiring ideal, were entirely with the Cardinal. The feeling between convert and old Catholic was fanned into flame by such divergences, all the more because the converts were said to be

'taken up' by the Cardinal, and advanced by him to place and power. The Cardinal appointed Mr. W. G. Ward, layman though he was, to teach theology at St. Edmund's, where the clergy of both Westminster and Southwark were trained: his influence helped to secure Newman's appointment as Rector of the University of Dublin: the London Oratory, under Faber, was known to have his special sympathy and support: he was urging Manning to leave Rome for England, in order to found a congregation of secular priests who were to be, in a special sense, the Cardinal's own followers: an Oxford convert, Frederick Oakeley, was made a canon of Westminster: Monsignor George Talbot—another convert—had become, through Wiseman's influence, the confidant of the Pope, and his adviser on matters ecclesiastical in England. The prejudices of *laudatores temporis acti* were aroused, combined perhaps with some natural jealousy at the advancement of those who had laboured for one hour, over those who had borne the heat and burdens of the day.

Thus it came to pass that after the excitement of the 'No Popery' agitation had passed away, the Cardinal found his policy once more the object of considerable opposition among Catholics of the old school, especially in his own diocese. Before the first Provincial Synod had met in 1852, and it had been made clear that parochial rights were not conceded, some of the old clergy appear to have adopted an attitude of independence and even opposition to the Cardinal, which was very trying. His health also was greatly impaired during the year 1851.

The devotion of the younger priests and of the converts to the man whom they regarded as their leader, was his chief support. Father Faber writes to him early in 1852 as follows:

We have all been deeply grieved at the Oratory to hear of your Eminence being so unwell, and, as in duty bound, we have done what we could by our poor prayers. I was in hopes I should ere this have sent your Eminence a copy of a reply to Meyrick's [?] pamphlet, which I have prefixed to the last volume of the 'Lives of the Saints.' Richardson was to have sent me some done up separately, but has disappointed me. I mention this because I have ventured to take your Eminence's name in vain, and to say something of the feelings of your Filippini towards you. I wish I could have said it better; for your Eminence's illness made us feel it all more strongly. We hear so many rumours of odd things about parochial rights *καὶ τὰ λοιπὰ*, that at the risk of seeming impertinent I wish much to tell your Eminence how deeply we sympathise with the suffering which unruliness may cause you. After being badgered and baited from Parliament down to press for a whole London season, without having been betrayed into one bitter word, or one unamiable gesture, or one movement of impatience, and when all this called out more affectionate admiration than your Eminence's modesty would allow me to say, I cannot express the disgust and personal annoyance which all our Fathers here have felt at hearing of the repose which some of your own flock had provided for you, and we naturally coupled it with your Eminence's illness. Pray pardon, my dear Lord Cardinal, what I have said. We Oratorians, you know, are not given *frequentare curiam vel adulari prælatos*; but, as our dear Padre[1] says in the title-page of his last lectures, *Tempus tacendi et tempus loquendi.*

Some of the matters in which Wiseman's policy was assailed, came before the first Provincial Synod, held in 1852, from the 6th to the 17th of July at St. Mary's College, Oscott. But in this, the first attempt

[1] J. H. Newman.

at ecclesiastical legislation for English Catholics under the new Hierarchy, so much time was occupied with mere elementary questions that the difficulties of the situation were not realised. The episcopal jurisdiction over the Colleges was not clearly apportioned or defined. The question as to the establishment of parishes was raised, and avowedly postponed, though in terms which seemed to promise that ultimately the canon law would be brought into operation on this subject.[1] The appointment of a certain number of missionary rectors, not removable without some specified offence, was decreed, and it was laid down that a council of five should aid the Bishop in deciding on the offender's guilt; but the mode of procedure was left indeterminate.[2] That the canons of each cathedral should have a voice in the election of a new Bishop to a vacant see was so far decided that they were commissioned to send up three names to the Pope; but the Holy See was left free to set them aside should it please to do so.

The decrees of the Synod were almost entirely written by Wiseman; and the occasion lived ever in his mind as a memorable one. Still under the shadow of persecution, the rulers of the English Catholics assembled at Oscott—so full of memories for him—and once more carried out the full legislative ceremonial of the Church, disused since the Reformation. At the opening of the second session on July 13,

[1] It was postponed 'donec Deo favente ecclesiasticæ communes regulæ plenissime observari valeant' (see *Decreta Conc. Prov. Westm. I.* p. 59).

[2] See *Acts of the First Provincial Synod*, Appendix, pp. 60–61.

Newman preached his sermon on the Second Spring. As the Mass of the Holy Spirit was celebrated, with the music and liturgy of the best Oscott traditions, to ask for light in the deliberations of the first Synod of the new Hierarchy—the church largely filled with the children of the Oxford Movement, Manning, Oakeley, Faber, and others, the great Oxford leader himself speaking in his accents of unrivalled sweetness to the descendants of the English martyrs—all Wiseman's dreams appeared to be fulfilled. The Cardinal's tears fell fast, so Bishop Ullathorne has told us, while Newman sketched the picture of the glories of the ancient Catholic Church of England ; of its death ; of the second life which was beginning.

The sermon was itself memorable. The preacher began by contrasting the material world as a whole, which ever lives on, while its parts die and are replaced, with man and the works of man, which have their seasons of birth, maturity, decay and death. The world is 'like an image on the waters, which is ever the same though the waters ever flow. Change upon change—yet one change cries out to another, like the alternate Seraphim, in praise and in glory of their Maker. The sun sinks to rise again. . . . Spring passes into summer, and through summer and autumn into winter, only the more surely, by its own ultimate return, to triumph over that grave towards which it resolutely hastened from its first hour.' It is otherwise with man, whose youth is full of promise, whose decay and death are sure and final. 'That which ought to come to nought endures ; that which promises a future disappoints and is no more. The

same sun shines in heaven from first to last, and the blue firmament, the everlasting mountains, reflect his rays. But where is there upon earth the champion, the hero, the lawgiver, the body politic, the sovereign-race, which was great three hundred years ago, and is great now?' The Church, like God's universe, lives with an everlasting life. While the polities of man age and decay, the Church renews its life after it had been to all appearance dead, passes from winter back again to spring.

He described the English Roman Catholics as he remembered them in his youth, 'not a sect, not even an interest . . . . but a mere handful of individuals,' like the Christians at the dawn of Christianity, a '*gens lucifuga* . . . . found in corners, and alleys, and cellars, and the house-tops, or in the recesses of the country, cut off from the populous world around them, and dimly seen . . . . as ghosts flitting to and fro by the high Protestants, the lords of the earth.' Romish beliefs were so admittedly preposterous that 'our very idiocy or secret unbelief' was urged as a 'plea for mercy.'

Then he sketched the change, in all its startling suddenness, to what is familiar to our own generation. He imagined Bishop Milner—whose memory was dear to Oscott—to have seen the Synod in a vision. He depicted his wonder, his thankfulness. He claimed the restoration of the English Catholic Church as an instalment of the reward earned by the constancy of More, Fisher, Campion, and their fellows.

Still, the outcry of 1850 was a reminder that no

season of unmixed prosperity is to be looked for. Not boastfulness, but the thankfulness which inspires new strength to work, was the moral to be drawn from the revival of English Catholicism. He prophesied no unmeasured success for the Church in England but urged his hearers to be prepared for struggles and persecution, joyful only in having been reminded of the undiminished vitality of the Church. And it was with solemn words to this effect that he took leave of his hearers:

A second temple rises on the ruins of the old [he said]. Canterbury has gone its way, and York is gone, and Durham is gone, and Winchester is gone. It was sore to part with them. We clung to the vision of past greatness, and would not believe it could come to nought; but the Church in England has died, and the Church lives again. Westminster and Nottingham, Beverley and Hexham, Northampton and Shrewsbury, if the world lasts, shall be names as musical to the ear, as stirring to the heart, as the glories we have lost; and saints shall rise out of them, if God so will, and doctors once again shall give the law to Israel, and preachers call to penance and to justice, as at the beginning.

Yes, my fathers and brothers, and if it be God's blessed will, not saints alone, not doctors only, not preachers only, shall be ours—but martyrs, too, shall re-consecrate the soil to God. . . . Something, for what we know, remains to be undergone to complete the necessary sacrifice. May God forbid it for this poor nation's sake! But still could we be surprised, my fathers and my brothers, if the winter even now should not yet be quite over? Have we any right to take it strange if, in this English land, the spring-time of the Church should turn out to be an English spring: an uncertain, anxious time of hope and fear, of joy and suffering, of bright promise and budding hopes yet withal of keen blasts, and cold showers, and sudden storms?

One thing alone I know, that according to our need so will be our strength. One thing I am sure of, that the more the

enemy rages against us, so much the more will the saints in Heaven plead for us ; the more fearful are our trials from the world, the more present to us will be our mother Mary, and our good patrons and angel guardians ; the more malicious are the devices of men against us, the louder cry of supplication will ascend from the bosom of the whole Church to God for us. We shall not be left orphans ; we shall have within us the strength of the Paraclete promised to the Church and to every member of it.

My fathers and brothers in the priesthood, I speak from my heart when I declare my conviction, that there is not one among you here present but if God so willed would readily become a martyr for His sake. I do not say you would wish it ; I do not say that the natural will would not pray that the chalice might pass away ; I do not speak of what you can do by any strength of yours ; but in the strength of God, in the grace of the Spirit, in the armour of justice, by the consolations and peace of the Church, by the blessing of the Apostles Peter and Paul, and in the name of Christ, you would do what nature cannot do. By the intercession of the Saints on high, by the penances and good works, and the prayers of the people of God on earth, you would be forcibly borne up as upon the waves of the mighty deep, and carried on out of yourselves by the fulness of grace, whether nature wished it or no. I do not mean violently, or with unseemly struggle, but calmly, gracefully, sweetly, joyously, you would mount up and ride forth to the battle, as on the rush of angels' wings, as your fathers did before you, and gained the prize. You who day by day offer up the Immaculate Lamb of God, you who hold in your hands the Incarnate Word under the visible tokens which He has ordained, you who again and again drain the chalice of the Great Victim, who is to make you fear? What is to startle you? What to seduce you? Who is to stop you, whether you are to suffer or to do, whether to lay the foundations of the Church in tears, or to put the crown upon the work in jubilation? . . .

Newman was overwhelmed by the display of the strong feelings he had evoked by his sermon, and was rescued by Henry Edward Manning—then a convert of but one year's standing—from the greet-

ings of enthusiasm with which he was received after the Mass was over.

But when the decrees of the Synod were discussed, discontent remained with some of the priests of the old school. When the news of the approaching constitution of the Hierarchy had come, a petition had been sent to the Holy See, signed by Mr. Tierney, Dr. Rock, and others, dwelling prominently on their wish that parish priests should be appointed, not removable at the Bishop's will; and asking that the election of a Bishop should rest with the priests of each diocese. Little satisfied with the half-measures of the Synod in these matters, they now urged Rome to go further. Propaganda consented, in 1853, to a more precise definition of the procedure, whereby the Missionary Rector was to be tried, before the Bishop could remove him; and a decree on this subject was published by Cardinal Fransoni on August 4, 1853. This did not, however, satisfy the constitutionalists. They wanted the parochial system whole and entire, and viewed with disfavour the extent of Wiseman's influence in England and the direction in which it was exercised. Complaints reached Rome against Wiseman's trust of the converts, his arbitrary exercise of power, his innovations, his indiscretion in coming too prominently before the public and arousing Protestant hostility.[1]

The Cardinal felt that his own influence was the only possible means of driving the heterogeneous team which now formed the ranks of the English

[1] Some of these charges are referred to by Wiseman in the letter printed below, at p. 116.

Catholic body, and bringing about unity of action. It had indeed been recruited from curiously various sources. There was the small remnant of the ancient school, which had been more or less Gallican in the beginning of the century—some, like Mr. Wilds of Warwick Street, educated at old Douay before the Revolution;[1] there were the strenuous Ultramontanes of the Milner type—old Catholics, indeed, and conservative, but devoted to the Holy See. Of such there were many at Ushaw. There were the converts of early days, like Mr. Phillipps, who fraternised with the Anglicans and dreamt of reunion. There were the converts of the Oxford Movement, some, like Faber, importers of Roman devotions and customs to an extent which Wiseman himself, Roman though he was, thought excessive. There was the more simply intellectual school of Oxford converts—later on represented by Mr. Oxenham and Mr. Simpson of the 'Rambler'—who criticised

[1] Mr. William Wilds, who died in 1854, being then mission priest and chaplain to the Bavarian Embassy chapel at Warwick Street, was an interesting link between the days of the penal laws and the newly constituted Church of 1850. He was born in 1768, and when the French Revolution broke out was a Professor at Douay. He was imprisoned under the Terror for two years, from 1793 to 1795, in which latter year he went to England on his release, and became Professor at St. Edmund's College, Old Hall—the successor of Douay College in the South of England. He held this post until 1801, when he was appointed to Warwick Street. His boyhood was thus passed in the days of the worst penal laws, when Challoner was Vicar Apostolic of the London District; and he lived to see the position of English Catholics very much what it is at present. He was a priest at the same time as Mr. Lawson, S.J., whose uncle remembered Henry Jenkins; and at the same time as some of the clergy of the Westminster diocese now living.

old Catholic culture, and started daring speculations of their own. There were the various Orders of the regulars and the congregations of secular priests—the Jesuits, Dominicans, Passionists, Redemptorists, Oratorians, Rosminians (or Fathers of Charity). Each Order had its own followers who hoped that their own special institution would prove the salvation of England.

Wiseman's great aim was to get all these groups of men to work together, each in its own way, but with full respect for their neighbours. In his correspondence with the conductors of the 'Dublin Review' he protested against any form of party spirit, and resolutely resisted any attempts of publishers or contributors in that direction. 'It is a covert attack,' he writes to his co-editor, Dr. Russell, of an article in 1851, 'on the Passionists and Oratorians, and makes the Rosminians the only real English missionaries. To all that part I object, and beg it may be cut out.' The Cardinal's resolute determination to secure moderation all round by his own influence at first aroused opposition from each party which failed to secure him as a party man. It was the proverbial case of interfering in differences. But, ultimately, to a large extent he succeeded.

He betook himself to Rome in the autumn of 1853, to explain the state of affairs.

A summer of prostrate health preceded his journey, and he started in October.

A visit very congenial to his tastes was paid *en route* to Rome. The Bishop of Amiens, the well-known Monsignor de Salinis, Wiseman's intimate

friend, was about to receive into his Cathedral with much ceremony some relics of St. Theodosia, sent to him from Rome. The occasion was a great one. The Emperor and Empress promised their presence. Twenty-five or thirty Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops from various countries were to be present. The Empress had expressed strongly her wish to know Wiseman, and he was invited to preach on the occasion. The Bishop wrote to him as follows on October 3:

Je compte sur vingt-cinq à trente cardinaux, archevêques et évêques. Nous aurons, je crois, une des manifestations religieuses les plus importantes que l'on aura vues depuis longtemps. Notre Empereur et notre Impératrice m'ont annoncé l'intention d'assister à notre cérémonie ; d'après la manière que cette intention fut exprimée je ne puis pas douter qu'elle ne fût sincère, sérieuse . . . .

Vous êtes pour beaucoup, Eminence, dans le désir que l'Impératrice en particulier a de se trouver à Amiens ce jour-là. Ce n'est pas un compliment que je vous fais. L'Impératrice m'a parlé de vous à plusieurs reprises dans des termes qui me prouvaient que vous êtes un des hommes qu'elle désire le plus connaître. C'est une princesse d'une grande distinction que notre Impératrice, d'une foi, d'une piété on ne peut pas plus sincère, d'un esprit, d'une grâce, d'une bonté accomplie. Elle s'est chargé spontanément, sans que je lui en eusse fait la demande, des frais qu'occasionne la restauration de la chapelle de notre cathédrale, où doit être déposé le corps de Ste Théodosie. Elle m'a envoyé sur sa cassette une somme de trente mille francs.

The Cardinal left England on October 10 and reached Amiens on the 11th. He preached a French sermon in the Cathedral on the 12th,[1] the feast of the

[1] This was not the first time that Wiseman had preached to a French congregation. On August 22, 1852, he preached at Cambrai, at a Jubilee gathering, in the presence of the Bishops of Cambrai, Soissons, Fréjus, Nevers, Ghent, and Bruges. Three days later he

translation of St. Theodosia, and left for Paris on the 13th, travelling in company with the Bishop of Poitiers. Here he revised the Acts of the Synod with the aid of the Abbé Migne.

On the 19th he left Paris and travelled by Châlons and Lyons, taking boat from Marseilles to Civita Vecchia.

He reached Rome on October 24, and resided during most of the visit at the Palazzo Caserta. In a brief diary, he notes that he saw the Pope and Mgr. Talbot on the 25th, and dined with his Holiness to meet the Grand Duke of Tuscany on the 26th. On the 27th he paid a visit to his beloved Monte Porzio and stayed there all day. Receptions and dinners are chronicled, in the following month, at Mgr. Talbot's, Duke Torlonia's, and the French Ambassador's ; and in December he dined with Prince Massimo and Cardinal Antonelli. Constant attendance at functions in the various churches is recorded. He preached in English, on several occasions, at the church of St. Andrea delle Fratte—at one of the sermons (on the subject of Christian unity) he notes among his audience Thackeray and Lockhart. On December 19 is duly chronicled the Consistory at which Cardinal Pecci (now Leo XIII.) was named Cardinal, and in the evening he attended the new Cardinal's reception. But his time and mind seem to have been greatly occupied—apart from the anxious business which brought him to Rome—with

preached at Amiens at the opening of a Franciscan house ; and on the 26th he delivered an address in the church of St. Nicholas, Boulogne, to 260 French priests in Retreat.

the illness of his two young friends, Edmund Stonor and Edward Howard, afterwards respectively Archbishop and Cardinal.

His anxieties about the affairs of the English province were apparently set at rest at an early stage in his visit.

We gather, from a letter written to Mr. Bagshawe about a fortnight after his arrival, that all promised well, and that the happiness and peace which Rome ever brought to him were not wanting. The letter refers primarily to the endeavours, in which he and Dr. Russell concurred, to secure a definite share for the converts in the conduct of the 'Dublin Review':

Rome: November 4, 1853.

MY DEAR BAGSHAWE,—I have received both your letters, but an ugly sprain in my right wrist has prevented me from writing any letters till now, and I do so even now with some pain.

First, as to the 'Review,' I shall be perfectly satisfied with anything that you and Dr. Russell arrange, provided it does not make me liable pecuniarily for any expense or risk. If Ward and others would undertake it, I shall be equally satisfied, though I fear the publication would change tone and character, and perhaps to such an extent that I could no longer continue to write in it. Still I always look forward to this as an eventual contingency, for many reasons, and therefore it may as well come that way as by other means. I will try to send something for the next No., perhaps by Oakeley . . . .

I have been received here with the most marked kindness from all, and the most paternal condescension and affection from the Holy Father. I have had several long audiences from him, though out of season; he invited me to dine with him, to meet the Grand Duke of Tuscany and his son, immediately after my arrival, and to-day I had the honour of being one of the two Cardinals selected by him to accompany him in state to the Church of St. Charles. I hope that my coming to Rome will prove to be of great use to me in many things which are

not matters for letters. Personally I have already received benefit in health and spirits, for I was losing both fast before I left England. But how different I find things here, and how truly I am at once at home among those who can understand my conduct and know my principles and motives, and do not by rule misjudge me ! With kind remembrances to Mrs. Bagshawe and your family, I am ever

Yours affectionately,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

On one point which had caused the Cardinal anxiety he was reassured in most satisfactory terms. That narrow and old-fashioned men should look upon his zeal as ambition, and his activity as love of power was an old story. But he had been especially pained at hearing in Rome that the Oratorians, whose cause he had championed, had joined in some of the complaints against his policy. He wrote to Father Faber on the subject ; and the following letter, received a little later from Mr. W. G. Ward, was on this head eminently satisfactory :

Feb. 10, 1854.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—I hope you will not think I am officiously intruding into other people's affairs in what I am going to say.

I was at Sydenham yesterday, and Father Faber told me *in the strictest confidence* of a letter he had received from your Eminence, which gave him more pain than any blow he has suffered for a very long time. He did not, of course, show me your letter ; but he told me so much of its contents as to make me fancy I can be of some little use in dispelling misapprehensions.

For he told me that your Eminence spoke of certain unfavourable rumours concerning yourself, which *Oakeley* was able, while in Rome, in great measure to counteract. Now Oakeley, immediately on his return, had a very long and confidential conversation with me, and mentioned in detail these rumours. He further told me who were those who had

originated these rumours, and *mentioned in particular two names.* It is not fair that I should mention to *you* those two names ; but this I say, that if I *did* mention them, you would see that there are *no two men in all Europe* more utterly dissociated from the London Oratory. One is not even a convert ; the other, who *is* a convert, is one towards whom the London Oratorians entertain a special *antipathy*, which is doubtless *returned.* Oakeley told me even in detail the various statements which originated with each of these respectively.

My only excuse for interfering is that, being so sensible of the incalculable blessing of your Eminence's rule in England that your *return* is a constant part of my *prayers*, an object for which I often hear Mass, I am naturally also anxious that you should know your true friends. I believe there is no body of priests in your whole diocese on whose loyalty and affectionate devotion you can more thoroughly rely than the Oratorians. I am further, of course, anxious to do what I can for vindicating so dear a friend of mine as Faber from a most unfounded misapprehension. The only cause I can imagine for the misconception is this : that Faber is a man whose temperament leads him always to express with singular unreserve his feelings at each moment. Persons of this character are especially liable to have individual words quoted, which *as* quoted have with them a meaning which in the context they don't bear, and which, moreover, are really counterbalanced by 10,000 statements in an opposite direction which are *not* quoted.

Trusting that the motive with which I write may plead my excuse for what otherwise might seem intermeddling, and with every best wish for your Eminence's long life to govern us, believe me to remain yours affectionately and obediently in Christ, W. G. WARD.

Father Faber of course hasn't seen this letter, but I told him I thought I should write.

The Cardinal, while in Rome, occupied himself with gaining recognition from the Holy See for those Catholics whose work for the Church he specially valued.

Mr. Charles Langdale was one of these. Mr. Langdale had for years been the acknowledged leader of the English Catholic laity, and was a striking example of a striking type—the hereditary English Catholic, of ancient family, free from all touch of Gallicanism, of great practical capacity, and marked by the Catholic piety and essentially English character, the fusion of which is the best answer to the charge that Roman Catholicism is unsuited to our land. A week after the Cardinal had reached Rome he deputed Mgr. Searle to write the following letter to Canon Walker:

St. Andrea della Valle, Rome: Oct. 31, 1853.

MY DEAR MR. WALKER,—. . . We have been here a week, and the Cardinal is much gratified by the cordial reception he has met with, &c. &c. I write at his request to ask your advice on the following. His Eminence is most anxious to bring Mr. Langdale's worth and merits before the Holy Father, and procure for him some personal approbation of his conduct, and before finally proposing it, the Cardinal would like to know how far and under what shape it would best gratify Mr. Langdale, or rather the Charles Langdale of Catholic associations. Would he like a decoration, or a medal, or would he like some privilege bestowed on his family chapel, &c.? Perhaps the former would be more personal, and so more to the purpose. Have the goodness to ascertain this as quietly as possible and let me know at the earliest possible convenience.

In great haste, truly yours,

J. CANON SEARLE.

The Cardinal also pleaded strongly the cause of the converts, against the complaints of some of the old school. It was about this time that he obtained the degree of Doctor in Philosophy for Mr. Ward —a Papal recognition which secured his position as Theological Professor at St. Edmund's. Pius IX.'s

answer to a Prelate who objected to a married man teaching theology was, 'It is a novel objection to the fitness of a man to do God's work that he has received a sacrament of Holy Church which neither you nor I have received.'

Wiseman also obtained the degree of D.D. for Father Faber, and endeavoured to make such arrangements as were necessary to support Newman's position as Rector of the Catholic University of Ireland. To secure for Newman a satisfactory *status* in his dealings with the Irish Episcopal Bench, the Cardinal endeavoured to obtain for him a titular bishoprick. He believed himself to have succeeded, and wrote of it as assured. How the plan was frustrated I have no means of learning. Newman wrote, full of gratitude, in reply:

Edgbaston: February, 1, 1854.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—Your Eminence's letter arrived yesterday evening, the very *anniversary* of the day of my having to appear in court, and of the sentence from Coleridge. And to-morrow, the Purification, is the sixth anniversary of the establishment of our Congregation, and completes the fifth year of our settlement in Birmingham. As to the Holy Father's most gracious and condescending purpose about me, I should say much of the extreme tenderness towards me shown in it, did not a higher thought occupy me, for it is the act of the Vicar of Christ, and I accept it most humbly as the will and determination of Him whose I am, and who may do with me what He will. Perhaps I ought to remind your Eminence that, to do it, the Holy Father must be pleased to supersede one of St. Philip's provisions in our Rule, which runs: 'Dignitates ullas nemo accipere [debet], nisi Pontifex jubeat.'

As to yourself, I hope, without my saying it, you will understand the deep sense I have of the considerate and attentive kindness you have now, as ever, shown me. I shall only be

too highly honoured by receiving consecration from your Eminence.

I do not know that I have anything to add to the second letter I sent your Eminence about a fortnight ago. I go to Ireland to-night or to-morrow morning. My purpose is to call on different Bishops about the country, and to try to talk them into feeling interest in the University. Now that I am to be recognised as having a position in it, I have no hesitation in doing so at once. I wrote to Dr. Döllinger about six weeks ago, asking him to assist, if only for a time, but I have not had his answer yet.

The reports in England are that your health is much better for the change of scene and work : it was very pleasant to have your own confirmation of them.

Pray convey my hearty congratulations to dear Dr. Manning. I hope he is not so ailing as he was last winter.

Kissing his Holiness's feet, and your Eminence's purple, I am, my dear Lord,

Your affectionate friend and servant in Christ,

JOHN H. NEWMAN,
of the Oratory.

The tale of 'Fabiola'—which in its day enjoyed an almost phenomenal popularity—was begun by Wiseman during this visit to Rome, and it witnesses to the continued elasticity of his mind in spite of the pressure of business. Father Whitty recalls meeting him in the Catacombs, at this time. 'Why do you come here?' he asked; 'surely you know every cemetery by heart.' 'I want to live in imagination with the early Christians, for I am writing a book about them,' was the reply. Some of his work was done in Rome, and some at the country house of the English College, at Monte Porzio, which brought back memories of old days. The following are the concluding sentences of a letter written, not long after his arrival, to Mr. Ward :

Monte Porzio, Rome: Nov. 22, 1853.

I have found myself in many respects much better in body and mind for my journey hither. I have come hither with a young invalid, to give him change of air and myself quiet and leisure to write. And I am writing this at night, in the same room, in the same chair, and at the same table, at the same hour and with the same bright heavens, as I used to fifteen years ago writing articles on Puseyism for the Review, or meditations for the College! It brings back the old world to me of peace and blissfulness which cannot be renewed at this side of the grave. Excuse my getting prosy.

I may here insert the reminiscences of the Cardinal at this time, sent to me by one who afterwards became very intimate with him—Bishop Patterson of Emmaus. His account is prefaced by a prologue describing the writer's first momentary sight of Wiseman twenty years earlier in Rome:

On April 20, 1835 [he writes], I was taken to hear a lecture on Ethnology in the apartment of Cardinal Weld in Palazzo Odescalchi at Rome. The good Cardinal was present, and the lecturer was a tall thin priest, with a stoop and a rather frowning brow and black hair, and gold spectacles. His lecture was very interesting even to a boy of twelve years of age, and I remember some of his topics now after the lapse of sixty-one years. He was Rector of the English College in Via di Monserrato, and his name was Dr. Nicholas Wiseman. At that time the average English Protestant was entirely a prey to the current national tradition, and though my mother was greatly in advance of her generation in large-hearted sympathy for Catholics, provided that they were not English (for that was of course entirely incorrect and reprehensible), yet I think we had some feeling of congratulation when we got safe out of Palazzo Odescalchi. Five years later I had become a learner in that famous school of the 'Oxford Movement' which landed me, after a decade of many struggles and much searching of heart, in the secure haven of the once dreaded Catholic Church, and in 1851, after a year's pondering at Rome, I came to offer myself as a candidate for the ministry to Nicholas Wiseman,

first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster. Whether it was that I had formed to myself an ideal which was not to be realised by mortal man, I know not, but I confess my first impression of the Cardinal was rather a disappointment. My friend the late Henry Doyle, C.B., one of the gifted sons of H. B., of whom the eldest was the most genial of artists, and the best of companions, 'Dicky Doyle' of 'Punch' fame, was a devoted admirer of the Cardinal, and I was perhaps too confident that I should at the first moment share all his feelings of devotion and affection to the great man. As it was, I came away with a feeling which reminded me in some degree of my then not so remote undergraduate days, and the awful visits to the heads of colleges and halls and other Oxford dons of fifty years ago. However, he Cardinal accepted my future services, and advised me to return to Rome for my studies, in which I passed the next four years. Of that time, however, not half had elapsed before the Cardinal came to Rome, and it was during his stay there that I first learnt to understand and to appreciate him as he really was. Two of my friends and fellow-students, the late Cardinal Howard and Monsignor Edmund Stonor, now Archbishop of Trebizond and Canon of St. John Lateran, had both been at St. Mary's College, Oscott, under the Presidency of Bishop Wiseman, and it so chanced that both of them successively fell ill, and the Cardinal, in his affectionate solicitude for them, had them conveyed to his own apartments, and rescued from the discomforts of a Roman ecclesiastical college, which was certainly not the best place for young Englishmen to be laid up in. It was over the sick bed of these disciples of Wiseman (for he kindly took me in also to enable me to help to look after them) that I came to see how completely my first idea of the Cardinal was a wrong one. The truth is that Wiseman, with all his great powers and great position, too, was an extremely sensitive and shy man, and unless I had been, by the force of circumstances, as it were thrown upon him, and had seen him in an intimacy with his former pupils such as their sick rooms in Palazzo Caserta enabled me to observe and appreciate, I suppose I might have continued to think him rather a distant and forbidding personality. As it was, we became immediately, I may say, intimate, with due regard to the difference of age and position between us. His time naturally was

much occupied in the affairs which brought him to Rome; and he was also at that time eagerly engaged in writing that most charming and admirable little book, 'Fabiola: a Tale of the Catacombs,' which was the fruit of his journey to Rome and of his stay there. His mind never seemed at rest, and I think in truth his only mental repose lay, not in the cessation, but in the variety of his occupations. It is right to say, that with all his natural amiability and even youthful *enjouement*, which made his society so delightful to his intimates, Cardinal Wiseman was extremely open to misinterpretation, owing to a want of self-restraint in early training, which made him not sufficiently alive to the effect upon others of his manner. He was wonderfully single-minded, and I think I never knew an educated man who had less power of dissimulating his feelings or playing a part. What he thought and felt came out often with an almost child-like simplicity, and he had no adequate idea of the probable effect which words or looks from one in his position might have on the bystanders.

In his writings, and generally in his expression of his thoughts, there was a completeness which betokened a great power of attention to what he had in hand, and this absorption was apparently at times so complete that he gave no heed to exterior things for the time being, and therefore appeared to casual observers to be wanting in consideration or even in courtesy. Thus, at the time of which I am writing, I remember that a friend of mine, an Oxford fellow-student, and a shy and sensitive man, was much mortified by the Cardinal not appearing to recognise him after several interviews. I therefore thought it well to mention him and to ask the Cardinal to give him a kindly reception, when he came to pay his respects as a future priest in the archdiocese. Unluckily, at the moment when he came (by appointment) to be re-introduced, the Cardinal was writing [a] chapter of 'Fabiola'; the result was that he hardly raised his eyes from his manuscript, and after an embarrassed silence of some minutes, my friend had to retire with (as I afterwards knew) a mental resolve, which he fully carried out, never to approach the great man again.

What he needed was that people who came near him for the first time should have some perception that he himself was shy and often pre-occupied, and that they were to use a certain insis-

tence which is not commonly in place when one has to approach persons of high position. I remember several instances where this peculiarity in the Cardinal's habit of mind issued very unfortunately in the alienation, at least from his intimacy, of persons of real merit and good will. When I came to know him more intimately, which, through his goodness and kindness, was very soon, I often heard him express regret that he saw so little of people who appeared to him unaccountably shy of him, and who, as I afterwards heard from themselves, were under the impression that he did not desire to see them often. Often, when he was quite at his ease among his intimates, the advent of a single person who was comparatively unknown to him would quite chill and check the flow of his conversation, which was as interesting and as utterly unaffected as one could hear anywhere.

It was my good fortune to have had in early life occasion to see and know many interesting people in foreign lands, and thus it was that the Cardinal, whose long residence in Rome had given him a recognised position as an original thinker and writer on language, archæology, science, art, and literature, both in his letters and in his table talk poured out the abundant and varied treasures of his memory and reflections to not inappreciative ears. He wrote letters overflowing with sympathy for all that was good and promising in the Church and in the political order, and with a youthful and buoyant hopefulness rarely to be found in a man of more than fifty. What struck me more and more was that, whereas he was splendidly endowed with natural powers of mind, amounting frequently to genius, nevertheless they were not the predominant elements in his idiosyncrasy. His chief characteristic was a singular largeness of heart which expanded more and more towards everything really great and noble. If sometimes he seemed to act in a way incompatible with this leading characteristic, I am persuaded that he did so, not spontaneously, but in deference to others whom he regarded in his modesty as having a right to sway his decisions in given circumstances.

The Cardinal returned to England in the spring of 1854, having entirely vindicated his policy in Rome. Many matters of detail, however, remained to be

adjusted. The question as to the relations between the bishops and the colleges was not finally settled for another ten years. But all endeavour to secure further parochial rights for the clergy was at an end ; and the confidence of Pius IX. in the Cardinal's general policy appears to have been complete. On his way home he received an invitation, couched in terms of enthusiastic admiration, to visit the 'Cercle Littéraire' at Marseilles, and address its members on some matter of public interest.

He travelled to England by easy stages, all the while continuing his story of the early Christians—'Fabiola.'

In May he received a letter, pleasant from many past associations, from the Abbé Gerbet, the intimate friend of Lamennais and Lacordaire, and their companion at La Chesnaie—an old friend, moreover, of Wiseman's in his Roman days. Gerbet—'le doux Gerbet,' as he is called by Pauline Craven in the 'Récit d'une Sœur'—had been named Bishop of Perpignan. He was to be consecrated at Amiens Cathedral on June 29th, and he wrote praying for Wiseman's presence at the ceremony, and asking him to preach. At the same time the Archæological Society of Picardy was erecting a statue to Peter the Hermit, in a square outside the Cathedral, and the double event was to be celebrated with great splendour.

Gerbet wrote to him as follows :

Amiens : 29 mai, 1854.

EMINENTISSIME PRINCE,—Votre Eminence a eu la bonté de me promettre, ainsi qu'à l'Evêque d'Amiens, qu'elle honorerait

mon sacre de sa présence. Il aura lieu dans la Cathédrale d'Amiens le 29 juin, fête de Saint Pierre. Je viens prier votre Eminence de m'accorder la faveur qu'elle m'a promise, et à laquelle j'attache le plus grand prix.

Votre Eminence mettrait ainsi le comble à ses bontés pour Amiens. Elle y a inauguré un couvent de Saint François, elle y a pris une part éclatante à l'entrée triomphale de Sainte Théodosie. La belle Cathédrale d'Amiens, qui n'a jamais vu de sacre, va en avoir un. Sa joie serait imparfaite si elle n'y retrouvait pas le Cardinal Wiseman. Votre amitié pour l'Evêque d'Amiens, et celle que vous avez bien voulu m'accorder depuis longtemps, sont aussi des titres que votre Eminence permettra d'invoquer.

Je dois lui faire connaître une circonstance qui aura un intérêt particulier pour elle. Dans l'après-midi de la journée du sacre il doit y avoir ici une belle cérémonie, à la fois religieuse et civile : c'est l'inauguration de la statue de Pierre l'hermite, qui, comme votre Eminence le sait, était originaire d'Amiens. Cette inauguration aura lieu avec une grande pompe, sur une place qui touche à la Cathédrale, et l'on rentrera ensuite dans l'Eglise, où une allocution sera prononcée devant un nombreux et brillant auditoire. Le vœu de l'Evêque d'Amiens et de son clergé, des magistrats de la cité et de la ville tout entière, de la Société des Antiquaires de Picardie, qui fait ériger la statue, c'est que votre Eminence veuille bien faire cette allocution. Le sujet est digne de votre éloquence. Les paroles qu'elle ferait entendre dans cette circonstance solennelle, répétées avec empressement par nos journaux, auraient en France et ailleurs un retentissement bien utile à la cause de la religion....

TH. GERBET,
Ev. élu de Perpignan.

I find no record of the Cardinal's presence at Amiens in May; and the trying lawsuit, of which I shall shortly speak, and his subsequent ill-health probably prevented his acceptance of Bishop Gerbet's invitation.

CHAPTER XXI

'FABIOLA'

On the Cardinal's return to England in 1854 he was subjected to an ordeal, which, trying though it was, ultimately issued in a marked advance both in his own influence and in that of Ultramontanism in England. Mr. Boyle, who had been second priest at Islington at Wiseman's accession to the London Vicariate, was a man of the old nationalist and Gallican temper. Amid the reforms made by Wiseman, with a view to arousing religious zeal in the district and restoring the Roman devotions which had fallen into desuetude, he had arranged for a complete change of the *régime* at Islington. The head priest was willing to leave; but Mr. Boyle asserted that Dr. Wiseman had no right to dispossess him. Ultimately he left on receiving compensation for money spent by him (as he alleged) on the mission-house. He published his correspondence with Dr. Wiseman, professing to have been hardly used, but afterwards expressed his regret for this step—refusing, however, to accept employment elsewhere as a priest, although appointments were offered to him both by Wiseman and by another bishop.

Mr. Boyle remained, indeed, aggrieved, in spite of

his partial reconciliation with his Bishop; and some articles appeared at the beginning of 1854 in the French journal, the 'Ami de la Religion,' signed by the Abbé Cognat, and attacking the Cardinal's whole policy as disastrous to the interests of the Church in England. There was evidence to show that the articles were written in part by Mr. Boyle himself. The Islington case was plainly alluded to, and enough of the Gallican tradition remained in France, to make it worth while for the writer to complain that the real reason of Mr. Boyle's dismissal had been his opposition to Ultramontanism. The establishment of the Hierarchy was strongly attacked in the articles. It was insinuated that the measure was due to ambition on the part of Wiseman; that it was part of a movement disastrous to the interests of Catholics in England; that the new titles were used in a spirit of display; that Protestant hostility which had been dying out was being re-awakened; that doctrines and prayers calculated to provoke Protestant prejudices were being introduced; that consequently laws were being enacted by Parliament, disastrous to Catholic interests. Divisions were represented as growing up among Catholics themselves in consequence of the Cardinal's policy: it was implied that the bulk of English Catholics were opposed both to the Hierarchy and to the new Ultramontane system. It was plainly intimated that the best hope for the Church in England was that Wiseman should be got rid of, and the old state of things restored.

Wiseman had too many friends in France for

such an attack to pass unchallenged, and the 'Univers' replied to M. Cognat in a series of articles, in April and May 1854.

Cardinal Wiseman took occasion to write himself to the editor of the 'Univers,' thanking him for his support, and giving his own testimony as to the injustice and inaccuracy of the articles in the 'Ami de la Religion.' His letter was translated by the 'Tablet' and published in its columns. It gives so complete an account of the state of things in England at this time, and had such important consequences, that, in spite of its length, I give it in full[1]:

London: May 15, 1854.

'MY DEAR SIR,—I have read with great satisfaction in the "Univers" your three articles[2] on our present position, and I come forward to thank you most sincerely for having brought out with such justice and accuracy the exaggerations and falsehoods presented to the Catholic public of the Continent in a series of articles which appeared some time ago in the "Ami de la Religion," and which were little worthy of that journal.

'If the expressions which I use are strong, I assure you that they have been chosen with deliberation. Nothing, in fact, is more completely contrary to the truth than the greater part of the views given in those articles on subjects of which the author or the person who has signed them knows nothing. For example, he professes to make known the motives which all at once decided the establishment of the Hierarchy. Now, these motives have never been made public. They were drawn from considerations weighed solely at Rome, and which were treated of under the strictest secrecy. It is needless to say that I took part in those deliberations, and I declare, without the least hesitation, that there is not one word of truth in all

[1] The retranslation was hastily done, preserving French idioms. I have therefore made some verbal alterations in it.

[2] 'The fourth and last article reached me when my letter was nearly finished. See the numbers of the *Univers* of April 24 and 29, and May 7 and 15.'

that the Abbé Cognat advances on this subject on his own responsibility. All the account given by the 'Ami de la Religion' of the motives which have decided the establishment of the Hierarchy is a fiction, a dream, all that can be imagined most opposite to the reality.

'If I am not mistaken (for I have no longer its articles before my eyes) the 'Ami de la Religion' gives as one of the proofs of the Protestant reaction, the law on charitable trusts, and it supposes that this law was framed with the design of oppressing the Catholics. Now the truth is, that this law applies to all the Protestant Dissenters, and to the greater part of the legacies made to the Church of England, as much, and even more, than to us ; for the effect of the law is suspended for two years as regards us, in order to introduce in it special dispositions, more in our favour. The fact is, that for *ten* years past, bills have been presented every year to parliament of which the dispositions would be much worse. I have in my hands a long correspondence which I had on this subject with Propaganda in 1847, in the name of the English Bishops, and, in fine, it is certain that all the interested parties, fatigued with such long delays in an affair which was considered by the Protestants as a measure necessary for them, have urged the adoption of the Bill of 1853.

'As for the persecution of the convents, it is certain that the fact of the increase of religious establishments in the proportion of forty per cent. yearly may explain many things. Up to 1840 there were only fifteen communities of women in England and in Scotland, all of them anciently established on the Continent of Europe, and which had returned to Great Britain at the time of the Great French Revolution. It was about the same year (1840) that the first convent of an *active* Order was established. We have at the present time eighty-four. Was not this enough to excite the attention of our enemies, even had there been no question of the establishment of the Hierarchy? In fact, the attack had commenced long before the organisation of an Ecclesiastical Hierarchy. "Maria Monk," "Six Months in a Convent," and other works had appeared several years before. The trial of Mr. Gathercole for infamous calumnies against the Nuns of Scorton had taken place a good deal earlier still, and Mr. Connelly had begun, before his apostacy, his denunciations

against the convents; all this before 1850, the year which is given as the starting-point of the reaction.

'No one can deny that since the establishment of the Hierarchy the Protestant feeling has been over-excited, and that there has been in it more bitterness and more violence than previously. But could it be otherwise? When was there any great action of the Church accomplished without irritating her enemies wherever they might be? At the epoch of St. Thomas of Canterbury, was the great cause of the liberty and independence of the Church gained without much suffering for the innocent, and without the shedding of his own blood? All his relations and all those who depended on him received the order to quit the kingdom, and engaged themselves by oath to go and find him in his exile. Could the displeasure of sovereigns, the cries of heresy, or the opposition of cold and indifferent Catholics turn aside the great Saint Gregory VII. and so many other Popes from the pursuit of their plans for the extirpation of simony, for the securing of the celibacy of the Clergy, and for liberating themselves from the abuse of the lay investitures? Could we expect a treatment different from that experienced by so many others at the various epochs of the Church?

'It is true, reckoning, as unhappily we did, on the assurances of men calling themselves Liberals, who pretended not to wish to mix themselves up in our affairs, or not to care about our ecclesiastical organisation, we might have expected to be left at peace, or to be treated with indifference. But, if our confidence in that imaginary virtue of Protestantism which they call Liberalism, had not led us astray, we must have foreseen all the extent, all the violence of the tempest which was let loose against the Hierarchy. However, even allowing that we had not thus clearly foreseen what we had to suffer, it would have been impossible for Catholics to have been more united, more resolute, more firm in the manner in which they faced it. With two or three exceptions, not more, the nobility, the Clergy, and the people have been unanimous in the expression of their gratitude towards the Holy See, of their loyalty towards the Crown, and of their attachment to their Bishops. Could the accusation set forth by the "Ami de la Religion," when it

advances that the Catholics found themselves divided, receive a more patent and more complete refutation?

'But, admitting fully the existence of a strong reaction, and even of a persecution, and consequently of individual sufferings, such as the Church has experienced in all ages, is it worthy of a Catholic writer to insist on all this without ever alluding to the other side of the picture, without causing to enter into his calculation the gains of the Church? Is a provincial council, held with the greatest solemnity, and the assemblage of ten or twelve diocesan Synods, nothing? Is the establishment of Chapters, enjoying the privilege of presentation to the Holy See for the nomination of Bishops, a privilege which has already been twice exercised, nothing? Is a quasi-parochial organisation, with irremovability secured to the Priests in possession of what we call "Missionary rectories," except on an investigation before a committee of Priests named in Synod, nothing? Is the establishment of fixed and canonical relations between the Bishops and the Regular Orders nothing? These are assuredly advantages worthy of being signalised as fruits of the establishment of the Hierarchy, and which deserved to be purchased at the cost of some sufferings and of many clamours.

'But what shall we say of the remarkable conversions which have followed this great measure? I leave it to you, my dear Sir, who know this so well, to tell the names of the most illustrious converts since that epoch. It is not for me to establish distinctions; every wandering sheep which is recovered is equally dear to the Shepherd. I will limit myself on this point to two observations. The first is, that the conversions in the middle classes, the most important in England, have been, since the establishment of the Hierarchy, much more numerous than before. The second is, that some of the most distinguished converts of that epoch have assured me that it was precisely this struggle of our feeble Church against all the powers of the State and of society, and the results of this conflict, that led them to the Catholic Church.

'Your remarks relative to the assertion that the Bishops had thrown their titles at the heads of the Protestants are quite correct. I defy M. Cognat, or his English inspirer, to cite one single example in which use has been made of these titles in a

spirit of bravado or ostentation. For my part, I have made use of mine on the occasions when the nature of the document to be signed required it, as I did in circumstances anterior to the promulgation of the law, neither more nor less. Does the Ecclesiastic of the "Ami de la Religion" think that we were bound altogether to suppress our titles in consequence of the law? If so, I am sure that no sincere Catholic agrees with him. But if such is not his idea, and if he wishes merely to say that there has been abuse in the use which we have made of our titles, I challenge him to cite one single instance in support of his proposition. If he cannot do so, then his assertion is nothing more than vague declamation, or something still worse.

'You quote in your article of May 7 a passage of the "Ami de la Religion," which seems to give the key of M. Cognat's production. In it is drawn the portrait of a Priest, "pious and zealous, who had grown grey in the service of the altars, who perhaps had laid the first foundation stone of his church, receiving all at once a notice, conveyed in a simple note, that he had ceased to be Pastor of his flock. He was thanked in the most flattering terms for the services which he had rendered, and at the same time condemned, in his declining years, to languish in the depths of distress. Perhaps he was fortunate enough to find the means of placing himself during the week in some office in the quality of clerk; then, when Sunday came, he would reappear at the altar to celebrate the Holy Mysteries!"

'This last circumstance designates the individual in question in as clear a manner as if his name were given. There is here but one single Priest in that position, that is to say, who is a clerk in an office all the week, and who ascends the altar on Sunday. For my part, I had no need of these details to perceive, from the commencement of M. Cognat's articles, who was the person whose feelings of resentment they were destined to satisfy, and whose were the complaints expressed in the columns of the "Ami de la Religion."

'Did M. Cognat, before making himself the mouthpiece of an isolated Priest in England, who takes it upon himself to speak for all the Clergy and all the Catholics of the country, take the trouble to inform himself of his antecedents, and

to assure himself of his right to assume to himself this representative position? A Priest, "clerk in an office," suggests something so abnormal and so different from the ordinary position of "a pious and zealous Priest," that his position ought, one would think, to have provoked some inquiry before placing entire confidence in him. If a Priest employed in a commercial house in Paris offered himself to give us details on the character of the French Episcopate, I think that, before accepting all that he would say to us, we should find it opportune to ask for some information about him at the Secretariate of his diocese.

'Let us suppose that we look at the information thus given, and that its outcome is that the Priest who presents himself or who is presented to the public as the victim of Episcopal tyranny and oppression, was formerly a member of a religious society from which he was expelled; that he was kindly given occupation in a diocese, but that he was never incorporated in it; that instead of having grown grey in the service of the altars, and of having founded a church, he was only employed for some years, and that it was in the quality of Curate or assistant Priest. Let us suppose that from this inquiry we learn that a great and superb church, built by the Bishop at immense cost, and served by the Priest, was abandoned by the Faithful, and that duty was scarcely performed in its cold and silent space; that its revenue descended every year below its expenses, to such a point that, in spite of large and continual aids from the Bishop, the Church found itself heavily in debt, and on the eve of bankruptcy. Let us further suppose that the Incumbent of this church having given in his resignation (which was accepted), the Bishop saw no hope of restoring or reviving affairs without changing completely its existing state; let us suppose that all amelioration became impossible so long as the Curate retained his functions, and that the Bishop, in the note to which the 'Ami de la Religion' alludes, signified to him the motive of his change, and offered him a position which he thought more in harmony with his character; let us, finally, suppose that the Priest in question refused this offer, and went so far as to deny to the Bishop the power of removing him, pretending that he ought to be named Incumbent, as if that had been a matter of full right. If the

informations taken added that this Priest provoked and encouraged reunions of his parishioners, whom he made to sign petitions to the Bishop for him to be retained, demonstrations which abundant proofs show not to have been spontaneous, but the result of intimidation or of personal influence ; if it were added that it became necessary to fix a day when his faculties were to be withdrawn from him, and when his place was to be filled up ; that he refused to give up to his successor the presbytery, through which was the entrance into the church, the sacristy, and the confessionals, pretending that the late Bishop had given him that house outright, with no rent to pay (which is contrary to the titles of the property) ; that the Priest then advertised furnished apartments to let, and that it was not till after many months, by means of legal prosecutions and considerable expense, that possession could be taken of the presbytery ; that at the same time he published and spread abroad a calumnious pamphlet against his Bishop, making his correspondence figure in it ; that he long refused all retractation or excuse, until the Bishop, then at Rome (in 1850) named a commission of Priests, with the necessary powers, to receive his retractation, made in terms so little explicit that the very friends of this Priest considered that it ought to be rejected ; if we learned that a Bishop in the West of England offered to him to discharge in his diocese Missionary functions—that is, to occupy a position which is equivalent to that of Incumbent—and that he refused this offer to accept, in preference, a place in an office ! let us suppose, as I have said, that this is the result of informations taken at the hands of the Bishop accused of having, by a single note, suddenly sent "a pious and zealous Priest" to earn his bread in an office, what would have to be done ? Who would be responsible if, having obtained these details, the editor of a journal in England were to proceed, on the authority of such a person, to denounce all the Episcopate of France as unjust, violent, imprudent, insensate, and guilty of having betrayed the cause of their Church, arrested its progress, ruined its future prospects ?

. . . . 'But what are we to think if that journalist does not choose to give himself the trouble of obtaining information—a step so reasonable—if he accepts without hesitation the sentiments and the assertions of a discontented Priest—of a Priest placed

in the abnormal situation of a clerk in an office—and if he denounces, without scruple, on *his* authority, the Episcopate of a young and militant Church, by placing himself on the side of its enemies, and by striving to cause it to be believed that all the insults, all the blame, all the persecutions which that Church has had to endure and which it suffers, are due to its Bishops and to the provocations which they address to the good Protestants among whom they live—is the journalist, I say, the less culpable for all the evil which he does, because he has not thought proper to obtain these details, as he ought, before trusting so weighty an interest to the person who has inspired him? Is the character and reputation of a whole Church not worth the guarantee which we would require for interests purely material?

'I confess that after having read the first articles of the "Ami de la Religion," I felt myself tempted to write to the Bishops of France a fraternal letter to supplicate them not to allow our poor country to be robbed of the sympathies, the prayers, and even the alms of their glorious Church, by allowing to be circulated the declamations of a journalist without authority and so badly informed. I wished to beg of them to regard this coalition with our enemies as we on our side should treat any attempt made amongst us to lower the character of their venerable body, whether by insisting that people should produce the authority on which the assertions rest, or by not giving them any sort of credit. And why not do this now? perhaps you will ask me. For a reason which those venerable Prelates will readily understand. It was soon easy to perceive, by the articles in the "Ami de la Religion," that all the question which that journal pretended to treat of reduced itself to a personal affair; and that the blame reflected upon the Bishops of England on the subject of the establishment of the Hierarchy, or of subsequent acts, was directed against only one among them, and this is why it little became him to be the first to defend himself. I have always thought that it is better to leave the defence of one's personal character to a Protector more elevated and more impartial.

'In truth, if M. Cognat's theory is correct, that this tempest was all raised by me, and that consequently they might have

succeeded in calming it by getting rid of my person, I might, with St. Gregory Nazianzen at Constantinople, apply to myself the words of the Prophet. But I think that the New Law has taught us a different mode of action. When a tempest endangered the bark on the Sea of Galilee, the Apostles did not, like the sailors of Jonas, inquire who should be thrown into the sea, and who among them should be sacrificed to appease the waves and the winds in their fury ; but they prayed the Captain and the Pilot of the bark to calm the tempest, or to guide the vessel safe and sound through the danger. This example appeared to me to indicate the most Christian and the most Catholic mode of proceeding. It is a new idea to pretend that one ought to appease the enemies of the Church by yielding to their desires, and that if a Bishop is culpable in their eyes, he ought to retire.

'What has been further insinuated? They have given us to understand that we ought not to practise certain devotions which are not to the taste of those separated from the Church. I reply to this accusation by acknowledging myself guilty of having encouraged, and even introduced into my diocese, devotions which are repugnant to Protestant minds. These are especially the devotions to the Holy Eucharist, to the Passion of Our Lord, and to the Blessed Virgin Mary. I have recommended frequent Benedictions and Communions, the Quarant' Ore, the Exposition of the Holy Sacrament, the Way of the Cross, the Confraternity of the Precious Blood, the Three Hours' Agony on Good Friday, the Month of Mary, the Devotion to the Sacred Heart, and to the Immaculate Conception. I have done all I can to encourage these practices, and certainly they are nowhere followed with more devotion, and by a greater crowd, than in the Church which was a desert when it was served by the Priest whom the Abbé Cognat presents as a victim of oppression, but which, under his successors, has become a garden of devotion and of piety.

'M. Cognat preaches us a sermon on the necessity of having more "prudence, moderation," &c. &c. Does he know that during more than six months (in 1850–51) every evening we had before our eyes the spectacle of masquerades which terminated in publicly burning in effigy the Supreme Chief of the Church, Cardinals, Bishops, and even the Blessed Virgin,

and the Crucifix? Does he know that Catholics neither replied to those provocations, nor showed any resentment; that they did not write a single irritating word, that they did not even efface the insulting and blasphemous inscriptions which at that period covered the walls of London? Was not that sweetness, moderation, and prudence enough for the Abbé Cognat and his correspondent? He would not assuredly have wished further to see us applaud these acts of our enemies, in order to show ourselves national to the extent of brutality, and to prove that we have "opinions conformable to the views of the immense majority of the nation"?

'I must conclude. I have been taught from my childhood that the world and the Gospel—that is to say, the Church—are hostile and antagonistic powers; that the latter must, in one way or other, be in conflict with the former. It remained for me to learn for the first time from a French Priest that the duty of the Church is to bow down and to yield, in the hope of conciliating the world to herself. When that supreme authority, the depreciation of whose work is the real aim of this writer, shall pronounce this judgment, I shall be the first to submit myself to it. Till then I beg of my French co-religionists, through you, not to allow themselves to be led astray, in what regards the position, the sentiments, the fears, or the hopes of the Catholics of this country, by the assertions, without warrant and without proof, of a writer, the organ of a discontented Priest, who has not in England the support of twenty persons; for I repeat, with the most conscientious assurance, that all that M. Cognat has written or signed is a tissue of exaggerations, of inaccuracies, of falsehoods, the fruit of a personal resentment and of passion.

'I again ask permission to thank you for all that you yourself have written on this subject, including therein your article which appeared in the 'Univers' of May 15, which I have only just received. You will excuse the length of this letter, which I place entirely at your disposal.

'I am, dear Sir, with the most sincere assurances of consideration, your humble servant in Jesus Christ,

'N. CARDINAL WISEMAN.'

Mr. Boyle was encouraged by the bigotry of the time to sue the Cardinal for libel, on the publication

of this letter. His main ground was the statement in the letter that he had been 'expelled' from the Jesuits, whereas, in point of fact, he had been sent away in the ordinary course, because he felt unequal to taking a vow which was tendered to him.[1] The Cardinal had written his letter in English, but had purposely given this word in French as *renvoyé*; the French translator had strengthened his rhetoric by the word *expulsé*, which in the re-translation in the 'Tablet' was rendered 'expelled.' The pending action was made an opportunity for exhibiting the 'No Popery' feeling of the day. The 'Times' was frequent in allusions to it, and it obtained a notoriety second only, in its particular category, to the Achilli trial.

The Lord Chief Baron, Sir Frederick Pollock, tried the case at Guildford on August 18, 1854. He treated the Cardinal with special courtesy, and showed plainly his opinion that the action was got up for the purpose of annoyance. The Cardinal was advised by his counsel to plead 'not guilty,' as he had not, in point of fact, been responsible for the objectionable word 'expelled.' The publication of the letter at his desire had to be proved. The only proofs produced were notes from memory by another of the English Gallican priests, Mr. Hardinge Ivers, of a letter he professed to have seen from the Cardinal to Abbé Cognat, in which the 'Univers' letter was referred to. The Lord Chief Baron held this to be insufficient and nonsuited the plaintiff.

An appeal was followed by a second trial, in

[1] *Dublin Review*, September 1855, p. 148. Most of the particulars here given are taken from this article.

which judge and jury showed strong feeling against the Cardinal: and a verdict was returned against him for 1,000*l.* damages. The Court of Exchequer set aside the verdict on the ground of excessive damages and improper reception of evidence, and a third trial was set on foot. It was fixed for the Croydon assizes in the summer of 1855. Mr. Boyle, however, now changed his mind and proposed a compromise, which was ultimately arranged.

In spite of the harassing attacks in the press, to which for upwards of a year the Cardinal was subjected, and their depressing effect on his sensitive nature, the net result was greatly in his favour. Even the English public opinion of 1854 was indignant at the excessive damages assessed at the second trial. And the attitude of Mr. Boyle and the English Gallican priests, who were his abettors, helped to destroy what sympathy remained among English Catholics for the opponents of the Hierarchy and of Ultramontanism.

The worry incidental to the case did not interrupt the Cardinal's literary labours, although for a time it seriously affected his health.

He passed some happy weeks at the little town of Filey, by the sea, in the late summer of 1854, immediately after the failure of Mr. Boyle's first lawsuit. His doctors had ordered him to recruit, and he spent much of his time in the pleasant task of finishing 'Fabiola.' During his sojourn he made many friends of all classes,[1] and on his departure the townspeople

[1] It was at Filey that the Cardinal caused so much pleasure by his interest in the news of the recovery by one of the townspeople of a long-lost son. The father was postman of the place, and the Cardinal asked him to luncheon, showing him the keenest sympathy.

flocked to the station in numbers to bid him farewell.

'Fabiola' was finished in September: and he wrote to Mr. Henry Doyle, who was to design the frontispiece, asking also for a plan of the catacomb basilica.

Filey: Sept. 18, 1854.

MY DEAR HENRY,—I have finished my little book, so I hope you are ready with the title. But what is urgent is the plan of the catacomb basilica; for, as I have no copy of it with the letters of reference, I cannot put the account of it in its proper place.

I should, therefore, be much obliged to you if you will send me even a rough sketch by letter, with the letters, as I put them the other day. I shall then have my MS. complete; I do not know where you are, so I direct to your house.

I am much better for the quiet and sea air of this delightful spot.

Yours affectionately in Christ,
N. CARDINAL WISEMAN.

The frontispiece was sent—representing Fabiola's tomb in the Catacombs—and the Cardinal returned it with the following criticisms:

Friday, Oct. 4, 1854.

MY DEAR HENRY,—Better late than never. I return you the sketch, with the following observations.

1. It is much shorter than the page, which is the length of the space between the two lines on the margin of this page.

2. I doubt if the Madonna, as given, is to be found of the three first centuries. It is, I fear, Byzantine; you must look at Peret's book; but I think the instances of great antiquity give the B.V. in profile at one end of the painting, with the Child, and three kings in line also in profile opposite. In one instance, however, I remember there are four kings, two on each side, and therefore the B.V. is in the middle. Look for this, unless you can be satisfied that the Madonna with saints is anterior to the time of Constantine.

3. The inscription should appear on a marble slab let into the rock.

4. The letters of the inscription should be copied from the work, so as to imitate the rude form of the old Christian ones. It is this [he adds the letters of the inscription—*Deposita in pace Fabiola*—as they appear in the published form].

5. The back of the chair is, I think, too high.

6. You might have introduced more symbols, I think—perhaps under the Madonna another picture.

There is plenty of time for *this* drawing—viz. till the end of the book—but the subterranean church will be wanted very soon, so pray get that done, immediately—that is, give it to Burns, to whom I have sent the tracing with the references. The frontispiece I should like to see again.

I write in great haste.

Yours affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

The Cardinal's original design in writing 'Fabiola' is described by him in his preface as follows:

When the plan of the 'Popular Catholic Library' was formed, the author . . . was consulted upon it. He not only approved of the design, but ventured to suggest, among others, a series of tales illustrative of the condition of the Church in different periods of her past existence. One, for instance, might be called 'The Church of the Catacombs'; a second, 'The Church of the Basilicas,' each comprising three hundred years; a third would be on 'The Church of the Cloister'; and then, perhaps, a fourth might be added, called 'The Church of the Schools.'

In proposing this sketch he added—perhaps the reader will find indiscreetly—that he felt half inclined to undertake the first, by way of illustrating the proposed plan. He was taken at his word, and urged strongly to begin the work. After some reflection he consented, but with an understanding that it was not to be an occupation, but only the recreation of leisure hours. With this condition the work was commenced early in this year; and it has been carried on entirely on that principle.

It has, therefore, been written at all sorts of times and in all sorts of places ; early and late, when no duty urged, in scraps and fragments of time, when the body was too fatigued or the mind too worn for heavier occupation ; in the roadside inn, in the halt of travel, in strange houses, in every variety of situation and circumstances—sometimes trying ones. It has thus been composed bit by bit, in portions varying from ten lines to half a dozen pages at most, and generally with few books or resources at hand. But once begun it has proved what it was taken for, a recreation, and often a solace and a sedative ; from the memories it has revived, the associations it has renewed, the scattered and broken remnants of old studies and early readings which it has combined, and by the familiarity which it has cherished with better times and better things than surround us in our age.

Why need the reader be told all this? For two reasons :

First, this method of composition may possibly be reflected in the work ; and he may find it patchy and ill-assorted, or not well connected in its parts. If so, this account will explain the cause.

Secondly, he will thus be led not to expect a treatise, or a learned work even, upon ecclesiastical antiquities. Nothing would have been easier than to cast an air of erudition over this little book, and fill half of each page with notes and references. But this was never the writer's idea. His desire was rather to make his reader familiar with the usages, habits, condition, ideas, feeling, and spirit of the early ages of Christianity. This required a certain acquaintance with places and objects connected with the period, and some familiarity, more habitual than learned, with the records of the time. For instance, such writings as the 'Acts of Primitive Martyrs' should have been frequently read, so as to leave impressions on the author's mind, rather than have been examined scientifically and critically for mere antiquarian purposes. And so such places or monuments as have to be explained should seem to stand before the eye of the describer, from frequently and almost casually seeing them, rather than have to be drawn from books.

The success of 'Fabiola' was immediate. The

first edition was soon exhausted, and Cardinal Wiseman wrote as follows to Mr. Walker :

I hope you will send me your remarks on 'Fabiola'; not because I can make any change for a second edition beyond an occasional verbal correction, for the book is stereotyped (the first edition being of 4,000), but because they may help me in another volume, should I have courage to undertake it. For I am assailed on all sides to undertake 'The Church of the Basilicas.' Its difficulty would, indeed, mainly lie in the condensation of such superabundant materials as the second period presents. However, there is time enough to think, as before the Synod I could not think about it. I am myself astonished not only that 'Fabiola' should have had a popular run, but that it should receive kind approbation from persons of such different textures of mind—*e.g.* Newman and Dr. Errington, old lawyers and young ladies, nuns and Protestants. This encourages me to go on with one volume more; far beyond is out of my depth.

Newman's appreciation of the book is expressed in a letter to the Cardinal, written from Harcourt Street, Dublin, where he was residing in his capacity of Rector of the Catholic University. The Cardinal was just returning from his visit to Rome on occasion of the definition of the Immaculate Conception, of which more shall be said shortly.

6 Harcourt Street, Dublin : Jan 28, 1855.

My dear Lord Cardinal,—I have just been reading 'Fabiola,' and, as your Eminence is just now returning, I cannot help sending you a line, which may be taken, if you are so kind, as a sort of greeting, to thank you for the instruction and interest which have attended my perusal of it.

It is impossible, I think, for anyone to read it without finding himself more or less in the times of which it treats, and drawn in devotion to the great actors who have ennobled them.

I trust we shall have 'The Church of the Basilicas' from the

same pen, for I do not know any other which can do it. And from certain papers of yours in the 'Dublin' it is plain you have the matter so prepared that at any moment it may be carried to your fingers' ends, and poured out upon paper.

This requires no answer. I have nothing new to say of our work here; we are going on very well, and I am quite satisfied. Of course, to do the work well, we must aim at inward improvement rather than any great external manifestations. To commence and fix traditions is our first object, and I am content to be employed on that.

Kissing the purple, I am, my dear Lord,
Your Eminence's affectionate friend and servant in Christ,
JOHN H. NEWMAN,
of the Oratory.

By March, the reputation of the book was becoming general; and its popularity throughout the Catholic world became eventually almost unparalleled. Wiseman writes to a friend on March 4:

Many thanks for your good opinion of 'Fabiola,' the child of my affections. For I have done nothing but deposit, in the little book, the thoughts and feelings which, gathered in early youth at the tombs of martyrs, have never lost their freshness in my mind and heart, though this had been increased by my return again to visit the renovated Catacombs. I find it has won its way beyond all my expectations among Catholics, and it is creeping in among Protestants. God grant it some little fruit

According to the testimony of Mgr. Talbot, 'Fabiola' greatly increased the Cardinal's influence in Rome itself. The Cardinal's pleasure at its success shows itself in the following letter to his friend Mr. Walker:

You would be amused if I were to tell you half the things I hear from the Continent about 'Fabiola.' The King of Prussia's reading it is like Assuerus's tale. He could not sleep one night, and he sent for it, and read it through at once. He spoke to the Archbishop of Cologne about it, and he told me—

not with those details, however. One German Benedictine Abbot has sent me a splendid ring as a token. But the most curious of all is Rome. When it was first announced that I had written 'a romance' there was terrible commotion among my cardinalitial brethren. Now, however, from the Pope downwards I have nothing but thanks and compliments, and all Rome is placarded with it, my name in large type. I consider this a perfect revolution, a great triumph of the 'spirit of the age' or 'progress' over forms and etiquettes.

Translations of 'Fabiola' appeared in Italian, French, Spanish, Portuguese, Hungarian, German, Danish, Polish, Slavonian, and Dutch. There were seven Italian versions, and I find among his papers several requests to translate it into Spanish, and many to render it into French and German. It has been impossible to read all the 'appreciations' which, especially in France and Italy, it drew forth both in public and in private. Some samples must suffice, of letters from persons each in their own way representative.

Herr Herder writes, on November 21, 1855, from Freiburg on the Rhine, the main subject of his letter being the success of 'Fabiola,' although the mention of the venerable Archbishop Hermann recalls too interesting an incident to be omitted.

Trusting to your Eminence's benevolence and encouraged by the reverend Mr. Macmullen, I take to-day the liberty of addressing you these lines, to present you, together with my deepest veneration, the heartfelt thanks which every Catholic owes you for the excellent 'Fabiola,' which is, not only in my opinion, but in that of all who are capable of judging, undoubtedly the best work of this kind extant. It is the general topic of conversation in all Catholic circles as well of Germany as of France, where I have lately travelled. The book is really an event in the true sense of the word, and it is one general wish

among German Catholics that it might please your Eminence to write also 'The Church of the Basilicas,' 'The Church of the Convents,' and 'The Church of the Schools' on the same plan as 'The Church of the Catacombs,' which not only edifies and strengthens the well-disposed, but also instructs, enlivens, and moves the indifferent and even the acatholics (*sic*) We thank God for having inspired you to this work, which is elevated above all praise, and of which one of our most celebrated divines said, 'Had a man done nothing in his life but write such a book, he would be a great man. . . .'

On my leaving Freiburg some weeks ago, his Excellency, the Archbishop Hermann from here desired me to present his best compliments to your Eminence, which I now do, not having had the honour of seeing you in England. This most venerable dignitary, now 83 years old, is, God be praised, very well and as strong and hearty as another man of 50. He is truly a wonder. May God spare his life till the conflict with our Protestant Government be victoriously ended, which he undertook and has carried on hitherto for the rights of the Holy Church with such an extraordinary courage. Since the Holy See made propositions, some months ago, to the Government about the erection of a Concordat nothing has been done. It is said that the Government intends to bring the case before the Parliament, which they know to be entirely devoted to them. The Parliament will, no doubt, reject the Roman propositions, and so the Government, feigning to be actuated by the best intentions, hopes to get rid of these propositions, without losing their popularity.

From Herr Bachem, of Cologne, the Cardinal learnt, nine months later, that the fourth German edition was making its appearance.

Your Eminence will excuse, I hope, that I have not written till now in behalf of the copy of the second edition of your Eminence's 'Lectures on Concordats,'[1] which I have taken the liberty to send you a few weeks ago by means of Count Vandoni. This gentleman showed me a letter of introduction of H.E. Johannes, Cardinal von Geissel, to your Eminence, and

[1] *Vide infra*, p. 136.

I availed myself of the opportunity, not being able for the moment to write, owing to an illness now passed.

Your Eminence's celebrated 'Fabiola'—now at the fourth edition, 5,000 copies, entirely revised . . . with the greatest care, —sells still very well, and will be long in the future a pet work for good Catholics. Among the numerous translations there is now also one printed in the Polnish (*sic*) language, by Quamarski, at Vienna. Even Protestants do acknowledge its merits. Lately it has found a very honourable mention—the original as well as the translation in the 'Blätter für literarische Unterhaltung,' the most considerable Protestant Review, published at Leipzig, though the reviewer betrays a great fear of its consequences for Protestantism. 'Fabiola' gives a very great impulse to German writers to attempt at composing imitations or tales of the same kind. Rev. Mr. Geiger, a young priest at Munich, has written one, entitled 'Lydia : a Tale of the Times of the Emperor Marc Aurèl,' illustrating the state of the Church in Greece at the period. The author has travelled in this land and has not altogether failed in his attempt ; for the book finds a general favour, though in no way to be compared with 'Fabiola.'

It would be verily an event of consequence if your Eminence should finish—or rather begin, I fear—'The Church of the Basiliks' [*sic*]. Your Eminence cannot imagine with what enthusiasm it would be hailed by the German public, and how this sequel to 'Fabiola' is longed for, all this time.

No book of another author, he may be who he will, can equal the success of 'Fabiola.' There may not likely be found an author more worthy to follow your Eminence's fair example than Rev. Dr. Newman ; and his 'Callista' is no doubt a splendid work. But it will never be as popular. . . . Still there are always sold three copies of 'Fabiola' [to] one of 'Callista,' notwithstanding [that] the former is published more than a year before the latter.

From many German Catholics came this request that he would write the promised 'Church of the Basilicas.' A number of persons interested in literature were staying at Heidelberg in October 1855, and a petition, signed by some names of great distinction,

was sent to the Cardinal on the subject. His old friend M. Rio and his wife were the chief promoters. It ran as follows:

Heidelberg: October 10, 1855.

My Lord Cardinal,—.... In the first place I must inform you that your little work 'Fabiola' is most highly appreciated by the Catholics of Germany, and some influential persons on reading this admirable description of the 'Church in the Catacombs' have come to the conclusion that you alone are capable of giving the same life, and colouring, to the two or three other tales in illustration of the different periods of Church history, to which you allude in your preface. I could not, therefore, refuse the aid of my humble pen to lay at the feet of your Eminence the petition of those whose wish (so entirely in accordance with mine) is, that you will continue what you have so happily begun, and not trust to weaker hands the completion of a work so highly calculated to advance the cause of truth, and for which we are all convinced you alone have the learning, knowledge of the localities, and talent requisite for rendering the whole series such as we should wish it to be, in order to produce the deepest impression on the public mind.

The idea of addressing a petition on this subject to your Eminence originated with [Frau] Schlosser, and was eagerly caught at by the many admirers of 'Fabiola' who frequent the Stift Neuberg, and perhaps it would have been better had she herself written to your Eminence, for her name must carry more weight with it than mine can do: but so many years have elapsed since she, and her late husband, met your Eminence in Rome, that she feared you might have forgotten her, though there can be no doubt that the names at least of Mr. and Mrs. Schlosser must be well known to you, and I feel that it is quite unnecessary to inform your Eminence of the position so long held by them in this part of the world, and which has been so nobly continued by the widow since the lamented death of [Herr] Schlosser. It is from her house I write this letter, and, as I shall have quitted Germany for Paris before an answer can arrive, perhaps your Eminence will be good enough to address your reply to [Frau] Schlosser, Stift Neuberg, Heidelberg, and

she will make it known to the persons who have signed this petition, which we all hope you will deign to hear.

With every sentiment of respect,
I remain, my Lord Cardinal,
Your obedient humble servant,
APOLLONIA RIO.

Among the signataries are several German bishops, including the well-known Dr. Ketteler, Bishop of Mayence; Overbeck the painter; Hergenröther the historian, afterwards Cardinal, and at that time Professor of Canon Law and History at the University of Würzburg; Dr. Denzinger, the author of the 'Enchiridion,' and Professor of Theology at Würzburg, as well as the historian of Christian Art himself, and his wife, the writer of the address.

In France the book obtained a still wider popularity. A French Abbé, in asking permission to translate it, bore witness to the good which it was calculated to work among the masses of Frenchmen.

The need of the hour, he said, was so to gratify the thirst for reading which prevailed among the masses of French people, as to attract them and at the same time to raise their moral tone.

Bien des publications ont été faites pour donner satisfaction à ce besoin général, mais un grand nombre a été loin de remplir le but proposé, les unes parce qu'elles n'étaient assez sincèrement chrétiennes; les autres écrites dans cette condition étaient trop simples, trop naïves, et bonnes seulement pour l'enfance. Il n'est pas de directeur de 'Bibliothèque Paroissiale' qui n'appelle de tous ses vœux des livres qui réunissent à la grâce qui séduit et attache la vraie science qui moralise et instruit.

J'étais, comme beaucoup de mes frères dans le sacerdoce, préoccupé de ces pensées, lorsque la Divine Providence me fit toucher sous la main le livre par lequel votre Eminence a

inauguré les travaux de la 'Bibliothèque Populaire.' Il ne m'appartient pas, à moi, d'en faire l'éloge ici. Je l'ai lu avec bonheur, et je ne sais qu'admirer davantage, la charité d'un prince de l'Eglise qui a voulu se faire ainsi l'instituteur et le consolateur des pauvres, ou le talent de l'écrivain qui a su enrichir de tant de frais et charmants détails une œuvre si éloignée des habitudes sérieuses de sa plume.

To the same effect was the testimony of Cardinal Marini. Writing on October 13, to introduce Count Zucchini, of Bologna, to the Cardinal, he adds:

I cannot let this opportunity pass without expressing my great satisfaction at seeing the ever new triumphs which your Eminence by your marked learning and your unwearied zeal prepares for the Catholic Church, not only in your own country but in the whole world. 'Fabiola,' which in Italy has had so many translators, has done an immensity of good. There is no one who has not read it; and whereas formerly your Eminence's name was in some places known only to the learned, henceforth it is passed on to the least Catholic.

Cardinal Donnet, the learned Archbishop of Bordeaux, in the course of a letter of many foolscap sheets, giving his own analysis of the story of 'Fabiola,' writes thus:

Je n'essaierai pas de vous dire tout ce qui m'a intéressé dans votre ouvrage. Il me semble qu'en vous lisant j'ai mieux compris la Rome païenne et la Rome chrétienne, que je croyais avoir tant étudiées. La science des lieux, l'appréciation des mœurs sont telles qu'on croirait que 'Fabiola' a été écrit dans les Catacombes même, par un de ces pieux notaires auxquels les successeurs des Apôtres confiaient la rédaction des annales du christianisme, ou bien qu'il est sortie tout entier des mains du vieillard Marcellinus, ce glorieux pontife dont vous nous tracez un tableau si touchant, à l'occasion d'une ordination, dans le petit Oratoire devenu l'Eglise Saint-Pudentiane.

Signor Castagna in January 1857, in a publica-

tion called the 'Iride,' compared Wiseman's work for Catholic Europe, in influencing public opinion and making religion attractive, to that of Lacordaire. Both so write, he says, as to appeal to unbelievers as well as believers. Wiseman 'appeals to the affections and the heart,' Lacordaire 'to the intelligence and the mind.'

Members of the Roman nobility and of the Sacred College wrote their congratulations to their colleague. Cardinal Fabio Asquini—a representative of the Fabian Gens—writes in May 1856 a letter on the martyrs of his family, referred to in 'Fabiola' as buried at Loreto. The absence of the bodies from Loreto might, he fears, discredit Wiseman's account. It is, therefore, well that he should know that the bodies were removed by Cardinal Asquini himself, with the permission of Gregory XVI.

Cardinal Baluffi congratulates Wiseman on the good work he has done, and considers the Sacred College fortunate in possessing a member who is 'an honour to science, to letters, and to the Episcopate.' Prince Massimo asks, early in 1855, to be allowed to arrange for a translation.

Up to the present day new editions are still appearing in England and on the Continent; and the popularity of the work, though now almost forgotten by the world at large, justified the saying of the Archbishop of Milan, 'You have written a good book with the success of a bad one.'

The 'Fabiola' correspondence was very agreeable to the Cardinal, and his letters of 1855 are—in spite of the annoyance caused by the Boyle case—more

cheerful than those of 1853. He went to Rome in 1854 for the definition of the Immaculate Conception. The occasion was a memorable one, and Wiseman has left an account of its circumstances. It was one of those religious festivals which cannot but remind the world how far modern thought and feeling have drifted, even in their religious enthusiasms, from the Catholic standpoint. There is a close affinity between the feelings displayed on the occasion by the assembled Bishops and the Roman people, and those of the Greeks who wept with joy over the definition that Mary was the *Theotokos*, the Mother of God. There is little relation between the romantic personal devotion of Wiseman and Pope Pius to the Blessed Virgin, their passionate enthusiasm at the new honour done to her, and any religious sentiment characteristic of our own age.

The facts, as related by Wiseman, are as follows. The Pope had, as we have seen, written in 1849 from Gaeta, to ascertain the belief of the Episcopate on the Immaculate Conception and on the expediency of defining it. Six hundred and ten letters from Catholic Bishops came in answer to the Pope's appeal. All expressed belief in the doctrine: only four opposed its definition. Fifty-two doubted its opportuneness. Petitions for the definition—which filled nine volumes—came from all parts of the world.

The definition was fixed for December 8. Wiseman reached Rome on November 4, and found a vast concourse of Cardinals, Archbishops, and Bishops already assembled. 'It was impossible,' he writes, 'to behold many of these prelates without emotion,

many venerable from the long and fruitful services they had rendered to the Church, some revered for their persecution and sufferings . . . which they have heroically endured.' The Bishops met four times under the presidency of Cardinals Brunelli, Caterini, and Santucci, to discuss the proposed Bull. They 'represented' (writes Wiseman) 'fourteen different languages,' yet 'here a common tongue united them.'

At 8 o'clock on the morning of December 8, a brilliant sunshine adding to the beauty of the scene, the great ceremony began. Fifty-one Cardinals and one hundred and fifty-two Bishops attended the procession; and a few, whom age and infirmity prevented from walking, joined the ranks of their colleagues for the High Mass.

The two hundred prelates did homage to the Pontiff before mass began. The Venerable Dean of the Sacred College, Cardinal Macchi, in his 85th year, presented the petition for the definition,[1] accompanied by a Greek and Armenian Bishop and twelve Archbishops of the Western Church. The Pope intoned the hymn to the Holy Ghost, 'Veni Creator Spiritus,' and the choir completed the first verse. Then the rest of the assembly, 'with a voice loud as the sound of many waters,' took up the hymn and 'filled the whole Basilica.'

Next the Pontiff, standing before his throne, read the decree.

[1] Cardinal Macchi, Bishop of Ostia and Velletri, and Legate Apostolic of the town and province of Velletri, was born at Capo di Monte, August 31, 1770, and created a Cardinal in 1826.

He had not, however, proceeded far [Wiseman writes] before tears and sobs interrupted his speech, and it was only by an effort . . . that he could make his words struggle through the tide of his emotions. . . . That flood of tender devotion drew after itself corresponding sentiments from the souls of others, so that scarcely a dry eye was to be seen. . . . The cannon's voice gave the signal of the happy accomplishment of so many fervent desires to the whole city ; and the prolonged peals of gladness from the old towers of basilicas and the belfries of modern churches, represented the acclaim of the earlier and later periods of unchangeable Catholicity.

The Cardinal Dean returned thanks before the throne, and the whole assembly sang the 'Te Deum.'[1]

And somewhat similarly in 431, when the fathers of Ephesus, assembled in the Cathedral of Our Lady, had declared her to be the 'Mother of God,' 'the people of the town received the news with great joy. The city was illuminated in many parts, and the Bishops were escorted home with torches.'

Cardinal Wiseman returned home at the end of January 1855, and, as he landed in England, received a summons to appear at Croydon for the third Boyle trial.

A sermon preached by Wiseman on May 1, 1855, ends with a retrospect of work done for the Catholic cause in England which breathes thankfulness and hope. It was preached at the opening of a new church in Wolverhampton, and he sketched in it the work of the Christian Church from the beginning.

[1] Two days later Wiseman was one of the six Cardinal Archbishops chosen to help the Pope in the consecration of the Basilica of St. Paul's —the new building which replaced the old St. Paul's, the destruction of which by fire in 1823 Wiseman had witnessed in his student days. This account is taken from Cardinal Wiseman's pastoral letter to his clergy on his return home.

His text was from the Canticles, 'Arise, O north wind, and come, O south wind, blow through my garden, and let the aromatical spices thereof flow,' and his theme was how the beauty and power of the Church were added to, at each stage, by the 'north wind' of persecution, and by the 'south wind' of peace. After reviewing some of the landmarks of early Christian history, he passes to our own country, and describes the building up of the stately monuments of Christianity—the cathedrals, parish churches, ancient abbeys—from the days of Augustine, under the 'south wind' of prosperity. And when the 'north wind' of the Reformation dispersed the English Catholics, and the Episcopal Sees, churches, and monasteries were taken from them, instead of the glory of the English Catholic name suffering, it bloomed afresh, throughout Catholic Christendom, in those days of persecution. The English martyrs became the pride of the Universal Church. Valladolid, Douay, St. Omer, Lisbon, Rome, each afforded an asylum where Englishmen who clung to the Ancient Faith were educated, while Ghent, Brussels, and many another town received the religious orders. And the presence of these colleges, convents and monasteries during three centuries reminded their Continental brethren of a glorious history of self-sacrifice. And when, in time, the Revolution another rude blast of persecution—sent the French *émigrés* to our shores, they in turn were received by English Catholics as brothers, and helped to restore in England itself, by their example and by the missions they founded, the honour

of the Catholic name even among its hereditary enemies.

The north wind came with such violence as had visited no country before, not merely carrying away, but with brutal and sacrilegious hand hacking and destroying. Did the glory of England suffer then? Was she less great when the aromatic spices of her garden thus escaped, or did they not fly, borne by that terrible gale, to the furthest ends of the world? Not more beautifully did the mysterious thorn at Glastonbury flourish and flower, in the days of its prosperity, than did the fatal tree upon which Abbot and monks paid their lives to defend their faith. The glory of their martyrdom made our Church more illustrious than had their saintly lives during ages, in the depths of the cloister. Then were scattered abroad holy and learned men whom we justly revere, because they were our fathers — they were carried by the tempest to France, Spain, and Italy, exciting in the hearts of the foreign Churches a general sympathy for our distress and for our sadly afflicted state. Then there were founded from these scattered seeds, borne by the blast from our wasted garden, colleges and religious houses over all the Continent of Europe, that have retained to this day their celebrity, and are considered some of the noblest institutions of God. Blessed indeed was the north wind which, permitted to blow on those countries, has sent us back much of the seed that we had given them. For, in its turn, the storm of unbelief visited those hospitable lands, and dispersed the plants to which they had given soil, and sent back to us the seed from which have sprung our new native institutions of piety and education. Never will that happy union which persecution procured us with other Catholic countries be forgotten, for still its fruits remain.

And then contrasting England itself, as it was early in the century, when the 'Papists' feared to raise their heads, with the England in which once again Catholicism was becoming hopeful and free, in which the faithful dared to rebuild their churches and restore monastic institutions, he recalled the

memory of Bishop Walsh, so long time Vicar Apostolic of the district in which Wiseman was preaching. Bishop Walsh had been made bishop before the Emancipation Act, in the days when the 'north wind' was still blowing hard. He had lived to see the 'south wind' begin in 1845, and now, after the interruption of 1850, the season of peace seemed steadily setting in.

CHAPTER XXII

DIOCESAN AFFAIRS AND THE AUSTRIAN CONCORDAT

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S schemes had been so wide that it was not to be expected that they should be carried out without difficulty. 'If anyone came to him,' says Bishop Butt, 'with a new project, he would invariably bid him go forward, not counting the cost, with God's blessing.' Consequently, as the strongholds of religious influence were multiplied throughout the land —new missions, new colleges, new convents, new monasteries, new poor schools and hospitals—in many cases, heavy financial burdens were imposed on him. Moreover the accomplishment of one object nearest his heart—the establishment of religious orders and congregations—brought at first an unforeseen difficulty. Wiseman's desire, as we have seen, was to revive that primitive spirit of Christian heroism which had been most fully preserved among the monks and the friars, and which, since the Reformation, had also been represented in other lands by the Passionists, Redemptorists, Oratorians, and Jesuits. He counted on the restoration of the religious communities, both to stir up the zeal of his own people, and to show Englishmen in general the genius of the

Ancient Faith. But the transplanting of rules of life designed for Catholic countries—where the parochial clergy are abundant—brought many difficulties. While in each locality, where the orders opened their houses, prejudice was diminished, and many converts were made, the rule of the various communities did not contemplate their members undertaking ordinary missionary work among the poor. Wiseman felt that, in a country like England, such rigidity was unpractical. As early as 1852 he wrote to Father Faber the following letter on the subject :

35 Golden Square : Oct. 27, 1852.

My dear Fr. Faber,—Yesterday the doctor did not wish me to do anything, so I was obliged to send you an uncivil message. To-day I am going to write you a long letter, which is at least as great an evil. But as the Bishop of Southwark has opened the pleadings by reporting to you our conversation—which I assure you was not held for that purpose—I feel it necessary to open my brief and go fully into my case. I think I can do it more clearly in writing than by conversation, and I want you to see exactly how I find myself situated in the matter to which my interview with the Bishop casually led, or rather naturally went, as it was that uppermost in my mind, as indeed it has been for a long time. You will thus be able to judge better in what manner you can best assist me ; for the suggestion *must* come from you, as I think you will see. You must, however, excuse prolixity, and simplicity of speech.

When I first came to London, I saw that the neglected part was the poor, and to that I resolved to give immediate attention. After having consulted some zealous priests, I concluded on the plan of local missions in the midst of them. At the very same time the Rev. Mr. Hodgson proposed a similar plan, and I embraced it. He gave up the best mission in the district, and gave *himself* up to the work. God blessed it, and three permanent missions arose from it, two most flourishing on this side the water, one on the other. But these permanent results could not be everywhere secured, for obvious reasons, as proximity to

the church, want of a place for chapel, poverty, &c. I therefore felt more and more the conviction strengthened that I had from the beginning entertained, that steady, continual and persevering work among the dense sinful masses could only be carried on by religious communities. F. Ferrara's missions have brought this out more and more. He does immense good in a locality ; but the local clergy cannot keep it up ; relaxation ensues, and often the ejected spirit returns with the seven *nequiores se*, and increases the past evils. I therefore spared no pains to secure missionary communities, to help in the work of evangelising the poor ; and now I want you to review the past.

When I came to London there was not a single community of men. There were two Jesuits *en garçon* in a house ; that was all. Now it is different.

1. The Jesuits have a splendid church, a large house, several priests, besides Westminster. Scarcely was I settled in London than I applied to their Superior, to establish here a *community* in due form, of some ten or twelve fathers. I also asked for missionaries to give Retreats to congregations, &c. I was answered on both heads, that dearth of subjects made it impossible. Hence we have under them only a church which by its splendour attracts and absorbs the wealth of two parishes, but maintains no schools, and contributes nothing towards the education of the poor at its very door. I could say much more, but I forbear.

2. The Redemptorists came to London as a missionary Order, and I cheerfully approved of and encouraged their coming. When they were settled down, I spoke to them of my cherished plan of missions to and among the poor. I was told that this was not the purpose of their institute *in towns*, and that 'another Order would be required for what I wanted.' The plea of 'rule' is one which I have all along determined to respect ; and I had no more to say. They have become, so far as London is concerned, a parochial body, taking excellent care of Clapham (having five or six priests and abundant means for it), and they have given two or three missions with varied success in chapels : but no more than they have done in Birmingham or Manchester. They have exerted no local influence ; and though lately they have offered to work among my poor (being no longer in the diocese), something seems to have paralysed their efforts.

3. The Passionists I brought first to England, in consequence of having read what their founder felt for it, and of a promise I made to Father Dominic years before. I got them placed at Aston Hall, and thence they have spread. In consequence it was decreed that the principal house should be in London, when I came to it. I gave them a house ; after a time they migrated to the Hyde, thence into the fields, and now they have come to St. John's Wood. They have never done me a stroke of work among the poor, and if I want a mission from them the local house is of no use, and I must get a person from the Provincial, as if it did not exist.

4. The Marists I brought over for a local purpose, and that they are answering well. I hope for much good from them in Spitalfields, but, at least at present, I dare not ask them about general work.

5. And now, last, I come to the institute of which I almost considered myself a member, San Filippo's Oratory. I have never omitted an opportunity of expressing my thankfulness to God for its establishment here, and for the many graces it has brought with it, in the piety it has diffused, and the many it has converted. But, as a matter of fact, you know that external work, the work I have been sighing for, is beyond its scope. You know how rigidly I have respected 'rule,' how I never thought of forcing a parish on you, how I have refrained from asking co-operation, even a sermon, because I would ask for nothing which I understood to be incompatible with the institute's purpose. At the same time, I have never interposed a bar to anyone, however closely bound to me, joining you, as Dr. Whitty, Butt, Cooke, Gloag, Bagshawe. In fact, two things I have always respected in the case of all Orders, *vocation* and *rule*.

Now look at the position in which I am. Having believed, having preached, having assured Bishops and clergy, that in no great city could the salvation of multitudes be carried out by the limited parochial clergy, but that religious communities alone can, and will, undertake the huge work of converting and preserving the corrupted masses, I have acted on this conviction, I have introduced or greatly encouraged, the establishment of *five* religious congregations in my diocese ; and I am just (for the great work) where I first began ! Not one of them *can* (for it

cannot be want of will) undertake it. It comes within the purpose of none of them to try. Souls are perishing around them, but they are prevented by the rules, given by Saints, from helping to save them—at least in any but a particular and definite way! But what makes it to me more bitter still, from *them* comes often the cry that in London nothing is being done for the poor!

It is clear that the want is not yet remedied; that we have not got what is absolutely necessary; and two reflections come powerfully before me. You will not, I hope, be offended with my plainly stating them.

1. I sometimes ask myself, Is the view taken by religious of their institutes too literal, or is it really according to the full and comprehensive mind of their founders? Would these holy men themselves have rested contented while there was no end of misery and vice to cure, and of good to do, all about them?

For example, the Redemptorists tell me 'These missions among the poor are not according to our rule': that is, probably, have not been foreseen or ordered by it. Certainly not. St. Alphonsus was a country bishop, and therefore 'pauperum præsertim et *ruricolarum* misertus' he instituted his Congregation. Suppose he had been placed where there were cities filled with dens of infamy as deep as any robbers' caves in the Abruzzian fastnesses, and vice as inaccessible to common means of grace as a *castello* on a peak of the Apennines is to human foot, would he have said, 'These not being *ruricolæ*, my disciples must not try to save them'? Or again, you remember the *principle* you once quoted to me, as St. Philip's definition of Oratorian duties: 'that others hunt, but you stay at home and fish.' This is quite right; but sometimes I think, had dear S. Filippo's lot not been cast in happy Rome, the source of faith, the centre of unity, with a copious staff of parochial clergy, with one hundred religious houses, for every work, with many zealous disengaged priests, canons, beneficiaries, &c., but in naughty London, heretical, schismatical, vicious, depraved, ignorant, profane, with priests at the rate of one to five thousand souls, besides heretics, with *no other* provision, where he heard the cry of thousands of souls perishing around him on every side, would his great heart have stood it, and would he not have rushed out into streets and lanes and sought to share with St.

Antoninus the glorious title of *venator animarum* as well as of their fisherman?

Now I repeat that I only speak of the *principle*. In point of fact, you *cannot* do more than you do. You kill yourselves with your present work, and I should be the first to cry out against any attempts on your part to labour more. But suppose the Oratory, by God's blessing, come to count a hundred or even fifty members: would the *principle* be so strong as to overcome zeal and charity, and half a community remain idle at home while the other half sufficed to do the work? I can hardly believe it; yet I see these principles rise up as insuperable bars to our great work. I have seen how well you can turn their flank, and act up to the spirit, beyond the letter. The hospital is one of the Saint's occupations for his [sons]. We have not such a thing, and you wisely substitute the hospital for the soul —the school. You cannot have a house for pilgrims, so you rightly set up a lodging-house for the poor. This is all in the *spirit* of San Filippo. Why may not other works of charity be, which he knew not of?

And now let me be a little selfish, in another illustration of what appears to me a wrong pushing of axioms to uncontemplated extremes. In your last letter but one you excused yourself for not oftener coming to me, because S. Filippo warned his followers against going much into the houses of Bishops, and therefore *a fortiori* of Cardinals. He of course said that, in a place, and at a time, when a Bishop's or Cardinal's household was called a court, the antechambers of which were filled with cavaliers and chamberlains, &c., and files of servants; when such a visit was a visit to a great man, rich, and perhaps immersed in public and secular affairs. But do you think, that if he had ever contemplated a Bishop in a Protestant country, who, whatever his unmerited dignity, can hardly make ends meet; whose whole court consists of one priest; who for his sins, if not for God's Church, is as much howled at, barked at, and scoffed at, as any Bishop has ever been for a long time, and who in the ardour of youth having made a promise to him to introduce him into England, had borne concealed for ten or more years of almost hopelessness this word in his heart, and kept it to the best of his power—good and charitable Philip would have intended to put *him* under the ban, and bid his followers to shun him, while

he made no prohibition whatever against visiting secular noblemen whenever good was to be done? I can hardly believe it.

Yet I dare not say that I am not wrong throughout. Every religious body is the best and proper judge of its aims and its obligations; and I have never contested with any the plea, once made, of incompatibility with these. I wish all to follow out their rules. But they impress me strongly with the want of elasticity and power of adaptation in them. This comes before me in many other ways. I asked a most respected religious to become one of my council; he replied that his rule forbade any of the Order to advise a Bishop. I asked another to be confessor to a convent; he answered that they were forbidden by their rule. And so of other cases. Now could the founders have intended these refusals in a country where the clergy, young, unversed in ascetics, oppressed with work, cannot be as fit to direct religious as religious men, and where there is a dearth of such; or where the Bishop has not three persons whom he can consult on theological questions? I think not; but what makes the case worse is this. Almost every religious community has no end of dispensations, some from fasting and abstinence, some from choir, all from the habit—some have female servants, &c. If you ask them, 'Why all these exemptions?' you are told, 'The circumstances of the country require them.' But who thinks of recurring to the same dispensing power of the Holy See for exemption and liberation from provisions as much intended for different countries as these—from restrictions on the power of doing good in the way that the country requires it?

With most female communities it is the same. Yet some are found, like the Bon Secours of Caen, Mother Margaret of Clifton, and the 'Filles du Cœur de Marie' at Kensington, who *humani nihil a se alienum putant*, and open their arms, in their charitable embrace, as wide as is the range of human misery.

2. Then, if I am wrong in my view of the adaptability of existing Orders to the peculiar spiritual wants of London, what shall I do? Get a distinct Order for every form of work, or go on trying experiments, and being again disappointed? This would be absurd. Turn founder, and institute another Order to undertake all that I want? This would be no less so; I am

neither capable nor worthy of such an attempt, nor could I infuse into others a spirit which I have not myself. What remains, then, but to revive an idea which I formally proposed to Gregory XVI. in 1838, and which he took warmly up, which was chilled and nipped in the bud by some of the Bishops, but which I have since seen gloriously carried out in France ?

The work which is required cannot be fully carried out except by a community. I will explain what it is ; premising that I have been relieved of one heavy burden through the charity of a foreign nobleman who has funded money for supporting four or five priests expressly for supervision of schools, so that I have now four priests exempted from all parochial duties, and exclusively devoted to the care of schools. But I still wish to provide for the following objects : (1) Preaching among the poor, and continuing the care of them where they are congregated together, till permanent missions are established there. The work soon dies out if some constant and persevering effort is not made, *e.g.* by their being visited weekly or so, by new-comers being converted before they corrupt the reformed, and those that leave being traced to other localities, and put under care there. (2) Establishing a class of perseverance for our youths after their first communion and leaving our schools, so as to enrol them and keep them together by various *Industrie* and some pleasing bond of associations. (3) Care of convents and charitable institutions. The *Petites Sœurs* have scarcely any priest going near them, &c. Being confessors to them. (4) Retreats to the clergy, *ordinandi*, religious, &c. (5) Advent and Lenten and May courses of sermons. (6) Missions periodically in congregations.

It is clear that to have these duties carried out, concert and uniformity of plan, so that one person can take up another's work, are necessary, besides prayer and strictness of life. Only in a community can these advantages be secured. Yet, as it appears, they are not compatible with a religious Order, from want of expansive power in this. I am driven to seek for a *quid medium* between the secular and regular state, or, as I described it to Mr. Manning, 'An Oratory with external action,' and I do not think that dear San Filippo will be angry with me for trying to get it. In fact, when I was last year in Normandy, I slept at the house of the '*Missionnaires Diocésains*'

at La Délivrande (of whom the Superior is Père Saulet ; and the other Norwood priests belong to them), and found them to be a body of priests in community, ready to undertake any spiritual work which the Bishop cut out for them : they give the Retreats, at home and in the colleges, for clergy ; those for ladies at the convent ; they will conduct a *petit séminaire* ; they give missions, establish and govern industrial halls for women, and take charge, as at Norwood, of communities. On my recent visit to Cambrai I found every Bishop that I spoke to provided with such a body, under the same name or that of *prêtres auxiliaires*, &c., and they confirmed what the Bishop of Bayeux had told me of his, that they did not know what they should do without them. St. Charles had similarly his Oblates of St. Ambrose.

It has appeared to me that Providence has now given me an opportunity of gathering together such a band. Mr. Manning, I think, understands my wishes and feelings, and is ready to assist me ; several will, I hope, join him, and I hope also some old and good priests. We shall be able to work together, because there will be no exemptions from episcopal direction, and none of the jealousy on one side, and the delicacy on the other, of interference or suggestion. I do not see how the multifarious missionary work I have proposed can be carried on without frequent communication with the Bishop.

I have now opened my mind, or rather my heart, freely before you. Perhaps it is a little sore in parts, but surely there is reason for it. 'Effusum est in terram jecur meum . . . cum deficerent parvuli et lactentes in plateis civitatis. Dixerunt matribus suis, ubi est triticum et vinum?' I cannot suggest anything to you ; but I have laid open to you my wants, and you will best know whether, and to what extent, it is in your power to help me—what may be compatible with your rule, and consistent with your power and health. Again I assure you that I do not complain. The work of the Oratory is immense and fruitful, and I do not ask for any sacrifice of duty or of life. But if your zeal and prudence suggest anything to be done, I shall be most happy to receive any offer or advice. If it appears to you that there is nothing to be done, and that I have been wrong in expecting from religious Orders the active assistance which I anticipated, I will beg two or three things

from you. *First*, such assistance as your influence will enable you to give towards the establishment of a community such as I have described, for supplying the wants of the diocese: *secondly*, your prayers for the success of my endeavours and plans: *thirdly*, a charitable judgment of the efforts made. This I add, because more than once I have had persons much discouraged by hearing directly or indirectly your sentiments as to ecclesiastical affairs, and the state of religion in London Such reports are, of course, painful to me to hear, especially as they lead to much murmuring on the part of laymen against their ecclesiastical superiors.

I must draw this long-winded letter to a close, by assuring you that in writing it I have no feelings but those of affection to the Oratory and yourself. At times I could despair at finding so little help, except the '*auxilium de sancto*,' and it has been my wish to lay the state of things before the Holy Father, and ask his assistance. But I have made no complaints of anyone. You will therefore charitably excuse any expressions which may seem to betray want of patience, or a desire to throw blame off my own shoulders; for it is the first time I have written down any expression of my feelings on these subjects.

Recommending myself to the prayers of the Community, I remain, my dear Father Faber,

Yours affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Faber, on receiving this letter, forthwith offered that the 'Oratory' should undertake missionary work: but Wiseman did not feel (apparently) that the offer was then made with such conviction of its practicability as encouraged him to accept it. It was at first declined. However by degrees the Oratorians in London appear more and more to have felt the reasonableness of the Cardinal's wish that they should make themselves generally useful. They first applied to Rome, in the latter part of 1855, for such relaxation of their rules as would admit of their being confessors

to the convents, and ultimately they took active charge of a parish.

Newman was, in the first instance, strongly opposed to such deviations from the original rule ; but in the end the Birmingham Oratory also undertook missionary work. A misunderstanding, however, arose, owing to the action of the London Oratory in applying directly to Propaganda in favour of the necessary relaxation of the rule. Newman held that the application should have been made to himself, as their English Superior. It was finally agreed that each Oratory should act according to the desire of its immediate ruler, and what appeared to be the genius of each community ; and a brief of Propaganda in the summer of 1856 made them separate institutions, henceforth independent of one another.

Wiseman felt sensibly grateful to Faber for meeting his views. The affectionate loyalty of the Oratorians had been, indeed, all along, one of his chief supports, as we have already seen. It was expressed from time to time by Father Faber, with the intensity and enthusiasm which were his characteristics.

Immediately after Newman had first left him in charge of the Oratorian colony in London, five years before the final separation between the two communities, Faber had written to Wiseman words of deep affection and trust, which are typical of their subsequent relations.

Our dear F. Superior has just left us [Faber wrote], and in a paper deposited with me, as F. Rector, he enumerates as one of the chief blessings of the London Oratory 'a bishop especially devout to St. Philip, and attached to this congregation,' and I believe, my dear Lord, that none of us have a wish

nearer at heart than that your Lordship may find us the most dutiful, ready, and affectionate children you have.

How fully this wish was fulfilled may be gathered from later letters. On June 18, 1854—in the middle of Mr. Boyle's agitation against the Cardinal—Father Faber writes thus:

I saw Ward yesterday, and you had left on him the impression of your being depressed and tired out by all the wretchedness and faithlessness about you. But surely this is rather naughty. Look at all you have done, ever since the first days of Oscott, and how often you have been so rejoiced at work accomplished that you have been ready to sing your *Nunc dimittis*; and is it likely the devil will let you have all your own way? You once touched my heart more than I can tell you by saying you were always afraid of hearing at your last, *Accepisti mercedem tuam*. There is at least no need of that fear now; so that I hope your Eminence will take heart to hold on your way bravely, and carry out and consolidate the immense work of which your name will always be the representative in England. I wish we could be of more help to you; but we are worth nothing beyond a little prayer, and less of that than there should be.

When the difference between the two Oratories had first arisen, Faber had placed the case before Wiseman—to whom he looked to arrange matters—and explained that his one desire had been to meet the wishes contained in the Cardinal's letter cited above.

Since that [letter] [he had written] no work which you have ever sent to the Oratory has been declined. With your letter in mind I spoke to you of our taking a parish, and to my great joy your Eminence would not entertain the proposition. Under the same impressions I tried to get (1) St. George's Hospital, (2) the Chelsea Hospital, (3) the Brompton Consumption, (4) the Duke of York's School, (5) the Military Masters School, and (6) the Kensington Union and Workhouse; though

none of these things are either sinecures or to our taste. We took in and entertained and helped in every way we could both A.B.'s people and those of Canon Scheffers, and in the case of the latter we offered through Manning to charge ourselves with the spiritual instruction of the Reformatory School. You rightly told us to be wide, and we tried to be so. You then put upon us the Confessions, and then the Superiorship, of the Sisters of Compassion. Then the same double office to Miss Prestwich; then the confessions of the Little Sisters; and Father Rowe has, for two years, given the Retreat to the Penitents at the Good Shepherd; and Dr. Maguire, while kindly thanking us for the promptitude with which we took work, told us we might soon expect more. The work with nuns having thus become something considerable, some of our fathers, jealous for the purity of the Institute, had a scruple whether we were justified in acting on our own private interpretation of the word 'moniales,' without the sanction of the Sacred Congregation. We wrote to ask it. We did not even mention it to your Eminence, as to have done so would have destroyed the gracefulness of our compliance. There is not one father in our congregation who has any attraction to this work of convents. We took it as your work. There is the history of the whole matter.

Father Hutchinson and another father went to Rome on Faber's behalf, in the summer of 1856, to plead with Propaganda for an independent constitution; they found that Wiseman had smoothed their way, and written of them in terms which ensured the success of their petition.

Father Hutchinson tells me [wrote Faber to the Cardinal] that Cardinal Barnabò was so pleased with your Eminence's letter, that he sent for the two fathers and read it to them, in order that they might have the pleasure of hearing the affectionate terms in which your Eminence was so good as to speak of us. He said also that Father Newman had sent a *risposta favoervolissima*. They talk of being home by September 24, but I do not believe it will be possible.

When the Brief was finally made out, Faber was enthusiastic in his gratitude for all that the Cardinal had done for the Oratory in the past, and was doing in the present:

I cannot help writing to your Eminence to say how much I was overcome to-day with your kindness about our Brief. When I left you, all you had done for our Congregation, at all its turns and in all its needs, seemed to come before me in one continuous vision. And what can we do for you in return? Simply nothing, except to love you as our most indulgent and affectionate father, which we do. St. Philip must do the rest, and your Eminence knows you are safe with him. As to my own self, since you set us up in Colmore Terrace, Birmingham, and used to send Mr. Heneage over in your carriage to hear our confessions, God has never let me be separated from you. When you came to London, somehow obedience sent me after you, and I feel as if I had a personal obligation to your kindness and love, which is older than the English Oratory. Forgive, my dear Lord, my saying all this, which is but a matter of course; but it is a relief to myself to say it, as I sadly suspect your Eminence does not get as many kind words as you do kind deeds.

It was about a year after the Brief was issued that the London Oratory finally undertook to help the Cardinal, by performing the regular missionary work of a parish.

In the year in which the two Oratories were separated, Wiseman, anxious to mark the true unity of their work, and his own equal love for both of the men who were bound to him by so many ties, dedicated his panegyric of St. Philip, delivered at the London Oratory on May 26, 1856, jointly to Fathers Newman and Faber. The dedication runs as follows:

I dedicate this discourse to you jointly, because a common bond unites you to one another, and to me—the love of the

holy St. Philip. If I have been his elder, either of you has been by far his better son. You have made him known, you have made him loved in this country, as dearly almost as he is in his own. You have naturalised him in English hearts, you have given him a second, an English home.

But under his auspices you have done much more. Though apparently the paths you have trodden may have seemed different, they have been parallel and concurrent, and have formed a single road. One has brought the resources of the most varied learning, and the vigour of a keenly acute mind, power of argument and grace of language, to grapple with the intellectual difficulties, and break down the strongly built prejudices of strangers to the Church. The other has gathered within her gardens sweet flowers of devotion for her children ; and taught them, in thoughts that glow and words that burn, to prize the bouquet which love has spread for their refreshment. Thus can you truly say, *In domo Domini ambulavimus cum consensu.* Hand in hand you have walked together, the one planting and the other watering ; while God above has given to your united work increase. My share in it must be confined to such grateful recollections, and ardent hopes, as may be expressed in a short panegyric.

Anything done by me for St. Philip's sake could not be separately offered to either, but must go to the common stock of what belongs to him. Words of praise, or rather of affection, spoken concerning him, however worthless, belong to him, and if they have his blessing on them are so absorbed and appropriated by this, that they must go where it goes, impartially and equally to all his children.

The sermon itself is a very characteristic one. His text was from Psalm cxviii., 'I have run in the way of Thy commandments when Thou didst enlarge my heart.' Its drift is that the main difference between a Saint and an ordinary Christian is not in the nature of the deeds done by either, but in the intensity of the doing. The Oratorian at London and St. Philip himself at Rome have just the same

round of duties. If we follow the daily routine of St. Philip at the Chiesa Nuova, it is the same as that of his disciple at Brompton :

You find him in his confessional for hours, listening to the miserable history of the penitent's sins ; you see him in the pulpit instructing the faithful. You come to him and you find him going from house to house visiting the sick or the distressed ; you see him in his room with his books, preparing for the duties of his ministry, or writing his letters. You find him each morning at the altar in the church, or in his own oratory, offering up the same Victim of Salvation. You find him as a priest, exact in the discharge of his duties, discharging them all according to what he would have told you was the extent of his weakness. And what is the difference between him and us ?

The Saint moves along the same path, but he *runs* instead of walking. *Viam mandatorum tuorum cucurri.* This is the difference between the two classes of those who walk in God's ways. And the difference will be shown likewise in the *hearts* of both classes of men. We, who *walk* along the difficult path of the Divine law, we who seek indeed day by day to improve in virtue and to feel fervour in our souls, we know our hearts are cramped, are narrowed, are straitened. They know not that bounding and expanding action which would make us think of nothing else but hastening forward along that path. Our hearts, alas ! have a pulse in accordance with the music of this world : if it praises and applauds our hearts are warm and throbbing within us in harmony with its voice ; if it is cold and neglectful, our hearts are languid and weak. If it opposes and discourages us, our hearts become perplexed and irregular, and at last perhaps cease almost to beat at all. This is natural in us, who, while indeed we are walking in the way of God's commandments, are looking ever to the right hand and to the left, seeking the flowers which grow on one side or the other of our way, stretching forth our hands on one side or another for human sympathies. But the Saint who *runs* along his path sees but one object before him. *Videbitur Deus deorum in Sion.* The God of gods is before him on that mountain of Sion, which closes the view and forms the object of

his path. There is God above inviting him forward ; *ascensiones in corde suo disposuit*, and then in his heart he disposes himself to ascend the mount—from one point to another—from height to height of grace· bounding along in his course leaping over every chasm that may come in his way forcing his way through every obstacle without diverging to the right or to the left. He is for ever going forward in his *heart*, and carries his aspirations into execution. *Ibunt de virtute in virtutem.* 'They go from virtue to virtue' ; he goes on from strength to strength, never stopping one moment. And while thus hastening onwards, his heart is swelling with motions of ardent, unrepressed, unlimited desire ; it is beating as that which we described in the race of the body, not merely the heart of hearts, the inward soul, the seat of sentiment, but every part that is in his body pants and languishes as it does when some desire agitates it, and some object of hope is before it.

In contemplating, then, the character of our glorious Saint, the blessed Philip, it is this double characteristic of sanctity which I wish to keep before your minds ; how he '*ran* in the way of God's commandments,' and how in consequence, or in concomitance, his heart was ever 'enlarged.'

And the intense joyfulness in well-doing which is recorded of this Roman Saint, which seemed an inseparable part of his large and expansive heart, was both infectious in his intercourse with others and overflowing in himself :

That gladness of heart also which was peculiar to St. Philip, which showed itself in a way which made his enemies accuse him of levity, and which would prompt him to break out into songs in the midst of any of his occupations ; which made him love to be surrounded by youth, and made him glad when they approached him ; by which peculiar atmosphere of joyfulness we are told that so many were cured of the darkest melancholy and most perplexing scruples ; that cheerfulness which we are told made some of his admirers be content to stand at the door of his room saying, when invited to enter, that it was sufficient to be so near to Philip to find their hearts filled at once with joy—all this was surely a characteristic of sanctity

which none else has exhibited. And I know not when it exhibited itself more beautifully than on the last day of his life, when having risen joyously on the feast of Our Lord's Body, towards which his devotion was so great, when foreseeing it was to be the last day of his life, he continued his ordinary everyday existence ; but when he came to celebrate the Divine Mysteries in his private Oratory, at the 'Gloria in excelsis' he, instead of reciting it, as at an ordinary low Mass, was wrapt in the spirit, and sang it forth from the beginning to the end, to give some outward expression to the exultation of his heart.

I have quoted these passages as showing, with particular vividness, the sympathy which existed between Wiseman and the Oratorian ethos—a sympathy which secured his close friendship with the congregation to the last. And this account of his relations with Frederick Faber may fitly close with the touching letter sent to him by Faber, from his bed of sickness, not long before his premature death—although the letter belongs to a period of seven years later :

July 15, 1863.

My dear Lord Cardinal,—Your Eminence, I know, will forgive my dictating a few lines in answer to your letter. I cannot express my feelings ; I know I am not what the affection of the most indulgent of Superiors has painted me. I have tried to be it, but failed. I know that sinner never went to Jesus and Mary with more need of Divine forbearance than I do. I bless our dearest Lord for His special grace in not allowing me to go into His presence drunk with the incense of praise and personal attachment. I have thought myself viler, meaner, and more self-seeking every year, and I go to Him now not despairing in His mercy, but lost in wonder at the *multitudinem miserationum tuarum.*

There are two things that I may say—first, that my poor heart cannot help leaping up at such a judgment of me from a heart like yours ; and secondly, that I most tenderly appreciate

the thoughtful affection which provided such a consolation for my dear Community. Begging, my dearest Lord Cardinal, the hourly renewal of your affectionate blessing,

I remain, your Eminence's loving, grateful, and most unworthy servant,

FRED. W. FABER.

Despite the pressure of diocesan work and his large correspondence, Wiseman did not fail to preserve his interest in the progress of the Catholic movement on the Continent. Lacordaire had visited him in 1852, and had spoken hopefully of the prospect in France. De Salinis, Bishop of Amiens, was Lacordaire's close friend, as well as Wiseman's, and the frequent visits of the Cardinal to Amiens kept him *au courant* of the course of events. And now Louis Napoleon—an old friend of Cardinal Wiseman[1]—was endeavouring, like his uncle before him, to consolidate his empire by alliance with the Church. Since he had restored the Pope to his sovereignty in 1849, he had posed more or less as a Pepin or a Charlemagne, and had been the friend of the clergy in his own dominions. We have already had a glimpse of his interest in ecclesiastical celebrations in connexion with the translation of the relics of St. Theodosia to Amiens in 1853; and Wiseman, as we have seen, was present on the occasion. The Cardinal, regarding Napoleon as the Church's most powerful ally, regretted the staunch Legitimism of the French Catholics in London, and, it is said, insisted on prayers for the Emperor being offered in the

[1] Their acquaintance dated, I believe, from the days of Wiseman's Roman life. Mr. Kent tells me that Cardinal Wiseman corresponded with Louis Napoleon frequently, at every stage of his career.

French chapel. When the Prince Imperial was born he had a solemn 'Te Deum' sung in his cathedral at Moorfields, and delivered a discourse on the occasion. The fact was notified to the Emperor, who wrote Wiseman the following letter, addressing him—for so mediæval Sovereigns addressed the princes of the Church—as 'mon cousin':

MON COUSIN,—Vouz avez cru devoir ordonner, à l'occasion de l'événement du 28 avril, un *Te Deum* en action de grâces. Votre Eminence a voulu y officier elle-même, et de plus elle a prononcé des paroles qui ont eu un noble retentissement. Ce sont là autant de témoignages de sympathie particulière dont j'ai été profondément touché. Je prie votre Eminence d'agréer l'expression de toute ma gratitude et pour les sentiments et pour les prières que lui a inspirés la circonstance. Sur ce, mon Cousin, que Dieu vous ait en sa sainte et digne garde. Ecrit au Palais des Tuileries, le 11 mai 1855.

NAPOLÉON.

A mon Cousin le Cardinal Wiseman, à Londres.

The baptism of the Prince Imperial was marked by great religious celebrations, and the Pope was godfather. Until the incident of the Orsini bomb a fair prospect had appeared to be dawning for French religion. 'France professes Catholicity,' writes Newman in 1854, 'with an ardour unknown to her since the reign of Louis XIV.'

Austria, too, was linking itself to the Papacy. The revolution of 1848 had finally brought home to the Emperor the necessity of strengthening his throne, by the hearty support of the Church. The year which saw the birth of the Prince Imperial saw also the Concordat between the Holy See and the Austrian Government.

Wiseman was deeply interested in the Concordat,

and the fresh outburst of the 'No Popery' cry which the English newspapers raised thereanent, gave occasion for some lectures which attracted wide attention.

The march of events represented by the Austrian Concordat was interesting and significant. Among Catholic countries, as we have seen, Austria and France showed the low-water mark of the Papal power in the eighteenth century. Pius VI.'s visit to Vienna, in 1787, had been the despairing protest of the Papacy against the Josephine laws, which had almost obliterated Papal dominion in Austria. When the same Pontiff expired an exile on French soil twelve years later, the impiety and infidelity typified in the Great Revolution were supposed to have finally destroyed the Papacy. In 1855, while the new French Empire was invoking the special protection of the Church, Austria set the final seal to the abrogation of the Josephine laws (repealed in 1850) by a Concordat in which the rights of the Holy See were fully recognised.

The Concordat had several points of personal interest for Wiseman. He had witnessed the gradual *rapprochement* between the Papacy and Austria. He had been in Rome when Emperor Francis paid a visit to Pius VII., observing that he had come to return the visit paid by Pius VI. to his uncle, Emperor Joseph. He was still in Rome and on terms of intimacy with Pope Gregory XVI., while the Josephine laws were being in part abrogated, and relations with the Holy See were growing in cordiality. When Prince Metternich fled from Austria to London, after the revolution had expelled him in

1848, Wiseman had many a talk with him on the state of the Church in Austria. Wiseman had been engaged in the year 1847, as we have seen, on a diplomatic mission to the English Government, in which Austria was concerned; and he had welcomed the news, when he visited Vienna in 1850, that the young Emperor Francis Joseph had at last carried out the expressed desire of his uncle Emperor Francis and completed the abrogation of the persecuting code. And now it was his old college friend, Cardinal Viale-Prelà, who, as Papal legate at Vienna,[1] brought to completion the Concordat of 1855, which was designed to give a satisfactory basis to the future relations between Church and State.

The measure appeared to be the more significant and satisfactory, because it was the final confession that the policy of a National Church more or less alienated from the Holy See, had been tried, and had failed.

The news of the Concordat was received by the English public with great indignation. Traditionary English prejudice in every matter in which the Papacy was concerned, led to extravagant and ignorant statements in the press as to what the Concordat involved. It was represented not as a measure calculated to secure religious freedom and peace, but as the truckling of a weak and youthful sovereign to clerical domination—as a measure of bondage rather than of freedom for the Austrian Church.

Wiseman saw his opportunity for gaining a hearing. The matter was one on which he could speak

[1] Afterwards Archbishop of Bologna.

with authority, from his knowledge of facts and persons. Here was a fresh outburst of Protestant fanaticism, and yet, being less concerned with home affairs, it was more likely to be amenable to reason than the tumults of 1850. Moreover, it was a matter of international relations; and public opinion in England would be judged by a wider public opinion which it must perforce respect. It was no more a contest between the handful of English 'Papists' and a great nation; it was an insular prejudice against the action of one of the greatest Continental Powers, in its relations with the head of a Church which counted subjects among all the nations, and owned as its children the great bulk of the Austrian people.

In four lectures, delivered on Sundays in Advent from the pulpit of his Cathedral Church at Moorfields, Wiseman addressed himself to the consideration of the subject, before an audience in which the non-Catholic element was very large.

He reminded them, in his first lecture, that it was in that very season of Advent, four years earlier, that he had attempted to vindicate the action of the Holy See in founding an English Hierarchy against the extraordinary violence of public feeling: 'and now,' he added, 'I find the public mind not indeed in a ferment equal to that which I have alluded to, yet partaking of its nature. There is almost each day an awakening of the same alarm in the public mind, in consequence of the Holy See having entered into an amicable treaty with a great empire.' Wholesale abuse of 'Popery' was once again the order of the day. The 'Concordat' was the Pope's work, so its

very appearance of common sense must be an artifice. The press was daily indulging in statements highly offensive not only to Catholics, but 'to everyone who has generous feeling.'

'If, therefore,' he continued, 'I shall again speak plainly; if some degree of honest indignation warms my words, it is because I have at heart the cause of truth, and because I have it so much at heart, that I would rather offend you in some degree, in pronouncing it, than, by at all suppressing it, gain your interest or indulgence. It would almost appear to those who watch the signs of the times in these days that the religion of this country requires to be kept alive by periodical ague fits of terror or amazement.' And those who stimulate these fits in the public mind from time to time, 'choose as their great religious weapon personal scurrility,' and 'all that can excite the scornful laugh . . . on matters of religion.' This is the way in which Englishmen act 'who raise their voices to enlighten the public, and wish them to have an echo through the whole world.'

Thus has been treated this late Concordat, a solemn treaty between an Emperor and the head of the Catholic Church a treaty the result of the greatest deliberation and care—which here is treated as though it had been some miserable fiction of a romantic brain, or as if it had been the laughable production of two or three persons who had met to amuse the world. No measure has been kept in the terms used, no insults spared in the names of scorn applied to it. And this is thought to be the right way of expressing the mind of a great and mighty nation, which claims to speak to the ends of the earth, and send forth its oracles across the ocean; this is to be the voice of a people that professes to treat religion always with the greatest respect and dignity; and that almost affects to be the only religious nation on the face of the earth. Such, however, is the language

now held by those who speak in its name. How will it be received abroad? Do you think that your character as a noble people, as one of great gravity in its judgments, of great wisdom in its legislation, of great clearness and comprehensiveness of view, will be enhanced by thus showing in what manner topics like this, and the dignities of those whom God has raised, and whom millions venerate, are treated by you? Have we yet to learn that there is a dignity in silence, a greatness in reserve; and there is a majesty in grave and solemn argument or counsel? Have we yet to learn that if we wish to have our opinions make way abroad, and carry just weight to the ends of the earth, they must not be as arrows, lightly feathered and random-aimed? It requires the great . . . wings of the eagle to soar to that higher flight which shall be looked up to with respect by empires.

The grotesqueness of the violence exhibited by the English press became yet more evident, on a comparison between the character of the persons and of the measure abused and the antecedents and methods of the critics.

You have thus two powers conferring, of which the first is far superior to most others in the vastness of its dominion, while the Pope, on the other hand, has his experienced counsellors and the wisdom of the whole Church at his command. For two whole years this negotiation goes on; there is not a sentence proposed at Vienna but it is sent to Rome; it is there discussed; it is returned again; if necessary it is sent back once more; and not a single proposition is accepted until it has been communicated as often as there are difficulties raised, when at length it is adopted. This, I repeat, is not until two years at least have elapsed. If there have been any errors, how much time was there to correct, how much leisure to repent, how much opportunity to go back on either side? At last this solemn treaty is signed and ratified by the two great Powers. It comes to us (to England) in the first place from some correspondent of the newspapers abroad, who in his remarks on it showed that he could not even understand its phrases, and did not know the meaning of the words used in it. It comes here,

the result of so much deliberation, every word weighed ; drawn up too in the peculiar language of Catholic Ecclesiastical diplomacy, . . . and yet it is not two hours in the hands of a newspaper editor who has never thought on the subject before, who has never studied and never considered it—and he acts upon it at once, his pen flying rapidly under the influence of his prejudice, and impelled by the necessity of not losing a day, so as to be the first before the public. And so, with indignant denunciation, he pulls the whole of this treaty to pieces. He knows more about the interests of Austria and the wants of the Church there, of evils existing and the remedies to be applied, than the Pope and Emperor and all their counsellors together after two years' deliberation. Oh ! what are men abroad to think, after this, of our wisdom, or prudence, or justice, or our common sense?

But further, what is the object of the measure? The establishment of perfect harmony in the religious life of a great nation. And who are the self-appointed critics of the means by which this is attempted? Members of a nation which has become a byword for its religious divisions.

We, although our house is on fire, attempt to teach our neighbours how to put out that which we assume to be a flame, but which is, in fact, only a light. We pretend to be the counsellors of a united Church, in which there is not the least dissent or discordance in doctrine, from the Emperor upon the throne to the humblest cottager in his dominions ; in which there is not a single prayer offered up in which all could not join, not a single devotion in which all would not share ; a unity of worship springing from a perfect unity of faith, and resulting in a unity and harmony of religious feeling, from the highest to the lowest, among the Catholic millions. We, who cannot keep together this small fragment of the nation which is called 'the Church,' cannot make it think alike, or even agree as to the measures by which peace could be restored to it. We, in magisterial tones, trumpet forth to other nations how they ought to govern their Churches, how they should deal with their liturgies or administer their ecclesiastical endowments. Oh,

surely the retort must be, 'Physician, cure thyself.' Set your own house in order, where there is confusion, and dissension, and disunion, and then try to give a lesson to a Catholic State, not how its Catholic subjects are to be brought into unity, for that has not been destroyed; not how they are to be restored to identity of faith, for it has never been lost or impaired, but how the external relations of the Church with the State are to be regulated; how the outward operations of the Church are to be conducted, or the ministrations of the priesthood directed, or how the instruction of youth is to be managed; how the elections to the Episcopate are to be carried on, so as to secure the election of the best persons as Bishops.

Such habits in a national press, like the proverbial cry of 'Wolf!' must prevent other nations from taking the English critics seriously. The Cardinal here speaks with characteristic exuberance of metaphor:

And can we be surprised if fierce and scornful words spoken now, speedily pass away from the memory of foreign nations; descending, as they do, not like the soft and gentle rain, which falls upon the grass and penetrates into the earth, but like drops of water cast upon hot iron, which, after fierce ebullition, end in sudden and complete evaporation? In a few weeks another topic will arise, more striking or startling; or it may be that he who has been so scornfully spoken of, and so bitterly censured, may turn out to be in a few months a useful mediator or a powerful ally; and then those who have so calumniated him and so insulted him will turn towards him to fawn upon and flatter him, as they have already done elsewhere.

The first lecture made a considerable impression, and on entering the church to deliver the second he found it full to overflowing. He took occasion, before passing to the provisions of the Concordat, to sketch the normal relations between the Christian Church and the State, which made Concordats a necessity. Such relations were naturally forgotten by members

of a Church over which the State was practically supreme. The Catholic Church had been from the first, he explained, a polity both independent and international. She had established her dioceses in the Roman Empire without any reference to a persecuting State. When Constantine came to the throne, he found this great organisation already in existence, and exerting a powerful influence over the people throughout the Empire. Naturally he and his successors made use of it. Thus began relations between Church and State. Wiseman reminded his hearers how as early as A.D. 368 Valens and Valentinian I. begged the Bishops to inspect houses of trade, in order to prevent and punish fraud; how the election of the 'Defender' of each town—the overseer of its defences against invasion—was committed by Theodosius in 409 to the bishop, clergy, and notables, in order to secure the choice of a man of high character. Later on the care of prisoners, slaves, and orphans was entrusted to the bishop, to ensure their protection from pagan cruelty; and to him was entrusted the promulgation of the laws, and the duty of reporting to the government any instance of injustice among judges. In short, the great principle emphasised by Mill, that moral character is an indispensable element in the machinery of civilisation—that without integrity in those responsible for the administration of justice, the best laws will not work—was recognised in practice by the civil rulers; and the integrity and moral influence of the Christian bishops were used as the most reliable force at their disposal to ensure the results aimed at by legislation.

But it was the freedom of the Church to foster her own spirit and to remain what she had always been, an independent spiritual society, on which this moral strength depended. Make courtiers bishops, and give the State supreme control in matters ecclesiastical, and very soon the moral power of the Church will be reduced to a minimum.

On the other hand, the aid of the State is invoked by the Church to save her from spoliation or oppression at the hands of her secular neighbours. The very meeting of general councils was impossible, if the enemies of the Church refused a free passport to the Bishops. It was wisdom on either side to recognise the mutual benefits to be gained, and this was precisely what a Concordat did. It did—as he pointed out in his third lecture—just what the Saxon laws and charters did, which formerly adjusted the claims of Church and State in our own land. When John granted in the Magna Charta that the 'English Church should be free,' he did so by the counsel of Stephen Langton, 'Cardinal of the Holy Roman Church,' and of Pandulf, legate of the Pope. So now the Emperor, by the counsel of Cardinal Viale-Prelà and the Pope himself, had recognised in the Austrian Church that freedom which was necessary for its moral action.

Wiseman gained visibly on his hearers as the lectures advanced, the more so perhaps because he deferred to the very end the consideration of the measure itself which had aroused so much prejudice, and confined himself at first to general principles

and historical facts, which his audience were prepared to review more calmly.

I shall indeed be abundantly repaid [he said at the conclusion of his second lecture] if a certain number of candid inquirers are led to believe that after all there has been nothing to alarm, and not a little to approve. I think that when you come to examine the details of the Austrian Concordat you will see that its object is different from what has been publicly represented, and that the working of it is likely to advance many principles which the people of this country have much at heart. I think also that you will find that instead of this being a retrograde step in the religious world of Europe, it is pregnant with great advantages, and will secure the people in general many benefits of which they had been deprived. It is by honestly and ardently endeavouring to search to the very bottom of what forms the groundwork of a popular opinion, that prejudice will be removed. And it will be indeed consoling to me if the kind attention with which you have listened to me shall not be unaccompanied with some fruit. I entreat you to continue to the end this gratifying attention, and either to read or to listen to the whole of the series. Perhaps thus a little oil will be thrown on the waters, and we may celebrate the festival of our Blessed Redeemer's coming into this world as the Prince of Peace : and give glory to God, and peace to men of good-will, by sentiments of mutual concord and universal charity and love.

Wiseman passed, in the fourth lecture, to the actual stipulations of the Concordat, and showed that they were merely the undoing of a great wrong. The Josephine legislation had made the Church the slave of the State. All communication between the Episcopate and the Holy See had been forbidden, except through the medium of the Emperor's own ambassador. The Emperor became dictator to his Bishops. He even required the Bishops to submit their pastorals to the municipal council. The Emperor had sup-

pressed the principal seminaries, and decided the number of priests for each diocese. Even the religious communities had been placed under State control. The consequence had been a deterioration in ecclesiastical spirit. Courtiers were made Bishops, and the merely secular education given to future priests lowered their religious tone. Learning throve, but rationalism crept in. Then came a reaction. The Catholics were indignant at the injury done to religion. The provisions of the Josephine Code became, in more and more instances, a dead letter ; it was gradually abolished, and what remained of it in 1850 was finally repealed in that year. The Concordat was the reorganisation of a Church disorganised by this persecution. Its provisions were merely such as to give the Church necesssary freedom of action. It provided for free communication between the Austrian Church and the Holy See, without special permission from the Emperor ; for the enjoyment by the Austrian Church of the normal canonical privileges. It secured free communication between Bishops and people. Both these freedoms had been refused by the Josephine legislation. Freedom for ecclesiastical Synods, freedom for the religious orders to communicate with their Superiors ; freedom for the clergy in inspecting their schools and superintending religious instruction ; freedom for the Church to condemn bad books, with the condition that the government is to prohibit the publication of books so branded, were among the other provisions. The Emperor retained the nomination of the Bishops, but consented to take counsel of the other Bishops of the province. In

other measures, such as the marking out of parishes, joint action between Bishops and Emperor was established. The seminaries were restored, and placed solely under the Bishops. The right of the Church to ecclesiastical property was asserted, and much, though not all, of the property of which the Josephine system had deprived her was restored. Once the initial idea, of Romish tyranny and the 'cringing of a priest-ridden Emperor' to Romish superstition, was put aside, the common sense of the Concordat, as endeavouring to give a just balance of power to the civil and spiritual rulers, was obvious.

The reason for English excitement, then, was not to be found either in any intelligent appreciation of the provisions of the Concordat, or in English interests being in any way affected. It was to be found in the inveterate suspicion and dislike of the influence of the Catholic Church. Never able to be moderate, or even neutral, where Catholicism was concerned, the English critics would at one time speak of it with contempt as an effete superstition, and then, when they found great nations and rulers respecting it, the tone became one of alarm and anger at its aggressive power. Which, Wiseman asks, is the true account? Is the Church weak and contemptible, or is she strong and aggressive? to be despised or to be feared? The answer is given again and again in history. Her organisation and the faith and devotion of her children compel governments which have ridden over her with contempt, and apparently with ease and success, to bend at last before her influence. The triumph of the martyrs—though

many may be tired of hearing of it—remains the type of the Church's real power. Diocletian persecutes the Church and kills Pope Polycarp. Valentinian invokes the moral power of the Catholic Bishop to help him to get his laws kept. From the days of Constantine's conversion to the days when Bismarck repealed the Falk laws, the same phenomenon is ever recurring, and yet ever surprises a world which will not believe in the Church's secret—that the body of the Church is trampled to pieces, only that its spirit may rise and show its strength the more unmistakably.

For some years [the Cardinal said] the idea with which our public has been entertained is this; that the Catholic faith, as an active principle, has been gradually dying out on the Continent of Europe; that the power of the Holy See has become decrepit, its influence has declined to almost a nonentity; that the ancient vigour of the Church is effete, and incapable of further exertion, or even self-preservation. Such assertions are rung out in peals during one month of the year, and from the cathedral of unorganic Protestantism in this metropolis; they are periodically repeated by the informers of the public mind; they form the pæan of religious commemorations and the burthen of festive exultations.

When, consequently, there comes forth suddenly a new and unexpected demonstration of the power and vigour of this religion, and of him who rules its destinies; when both are found to be still respected by great empires, and the principles of the one and the rights of the other are seen to be recognised, reverenced, and highly prized by Powers strong enough to weigh heavily in the scales of European influence, a strong 'religious' indignation is excited, that what has been declared impotent should presume to be powerful, what has been proclaimed extinct should have the hardihood to exhibit itself actually full of life. Then the key is changed; and the dangerous energy of the Papal power, and the facility with which it yet subjugates kingdoms, become the topics of rampant eloquence.

Which ought you to believe of these two conflicting alternatives? Simply neither. The Catholic Church is as weak and as strong as ever. She is as weak as ever in overcoming the malice, the cunning, the violence of men. She is still circumvented by promises which she deems earnest, by declarations which she considers sincere, by conduct which she believes to be at most equivocal. She is oppressed, as ever, by the arbitrary enactments of State: she is robbed by their spoliations, exhausted by their worrying vexations. Her bishops are still banished, and her priests imprisoned: her religious driven from their homes. These marks of a weakness, inherent in a body that is not of this world and claims not legions of angels for her defence, are eagerly seized on, as proofs of declining vitality. Tacitus might have drawn the same inference when writing of the days of Nero, or Pliny of those of Trajan.

But the Church is as strong as ever in the spiritual life of faith; she is as young, as brimful of vigour as at any other period. Nay, in unity she was perhaps never before so strong, in absence of dissonant schools, or varying systems, never so harmonious. . . .

The lectures were republished shortly after their delivery, and went through four editions. Several editions also appeared in German, and the Emperor of Austria expressed great satisfaction with them. 'The Emperor,' writes Wiseman to Mr. Walker, 'told a person who told me that he was very glad I had not been taken to Rome, and hoped I would continue here.' 'The Concordat Lectures,' he writes on October 6, 1856, to the same correspondent, 'which have gone through several editions in German and Italian, have been much read in Austria and Lombardy, with good effect. The Pope has expressed himself much satisfied with them.' The Cardinal speaks of their success as a very important step in his hold on public opinion. 'It is most gratifying to me,' he said in his second lecture, at which the church was

overflowing, 'to be met by such a large assemblage, who, I sincerely believe, are actuated by the desire of hearing and honestly considering what may be addressed to them on a subject at this moment of considerable public interest.'

In the summer of 1856, the doctors ordered Cardinal Wiseman to Vichy, to drink the waters. He remained there a month, and profited greatly by the change. He was accompanied by Monsignor Searle and a young friend—probably Mr. Stonor, now Archbishop of Trebizond.[1] Invitations came from many of his friends among the French Bishops to pay them visits—from Cardinal Donnet, the Archbishop of Bordeaux; from Cardinal Morlot, Archbishop of Tours; the Bishop of Bayeux; the Bishop of Moulins; Cardinal du Pont, Archbishop of Bourges. And as the Cardinal, in the course of August, passed to German territory, and stayed at Gräfrath to meet his relations the Burkes, he received an invitation to visit the Bishop of Münster, which, however, he was unable to accept. He made some stay with the Cardinal Archbishop of Bourges at the end of July, and visited the Bishop of Moulins. The Bishop of Moulins invites him in a letter of July 10 to preach 'with that voice to which no idiom is unknown,' and to treat the diocese of Moulins as if it were his own. The whole expedition left very pleasant memories, to which the Cardinal often refers in his letters.

The inundations of this year destroyed much

[1] I say this on Bishop Patterson's authority. The Cardinal of Bourges refers in a letter to a 'young ecclesiastic' as well as a 'prelate,' as the Cardinal's companions.

property in France ; and Wiseman made a collection among his English friends and subjects, and distributed it in August among the various dioceses which had suffered. For this *largesse* he received effusive thanks from the French Bishops. 'It was the custom of the primitive Church,' wrote the Bishop of Nimes, 'to send across the sea mutual help in mutual calamity. Your Eminence has deigned to renew for us these touching traditions of ancient charity.' I find also cordial letters of thanks from the Bishops of Moulins, of Angers, of Gap, of Nantes, of Blois, of Agen, of Viviers, and the Archbishop of Avignon, and the Cardinal Archbishop of Tours.[1]

The Cardinal, in the end, had to go back to England somewhat suddenly, and to give up a projected visit to his great friend Cardinal Donnet, of Bordeaux.

J'avais espéré à votre retour de Vichy une petite apparition à Bordeaux [wrote Cardinal Donnet] ; il est inutile de vous dire tout le plaisir que vous auriez procuré à mes diocésains. Votre vue, votre parole eussent été pour moi et pour mon clergé un

[1] Wiseman wrote the following impromptu on the inundations :

Vichy, si tu pleures les terribles ravages
Que commet ta rivière sur tes riches pâturages,
Console-toi. Comme l'orage des plantes qu'il déracine
Eparpille les semences sur sa propre ruine,
C'est peut-être la voie par laquelle l'Eternel
Fait pénétrer ces eaux dans ton sein maternel,
Où la puissante nature, par son occulte chimie,
A des nouvelles substances salutaires les allie,
Leur prête de ses volcans la salubre chaleur
Ou bien de ses glacières l'agréable fraîcheur.
Dans leur paisible lit, qui se hâte à les boire,
Débordées, elles deviennent ton bonheur et ta gloire.

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Vichy : le 23 juillet 1856.

inestimable bienfait. Votre retour précipité ne vous a pas permis de nous procurer cette satisfaction.

He left amid the regrets of the diocese of Moulins, in which Vichy is situated.

J'espère [wrote the Bishop of Moulins] que l'effet des eaux de Vichy, dont votre Eminence se louait déjà, se développe de jour en jour de manière à la satisfaire davantage. J'avoue cependant que je suis assez égoïste pour ne pas souhaiter qu'elles fassent cette fois le miracle d'opérer en une seule année la guérison radicale qu'il leur faut ordinairement trois ans pour accomplir, car j'ai été trop touché de vos bontés pour renoncer sans une vive peine à l'espoir d'en profiter encore à la même occasion. Votre Eminence me permettra donc de la conserver pour moi-même et pour mon diocèse, où son passage a laissé une si heureuse impression.

CHAPTER XXIII

SOME PERSONAL CHARACTERISTICS OF CARDINAL WISEMAN

AN account may be given, at this stage in the story of Cardinal Wiseman's life, of certain phases of his personal influence and character. The great variety of his pursuits might seem at first sight suggestive of the *dilettante*. Over and above his professional duties, we have seen him occupied with Oriental studies, with art, with literature, with the Tractarian Movement, at one time on a diplomatic mission on behalf of the liberal Pope, at another lecturing to a London audience on the Crimean war; then again busy with practical reforms among the poor, and soon afterwards offering suggestions as to the hanging of a national portrait gallery. Yet his intimate friends are unanimous as to the unity of his work and purpose.

The key to the explanation of this apparent contradiction is, I think, found in a saying of his friend Father Whitty, in a letter to Henry Edward Manning, written just after Wiseman's death. The cause of Wiseman's influence did not lie, Father Whitty said, only in his talents and acquirements, considerable as they were, but in his being in his tastes, in his policy and work, and in his writings, a faithful representative

of the Catholic Church—*not*, he adds, as a Saint represents her, solely on the ethical side, but as a national poet represents the all-round genius of a particular country in his various poems.

Hence, in the first place, the character of his influence even among his own co-religionists in England. He found them a persecuted sect, he left them a Church. He found them in 1835 the remnant of a proscribed section of Englishmen, longing only to live and let live, who had lost the old devotional ideals, to whom many characteristic features in the training of the priesthood, in the symbolical ceremonial of the Church, in the monastic life, were almost unknown; who had little appreciation of religious art or religious architecture. He brought to them bodily, from Roman life, the poetry and varied activity of the Church, together with its Hierarchy and organisation.

But further, he pointed out, in the inaugural lecture at the opening of his Academia in 1861, his conception of the Church in its relations with the world: and this had a bearing on a wider public. While he resolutely maintained that, whether triumphant or depressed, in the Lateran Basilica or in the Catacombs, the Church has the great ethical ideals of the Gospel to teach, that these have been securely preserved only where the primitive traditions and doctrines have been jealously guarded and handed down, and that if the world despises these ideals so much the worse for the world; while he insisted that the Saints were the witnesses to the possibility and the value of the highest life; while in this sphere he maintained that

whether men of intellect laughed with Voltaire or bent in reverence with Pascal, the Church was a teacher,—he was equally emphatic that in the spheres of science, art, and secular civilisation, Catholics should be largely learners, and adapt themselves to the genius of the age or country in which their lot is cast. The Church cannot expect to be the source of the varied energy of the community; all she can do is to turn its direction towards those high ideals of which she is the guardian, or in a direction which bodes them no harm.

This, I think, gives the true meaning of Wiseman's very various fields of interest. He strove, partly unconsciously, to realise his ideal of the Church in contact with human activity. He wished to learn from the best artists and scholars of his time; he was ready to take his place in all works of importance to the commonwealth. Like Richelieu, he was prepared to negotiate with Princes and to found an academy. The ideal Churchman should, he thought, have his interests everywhere, not in order to secure the domination of the Church in secular departments, but to show that the Church is not alien to any human interest, and that the priest can give and take, or if necessary learn, from others, in secular matters, if he claims to teach in religion.

It is probable that the Cardinal's genuine joy in gaining information on every possible subject, for its own sake, largely contributed to his influence. He would visit a lace factory, or a laboratory, or a manufactory of stained glass and delight the workers by his interest in, and quick comprehension of, what they

told him ; and they would soon find much of their information given to the world in an essay or popular lecture. He followed closely the movements of the Arctic expedition in 1851, and received from time to time from Mr. Donnet, one of the explorers, a full account of the progress made. He took the greatest interest in the institution of the penny post, and drew up a very elaborate *memorandum* to Mr. Rowland Hill on post-office reforms, which, by desire of the Postmaster-General, was submitted to the Metropolitan Board of Works.[1] Of the variety of the subjects chosen for his addresses and lectures I have already spoken.

The republication of Wiseman's Essays, in 1853, first revealed to the general public the comparative breadth of his interests. The storm of 1850 had made his name familiar to thousands ; but they regarded him only as the 'aggressive Popish Cardinal.' The publication of the Essays corrected this impression. 'It had in relation to a very different kind of fame and a very different sphere,' writes a competent critic,[2] 'the same effect as the publication of the Duke of Wellington's despatches.' From this time forward he was an object of interest to many, and his lectures, to which I have referred in an earlier chapter, continued what the Essays began.

To the London world, and to the public at large [says the writer of his obituary in the 'Times'], Cardinal Wiseman's name was rendered most familiar by his frequent appearance on the platform as a public lecturer upon a wide range of subjects connected with education, history, art, and science ; and in that capacity his Eminence always found an attentive and eager

[1] See below, p. 203. [2] Dr. Whitty.

audience, even among those who are most conscientiously opposed to his spiritual claims and pretensions . . . [he] earned for himself a wide and lasting reputation for ability and learning.

The testimony of the late Mr. de Lisle is worth citing in this connexion :

The way [he writes] that I hear your Eminence spoken of by men of all classes, from the statesman to the civil engineer, assures me that your Eminence's lectures upon general subjects are doing more—a thousand times more—than all the controversy in the world to win the heart of old England.

This good result was not prevented by his great literary defect—the absence of self-criticism. It is probable that the faults of style which strike any reader of his 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes,' were little noticed by those who heard them in their original form as lectures.

The variety of his interests won him friends of the most diverse callings and characters—such as Lord Brougham, Charles Dickens, Charles Kean, the actor, Dr. Bence Jones, 'Dicky' Doyle, and Mr. Stanfield, the artist.

He was thoroughly a man of the world [we read in a London paper at the time of his death], a courteous polished gentleman, a brilliant writer and speaker. . . He was fond of society and made intimates among men of all parties and creeds. He loved art and the more elegant branches of literature. He represented his Church . . . as she is when she mingles in society, takes a quiet but active part in politics, and patronises art . . . and sustains the idea of hierarchical grandeur.[1]

His influence outside his own communion appears in unexpected quarters. Mr. Hawker, vicar of Morwenstow - that strange but powerful personality—

[1] Quoted by Mr. White, in his *Cardinal Wiseman*, p. 57.

wrote some lines at the time of Wiseman's death, which may be cited, not as poetry, but as the expression of strong feeling:

> Hush! for a star is swallowed up in night,
> A noble name hath set along the sea,
> An eye that flashed with heaven no more is bright,
> The brow that ruled the islands—where is he?

Mr. Lecky (in a letter to the present writer) records the effect on himself of one of Wiseman's lectures—probably that on 'Self-Culture.'

> The lecture [he writes] was on the management of thought. It urged young men to the habit of maintaining the ascendency of their wills over their trains of thinking—accustoming themselves by force of volition to turn their minds from one subject and to concentrate it on another; and it showed how largely this capacity tends both to the happiness and the usefulness of life. . . . I remember that the advice struck me when a young man as very wise, and I hope it has been of some little use to me in life, though I am afraid that in spite of him I have kept my full capacity for worry.

Browning's attitude towards Wiseman is given in 'Bishop Blougram's Apology,' published in 1855. It represents, perhaps, the awakening curiosity of the public mind as to the true *rationale* of his 'popery.' It is based simply on the external facts which had become familiar to those who did not know him personally, with the addition, perhaps, of gossip which some actual prototype of Browning's Gigadibs, who had met Wiseman and misinterpreted him, may have supplied. The external indications that Wiseman was the original of Blougram were plain enough. His former residence in Rome is thus referred to:

We ought to have our Abbey back, you see.
It's different preaching in basilicas,
And doing duty in some masterpiece
Like this of brother Pugin's, bless his heart !

Wiseman had been Bishop of Melipotamus *in partibus infidelium* ; Blougram was a bishop

in partibus
Episcopus nec non (the deuce knows what
It's changed to by our novel Hierarchy).

Wiseman's supposed appreciation of his hierarchical *status* is indicated in the poem, and so is his satisfaction that his position is quite compatible with all the literary pursuits which Gigadibs and Blougram value in common.

Suppose we die to-night : well, here am I,
Such were my gains, life bore this fruit to me,
While writing all the same my articles
On music, poetry, the fictile vase
Found at Albano, chess, Anacreon's Greek.

The external picture, too, of the Cardinal as a hospitable entertainer, popularly supposed to be particular as to his *cuisine*, is preserved.

The sketch of character in the poem is too familiar to be reproduced here at length ; and it is quite unlike all that Wiseman's letters and the recollections of his friends show him to have been. Subtle and true as the sketch is in itself, it really depicts someone else. The sceptical element which had tried Wiseman in his early years was something wholly different from Blougram's scepticism. Blougram acquiesces in the judgment that Catholicism and Christianity are doubtful, and yet that they are no more provable as false than as true ; that in one

mood they seem true, in another false; that either the moods of faith or the moods of doubt may prove to correspond with truth, and that, in this state of things, circumstances, and external advantages, may be allowed to decide his vocation, and to justify him in professing consistently as true, what in his heart of hearts he only regards as possible. Wiseman's own early doubts had, on the contrary, been nightmares to him, appearing to threaten him with loss of reason, and had been the alternative to a passionate, mystical, and absorbing faith.

The motive of the poem—speculation as to the *rationale* of Wiseman's belief—is given in these words of Blougram:

> Had I been born three hundred years ago
> They'd say, 'What 's strange? Blougram of course
> believes';
> And, seventy years since, 'disbelieves of course.'
> But now 'He may believe; and yet, and yet
> How can he?' All eyes turn with interest.

The essence of Blougram's intellectual position is given in the following passages, of which some lines are memorable:

> Now wait, my friend: well, I do not believe—
> If you'll accept no faith that is not fixed,
> Absolute and exclusive, as you say.
> You're wrong—I mean to prove it in due time.
> Meanwhile, I know where difficulties lie
> I could not, cannot solve, or ever shall,
> So give up hope accordingly to solve
> (To you and over the wine). . . .
> And now what are we? Unbelievers both,
> Calm and complete, determinately fixed
> To-day, to-morrow and for ever, pray?
> You'll guarantee me that? Not so I think.
> . . . . . .

Just when we are safest, there's a sunset-touch,
A fancy from a flower-bell, someone's death,
A chorus-ending from Euripides,—
And that's enough for fifty hopes and fears
As old and new at once as nature's self,
To rap and knock and enter in our soul,
Take hands and dance there, a fantastic ring,
Round the ancient idol, on his base again,—
The grand Perhaps ! We look on helplessly.
There the old misgivings, crooked questions are—
This good God,—what he could do, if he would,
Would, if he could—then must have done long since :
If so, when, where and how ? Some way must be-
Once feel about, and soon or late you hit
Some sense, in which it might be, after all.
Why not 'the Way, the Truth, the Life'?

Turning to Wiseman's general characteristics as they impressed his intimates, we have a very definite picture in the reminiscences of such friends as Madame Merry del Val, Mrs. Lonergan (a connexion of the Cardinal's family), Cardinal Vaughan and Dr. Whitty. He was six feet two in height, ruddy, and portly. 'His presence,' says Cardinal Vaughan, 'was what Italians call *imponente*. You might dislike him—you could not overlook him.' The descriptions of all who knew him well, give us the impression of a childlike simplicity in private life, and of a sensitiveness and affectionateness, in some instances so great as to appear incompatible with the robuster qualities demanded by his public position. Indeed the *business* routine of public life seems ever to have been irksome to him. He could throw off with zest and success a sermon to meet a controversy of the hour, or to foster a well-timed movement ; he could write with facile rapidity a work of imagination like 'Fabiola,' or a

réchauffé of early memories like the 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes.' He could devote sustained labour to some matter of scientific research, or to elaborating an artistic criticism to be utilised in his lectures. He could sketch rapidly the Rule of a new religious Order or Congregation. But the drudgery of diocesan business matters, and the detailed completion of the schemes he had outlined, were foreign to his taste and his capacity. Dealing with intractable associates or subordinates was intensely irksome to him. Facing detailed and nagging criticism, or the clash of opinion, seemed to damp his zest and courage. The definition of the functions of the new Hierarchy, in Rome and at the Oscott Synod, had shown him at his best. The effort, again, to stem the popular fury, in 1850, quickened the flow of blood in his veins, and stimulated his faculties to their most successful exercise. His 'Appeal' and his 'Lectures on the Hierarchy' were only part of a campaign carried on with vigour and success. For where his imagination was fired, prolonged labour was not alien to his nature. But the inevitable sequel—the minute adjustment of the rights of the Bishops, a matter requiring tedious and complicated investigations, and compromise with colleagues, in some cases devoid of insight; the correlative readjusting of the rights of Presidents of Colleges, and the definition of the limits of the powers of Cathedral Chapters, such detailed work showed him almost at his worst. Tedious conflict, work with no immediate issue in the realisation of an ideal, personal dispute—these things paralysed him. He got them from his mind as best

he could, and went back to the writing of 'Fabiola,' or the sketching of a lecture, or solaced himself by composing a Latin *jeu d'esprit* for his friend Canon Walker of Scarborough or a new play for the children of the Count de Torre Diaz.

Dr. Whitty, who continued to be the Cardinal's Vicar-General and intimate friend up to 1856, in which year he became a Jesuit, describes him as a very bad man of business, who occasionally showed great capacity for business. His ill-health, sensitiveness, and dilatoriness made him often shirk business matters for days together, while he was absorbed in writing an article or preparing a lecture. 'No business to-day, Dr. Whitty,' was the greeting with which the Vicar-General was sometimes received, as he brought a number of documents to be signed, and papers relating to the pecuniary state of various missions in the diocese to be considered. If it was of pressing importance to get the Cardinal's signature, the plan adopted might be to tell him some amusing story, and, while he was laughing, to produce the documents and get his signature in the moment of good humour. On the other hand, when the Cardinal was aroused, his grasp of business details (Father Whitty adds) was singularly exact, and his judgment excellent. He was also a legal expert of considerable attainments.

As to his relations with his priests, the testimony of Father Whitty coincides with that of others less friendly to the Cardinal, that while he was all sympathy and encouragement to those who displayed enterprise, zeal, or talent, he was no favourite with the idle. But neither was he sympathetic to some

of the merely plodding or methodical priests, who thought that he scarcely remembered their existence. No one could be more helpful or winning when a great crisis aroused him. The priest who went to him prepared to institute an apostolic work, or the repentant offender, found in Wiseman's large heart all the sympathy he needed. But those who had nothing to speak of but workaday details sometimes gained little attention.

There was evidently some of that caprice to which very impressionable natures are liable, and his judgment was coloured by his imagination. At his first visit to St. Edmund's College after he came to the south, Dr. Crookall, an old friend of his in Rome, presided, in the absence of Dr. Cox, the President ; and one still alive, who was a professor at the College at the time, describes the charm and geniality of the Cardinal, warmed by the discussion of early reminiscences. Many a plan was proposed for the future of the College, and golden days seemed to be in store. At his second visit, Dr. Cox was there—the man to whom, had the old school of Catholics continued to be predominant, the London district (to which Wiseman had succeeded) would naturally have come. The element of awkwardness in this meeting, and the memories it aroused, so affected the Cardinal, that, in the opinion of competent witnesses, his attitude towards the College was never again the same. The associations of this visit made him regard St. Edmund's as the embodiment of the old traditions, which he wished to displace ; and he seemed to the Professors to interpret all the College

customs by this leading idea. St. Edmund's was the training place of the future priests ; and the Cardinal's decreasing popularity there had its effect ultimately on his position in the diocese. He retained, however, to the end, many enthusiastic adherents among the clergy, especially among those whom circumstances brought into intimate relations with him—who were his secretaries, or attendants, or officials of the diocese—as well as among his domestic servants. With them his kindness of heart, unaffected piety, personal charm, and genial presence, far outweighed other considerations.

One of the Oxford converts, Father Edward Purbrick, formerly Provincial of the English Jesuits and Rector of Stonyhurst, writes as follows of his first impressions of Wiseman :

It was whilst he was still Vicar Apostolic of the London District that I made the acquaintance of Dr. Wiseman. Very shortly after my reception into the Church in May 1850, I accompanied Oakeley to a Tuesday evening soirée at his house in Golden Square. On entering he was standing between Mgr. Searle and Father Lythgoe, and they formed a trio somewhat formidable for a timid stranger to encounter. I thought, Is this, then, the effect of prayer and fasting? Three such mountains of flesh I had never before seen. Dr. Wiseman's aspect was at first sight forbidding, his shaggy eyebrows, ... and wide, thick-lipped mouth, being neither handsome nor attractive. But the reception he gave us was warm and hearty in the extreme, and his inquiries about the prevailing tone of young men at Oxford showed at once his keen interest in the Oxford Movement and the sympathetic attitude of his mind. I soon found that any reserve or shyness produced in him similar effects, but, however young one might be, frankness even to familiarity, instead of meeting with the rebuff it might seem to deserve, only placed him completely at his ease, and was responded to with unaffected expansiveness. It was also very

noticeable that he was exceedingly fond of children and that they were equally fond and fearless of him.

Two things struck me much at once: his marvellous versatility and a facility in languages at that time to me quite unexampled. I have heard him converse in turn with unembarrassed ease and perfect fluency in French, Italian, Spanish, and Arabic. His words came readily, and there was no intermixture or confusion of one language with another, and he talked with intelligence and lively interest on questions of religion, controversy, art, literature and science as one at home with each subject, without effort and without display, and at the same time with a quite refreshing liveliness and enthusiasm.

Another trait in his character soon revealed itself—heartiness of sympathy with any good project by whomsoever started; willingness to listen to any suggestion, and quickness in assimilating an idea and mastering its practical details. He never stopped good, but was always full of encouraging words and readiness to assist without repressive interference. All this implied breadth of mind and largeness of heart.

A few young men, all recent converts, proposed to live together under rule assisting Father (afterwards Canon) Oakeley in his mission of Islington whilst they deliberated upon what might ultimately be their vocation. We drew up our Rule for ourselves, submitted it to him, and he entered with evident interest into all its details, made a few practical and important suggestions, and then gave us every encouragement and his hearty blessing. On hearing from me (at that time at their head) that I was determined to study for the Priesthood, he sent me down within six weeks of my reception into the Church to St. Edmund's to receive the tonsure and four minor orders, exempted me from following any Seminary course, sanctioned my studying privately under the direction of Dr. Ward, who had kindly volunteered to draw up for me a plan or course of reading, and declared his intention of ordaining me Priest at the end of two years. Yet within the year, on my letting him know how earnestly I wished to enter the Society of Jesus, he offered no opposition, simply telling me how he had hoped to keep me near him, but that the only thing to be done was to obey Divine inspiration and acquiesce in God's holy will.

When we proposed to have open-air sermons delivered on

weekday evenings in various courts at Islington, and to gather crowds by ringing a large bell in the High Street and announcing the subject of the discourse, he heartily approved the undertaking and took constant interest in its somewhat remarkable success, bidding us not to be deterred in the least by the questions asked upon the subject in the House of Commons.

When he had returned to England as Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, in the midst of the excitement of the agitation against the assumption of ecclesiastical titles, he remained unmoved, full of courage and hope, confident in the goodness of his cause and the ultimate sound sense of the English people. When it was at its height, he drove in *cappa magna* [with its scarlet robes and train] to Brook Green, to lay the foundation stone of the Church of the Holy Trinity, alighting in the public street and walking fearlessly some way along it amidst the assembled crowd. It may seem to us in these days almost ridiculous to make much of so simple an act, but it must be remembered that at that time the sight of a Roman collar was the signal in London for insults even from persons who might otherwise have passed for gentlemen, and not unfrequently, for acts of violence, stone-throwing, hurling of brickbats, and personal assaults. The manliness of his conduct met with the applause it deserved, just as the frankness of his Appeal to the English People at once abated the fury of his opponents.

His enjoyment of a solemn ecclesiastical function was very marked, and his knowledge of ceremonies most exact. With extreme quickness of eye he detected every blunder, and the moment the function was over any delinquent was sure to have his mistakes clearly, though without asperity, pointed out to him.

Altogether he struck me as a man of singularly versatile power.

The Cardinal prided himself on his readiness as an *improvisatore*, and would throw off lines in Latin, English, and Italian, with little or no preparation. The late Mr. Howard, of Corby, wrote down, in 1865, the following instance, belonging to Cardinal Wiseman's visit to Corby Castle in 1853.

On the first leaf of a little cruciform book which

had belonged to Miss Canning, of Foxcote, when at Rome with her uncle and aunt, Pope Leo had written 'Leo XII P. P.' On being shown the little volume by Mrs. Howard, Cardinal Wiseman on the leaves of vellum wrote :

O dolce Segno,
Di Cielo pegno,
Di terra gloria,
Sul Tartaro vittoria !
Sei tu per me di vita il libro vero,
D' ogni sapere vivida sorgente ;
Sicura via che 'l successor di Piero
Addita estinto, ma segui vivente.
Dove, o Gesù,
La tua Croce balena
Fuggoni i tristi,
L' alma si rasserena.

The following lines were written in a prayer-book belonging to Father Bernard Vaughan, S.J., at Leyton, on Ascension Day, 1859 :

Earth sends but mists and vapours to the skies,
Which they return as bright enriching dew ;
So may our prayer, dull, vapid though it rise,
Be dropped as grace upon our hearts anew.

On seeing Mr. Stanfield's celebrated picture 'The *Victory* towed into Gibraltar with the body of Nelson on board,' he wrote the following lines, which were printed in the catalogue of the Royal Academy :

Once a victory was gained, where the conquerors stood dumb,
As its triumph-note was dully rolled upon the muffled drum :
'Twas when through the flashing firmament of reeking Trafalgar
Dropped alone in silent glory Nelson's ever-brilliant star.

See the noble hearse that bears him home the hero to his tomb,
With its tattered sail for velvet, shattered mast for ostrich plume,
Read its name from stem to stern post, upon bulwark, spar, and hull,
Shrapnel, shell and shot—'the Victory'—have graven deep and full.

When, in 1856, the late Lord Hatherton discovered an old chalice at Hatherton, Wiseman was ready with a Latin inscription for the case in which it was thenceforth to be kept. On the morning of his trial at Guildford—in August, 1854—he wrote a Latin hymn to St. Laurence. When the Divinity students, or 'Divines,' at Old Hall designed a stone cross as a gift to Mr. W. G. Ward, Wiseman wrote an inscription in the 'lapidary' style. When he was to go with Bishop Roskell to Rome in 1859, he threw off a facetious forecast of this visit in colloquial Latin. These specimens of his fancy are given in an Appendix to the present chapter (p. 199).

The Cardinal's devotion to Ushaw College, the place of his early education, deserves to be noted. Ushaw was proud of him, and to his sensitive nature the frank and simple attachment of his old College friends was a welcome support in time of trouble. Ushaw had developed into a building of magnificent proportions since his boyhood, and he had followed closely the progress of buildings and decorations, and had interested himself in procuring a collection of relics for the College, which Monsignor Talbot declared to be equal to that in any Roman basilica. When he received the Cardinal's hat, Ushaw sent a congratulatory address, to which the Cardinal replied in terms

which showed his feelings towards his Alma Mater and its President.

There is scarcely a place on earth [he wrote] from which expressions of interest and affection could come more welcome to me than those which, in your address, have greeted me from St. Cuthbert's College. Almost from the earliest dawn of reason till the present hour my connexion with it has been unceasing, and, in its comfort to me, unvarying. There was the groundwork of my education and of my future happiness laid; there not only the foundation of sound knowledge was tasted by me, but the sources of spiritual and better wisdom were first approached. And there it is more than probable that I should have completed my course of ecclesiastical studies had not the splendid temptation of Rome opened itself before me, and an ardent desire, even previously conceived, of studying amidst its sacred monuments, made me join the first colony that went to people the empty halls of our ancient Roman College.

But no distance of time or place could ever weaken an affection, still less dissolve a tie, so early formed. I have watched with undiminished interest the growth of stately buildings round the original, and in my time unfinished, pile of St. Cuthbert's College. I have followed, with the lively interest of a faithful son, the varied improvements which have been engrafted on the old solid and vigorous stock of its constitutions. This unbroken connexion between that noble foundation and myself, kept alive by reciprocal offices of friendship, has been greatly strengthened by the continuation there, as its worthy President, of the honoured Mgr. Newsham, with whom, more than with any other person, I had the pleasure of being connected, as his pupil, through my whole education. His absence in Rome at the present moment enables me thus to record my sentiments of gratitude and attachment to him.

Of his feelings towards his old tutor, Dr. Newsham, the Cardinal spoke more fully on occasion of the celebration at Ushaw, in 1853, of the fiftieth anniversary of his coming to College:[1]

[1] Dr. Newsham came to Crook Hall in 1803.

I belong to that generation, now verging on old age [the Cardinal said], which had the happiness of seeing and knowing him as a Superior, though not as yet the head of the College. I have to claim a peculiar rank and place in that class, because not only had I the advantage of possessing him as a Professor for several years, and those the most important of my course, but because I had that more peculiar and close connexion with him, so well known to you here — that of pupil and pedagogue. Day after day have I sat at his fireside while he was engaged in graver pursuits, and while I was conning my lessons for the next day, and applying to him for assistance in the little difficulties which stopped my way. Day after day have I gone to him, at the old familiar quarter, to obtain such help as you know a good-natured pedagogue is ever ready to give to an idle pupil. I thus can say that I had opportunities which few have had of studying and appreciating the character of your most amiable President; and I say it with pleasure, because from the day that that more intimate connexion ceased, and that, choosing my portion in a distant land, I left the College to complete my studies at Rome, from that day to this, there has been established a firm bond of still, I trust, uninterrupted friendship. It seems as if in a moment the tie between us was changed into one more valuable. The dependence which I had for so many years upon him, and marked as it had been with mutual confidence, in one moment seemed to place us in a state of equality. We corresponded together; we have treated one another as friends, and there are few friendships I can say that I value more highly than his.

The Jubilee of the College in 1858 aroused many memories. A medal of Cardinal Allen, the founder of Douay, was struck in honour of the occasion, the inscription being written by Wiseman. The Cardinal wrote a play to be acted by the students — the 'Hidden Gem'—the subject being the story of St. Alexius. He also obtained from the English Canonesses in Paris the ring of St. Cuthbert, which he presented to the College. Its preservation was an instance of the

jealous guarding of English Catholic relics from profanation by the Reformers. The last Catholic Dean of Durham had given it to the family of Lord Montague, from which it passed to Dr. Smith, the Vicar Apostolic of England in Charles I.'s reign, who had given it to the Canonesses.

The speeches and speakers at the commemorative meeting on Wednesday, July 21, were typical of the various elements in the English Catholic body. Mr. Charles Langdale, the veteran leader of the laity, and the inheritor of the historical traditions of the old English Catholic party, discoursed on the political history of English Catholics during the past half-century. Sir W. Lawson—another old Catholic—went back to the days of Douay, the parent of Ushaw; Dr. Russell came from Maynooth, and spoke on Lingard's work for history and literature; Mr. Oakeley, who represented the Tractarian converts, spoke on collegiate education; Dr. Manning gave an eloquent forecast of the influence of Ushaw in the coming fifty years of the history of the Church.

The Cardinal's Jubilee ode, sung by the boys, may be given as a specimen of his hearty and genial sympathy with his Ushaw friends:

> No breezes play, no sunbeams smile
> Throughout the length of Britain's isle,
> Upon a more loved, honoured pile,
> Than this our College home;
> Heir of the rays which no more shine
> In Finchale's vale, on banks of Tyne,
> Round holy Cuthbert's rifled shrine,
> On Bede's yet hallowed tomb.

CHORUS (repeated after each verse).

Then join in chorus, man and boy,
Long reign in this our noble College
Celestial truth and earthly knowledge,
Study's toil, and virtue's joy.

We love our church, its image, stalls,
Our graceful chapels, noble halls,
Our ambulacra's pictured walls,
Our library's rich lore ;
We love our ball-place, lake, and bounds,
Our merry games' perennial rounds,
The hubbub of our joyful sounds,
Shouts, cheers, and laughter's roar.

But hush ! good spirits fill the air ;
They come our joy and love to share,
Great Lingard, Gibson, Gillow, Eyre,
Who sleep beneath our sod,
And many a one whose youthful head
Soon drooped above the tainted bed,
Then sank among the martyred dead ;
The path here taught who trod.

Then up, up cheerily, dash we on.
Not words, but deeds, mark Ushaw's son,
The world's wide battlefield upon,
With evil deadly strife.
With faith, uncompromising zeal,
Devotion to our country's weal,
Charity, honour, virtue—seal,
Brothers, our coming life.

A marked characteristic of the Cardinal was his love for children. A daughter of his old friend Count de Torre Diaz—now Madame Merry del Val, wife of the present Spanish Ambassador at the Vatican, then Clara de Zulueta—has given me reminiscences of her own childhood, when she and her brothers and sisters

were frequent visitors at the Cardinal's house, and his companions in seaside excursions.

The Cardinal's attention to all the interests of each child soon won the hearts of his small friends. Madame Merry del Val tells stories of his writing plays for them, each of the *dramatis personæ* adapted to one of the children. He would himself attend some of the rehearsals and give suggestions. At other times he would join in their picnics, and play 'How, When and Where,' 'Consequences' and a game called 'Concatenations,' in which his own share was very interesting and ingenious. He made the children talk, and learnt all their daily interests. When he returned from one of his expeditions to Rome he would bring back presents suited to each. On one occasion he had given some verses to one of the children, and noticed the disappointment of her younger sister at receiving nothing. Wiseman did not forget it. An invitation to Walthamstow soon followed for the younger sister. An envelope was given to her on her arrival; and she found in the Cardinal's writing some lines—intended perhaps to give gentle encouragement to the thought of joining a religious Order which his observant eye had detected.

If at our Saviour's feet to rest
Made Mary's choice the better part,
Ours surely then must be the best
To lean on Jesus' sacred heart.

His intercourse with the Zulueta children was the pleasure of his summer holiday. One year it was at Eastbourne, another at Worthing, another at

Tunbridge Wells, another at Folkestone. A book of the plays written for them is still kept in the family. The performance was a great event in the eyes of the Cardinal. His genial face looked round to see that all were enjoying it fully. On one occasion he would not let the play begin until his housekeeper—who had been detained—had arrived. 'She must not miss the fun,' he said.

'We children all adored him,' adds Madame Merry del Val. 'Once I was told that he was ugly, and I could not believe it. He was so delightful to us that I could not fancy that he was anything but handsome.'

Mrs. Lonergan tells much the same story of his love for her children. Once, when four of them were climbing on to his shoulder, she tried to release him from their boisterous attentions. 'Let them stay,' was his reply. 'I want them to love me.'

When a birthday was to be celebrated at York Place by a children's party, the Cardinal's keenness was great. Preparations were made secretly, for they had to be hidden from Mgr. Searle, the economical keeper of the purse, who might spoil the sport. 'Buy some water ices, and some cream ices, and some wafers—but don't tell Searle,' were among the Cardinal's instructions.

Such details (albeit trivial) serve to show the man as he was; and so do some other notes set down by the same friends. The love of children went with a real enjoyment of children's books. 'I could not sleep last night, so I read Kingsley's "Water Babies,"' he once said. Little acts of considerate thoughtful-

ness were also characteristic in the case of others as well as children. He would bring home presents from abroad for many of his friends. 'What are you bringing home for your wife?' he asked Count de Torre Diaz as a matter of course when they were together in Paris. 'The servants worshipped him,' says Madame Merry del Val. 'He was ever kind and considerate to them. He loved to visit the poor. While at St. Leonard's he gave deep pleasure by his visits to a coastguard's wife, who was ill of some mortal disease. Her designation of the Cardinal, as she looked at him with profound admiration, as "your Immense," which he ascribed to her sense of the applicability of the title to his portly figure, delighted him.' He loved animals and went, year by year, to the Agricultural Show—always a great pleasure to him. His big dog Hekla and his little dog Tiny were his pets and companions. Mrs. Lonergan recalls an evening when Tiny was lost. The Cardinal could neither eat nor speak until news came that he was found again.

He was very sensitive to noises; and when opening the church at Hertford, could not stand the sound of a harsh bell which was ringing in honour of the occasion. 'Pray stop it,' he said. On the same occasion Cardinal Vaughan gives a characteristic description of his arrival. Great preparations had been made for his reception at the station; but when the train arrived the Cardinal would not get out, but sat still, enveloped in his large cloak. 'Send Father Vaughan here,' he insisted. When Father Vaughan made his way to the carriage, the Cardinal greeted

him with a humorous and mysterious expression. 'I have something to give you,' he said, and raising his cloak disclosed a small boy, Father Vaughan's brother Bernard, whom he had brought as a 'surprise' for the occasion; he then sat back in the train laughing like a child at the success of his joke.

It is not, perhaps, surprising that all this boyish mirth among his intimates went—as it did in the case of Sir Robert Peel—with great stiffness and constraint with strangers. And here Madame Merry del Val's opinion is worth noting, that that constraint was not to be seen in his intercourse with Spaniards or Italians, whose spontaneity and *abandon* were congenial to him. It was observable only with Englishmen, she says, and especially with the 'old' Catholics, whose tastes and temperament did not correspond with his own. This stiffness led to great misunderstanding, and the result of shyness and sensitiveness was attributed to pride or self-assertion. So, too, the love of splendour which Rome had early instilled into him was regarded as a mere love of display. It was in truth bound up with the deepest religious associations of his own early youth. 'He was at home with us Spaniards,' says Madame Merry del Val, 'and we appreciated all this. He was entirely natural and unconstrained with us. He was like a Spaniard himself, and we understood each other.'

Bishop Patterson adds the following recollections, dating from the time our narrative has reached—the return of the Cardinal from Rome in 1855:

> In 1855 I returned to England permanently, and the Cardinal placed me, as he said, for a week or two, at the then

Pro-Cathedral, St. Mary's, Moorfields. I remained there, with an interval of two years from ill health, till his death in 1865. During these years his unceasing kindness and friendship, and the office which he gave me of his Master of the Ceremonies, brought me into constant contact with him, and gave me frequent opportunities to admire his great qualities of mind and heart. When he was delivering courses of sermons at St. Mary's or in other churches, he used, as often as his engagements permitted, to drive out to a villa which he rented near Leyton (now become a suburb of London), and we there passed the next 36 or 48 hours in peace and quiet. He was a very early riser, and wrote for some hours before anyone else was stirring. Then, after our Masses and devotions, he would sit, or stroll in the garden and pour out endless stores of old memories of men and things full of interest, and interspersed with gleams of fresh feeling and humour, from breakfast till lunch, from lunch till dinner, and then very often till bedtime.

The Cardinal's faithful and attached secretary and henchman, Mgr. Searle, used to say that the pace of the Cardinal's mind, and the long protracted attention, fairly wore him out ; but I never experienced that feeling, and was always too glad to set the current flowing in some new direction, when the occasion presented itself.

He had a perennial thirst for knowledge, and would acquire it on any subject by questions from anyone who came in his way, with a readiness which sprang, I think, chiefly from his unfailing gift of sympathy. He liked the society of children and of child-like people, and if he ever was bored, it was by pretension and affectation, not by simplicity or ignorance. Of course he could not be unaware of his superior powers of mind, but I never remember his imposing the recognition of them on other people. The last time that he was in Rome I was driving with him somewhere without the walls, and he said two things which I have treasured in my memory as eminently characteristic. One was that he thanked God he believed that he never had willingly or knowingly opposed, or thrown cold water on, any good work or project. When one remembers his great achievements and his fame, it struck one that the humility and modesty of this remark were quite remarkable. The other was that, speaking of a great disappointment and

sorrow which had befallen him by the misconduct of another, who had deceived him, he said he would rather go on to the end believing in men and being often deceived, than lose all trust in everyone, for he thought next to losing confidence in God the greatest misery was to lose all confidence in man.

A glimpse of the Cardinal's tender affectionateness in the more intimate relations of life is given by his letters to a nephew to whom he acted as guardian—the Reverend William Burke, a brother of the present Sir Theobald Burke of Glinsk. The first of the subjoined letters was written to him while yet a boy at school, at Oscott :

London : Feb. 8, 1848.

My dearest Willy,—Your affectionate letter has truly delighted me and comforted me. You know that, cut off for years from my own family, I have no one but you near me to claim any affection, and I am sure you do not know how great that is for you. I cannot tell you how we missed you here. I am delighted to find that you are really setting to work in earnest at your studies. You are quite mistaken, dearest Willy, if you judge of abilities in the manner that you say. Persons of mere ready wit and smartness of manner, or even writers of common verses, are by no means persons of genius or ability. The cleverest person that I have ever known, and one now rising high in Government, could never make or even understand a joke ; and as to verses, there are people who will write them by the score but never come to anything. The witty or clever things which you hear boys say would none of them stand the test of even the laws of wit, but they please from the good humour of the party in which they are said, or from little associations that give them a cast they would not have elsewhere. The least ready and sharp are often the most solid and sensible. When I look back on my own school companions and others whom I have known at college, I do not by any means find that their success in life or their usefulness (which is more important) had been in proportion to their brilliancy at college, but rather the contrary. I can speak from experience, since, as a boy at college, I was

always considered stupid and dull by my companions (when out of class). . . .

What I have aimed at, and what I recommend to you, is the cultivation of all your faculties. The best and most successful abilities consist of a well-balanced state of the different powers of mind. Mere dry reason and judgment, however solid, has little power to influence, because it does not please; mere feeling becomes morbid and useless; imagination, if too prevalent, leads to the unreal and unpractical; memory, if excessive, leads to inexactness and negligence; and so of every other mental power. The just cultivation of soul is the object of a *complete* education. Boys grumble and ask 'Of what use can this study or that be to me who am going to be an engineer, or a lawyer, or a priest . . .?' But the course of education is intended *mainly* to bring out and strengthen, one by one, each latent power, in proper order and at a fitting age. Thus logic and mathematics ought to be studied by all, as means of forming rightly and training the mental or reasoning powers, which otherwise will be left to their own imperfect development. Poetry (and partly rhetoric) is of great importance to excite and bring out the imagination, not to make [you capable of] verse-writing. Your Latin 'by heart' is to strengthen the memory; and your Greek and Latin studies are more calculated than any others to accustom you to work for yourself, to overcome difficulties, to reason and make application of principles. Hence, when a boy gets a translation and so learns his lesson, he is doing the most foolish thing on earth, as regards forwarding his real interests for after life. You will see from what I have written, that I want you to read a variety of things—history, for instance, and poetry—something of each; not long histories, but such as will make you well acquainted with the great facts and leading characters of every period of history. These form great points on which a great deal of matter will afterwards hang. And so, in poetry, try to see and learn the characteristics of each author: try to penetrate into them and to feel their beauties. Blair will give you much assistance. A few months of industry will make up for much previous neglect; and if you will read and study well now, your more matured sense will enable you to draw more profit in proportion from what you do. As to particular books of

history, ask Mr. Flanagan in my name to direct you in the selection. Think and reflect on what you read and take occasionally notes of what strikes you. Probably later you will be tempted to throw them into the fire; but no matter, you will have formed your judgment as you go on and got into a good practice. . . .

Do let me hear from you once a fortnight, I will not tax you more. I want you to have the benefit of all the experience of my own life, and perhaps I can often direct you in difficulties which to you may seem very great. Remember that I have had to go through all that you must experience in the troubles and difficulties of education. A pilot that has got his own ship safe through a rocky channel, may be well trusted with the care of another's. If ever I can win your confidence, as I should like to have it, and you would *let me* tell you your thoughts and feelings (I do not ask you to tell them), you would find, dearest Willy, that I have studied you and learnt you better than you think, and that you may rely on me as a true and sincere friend. This, I trust, will come, when we are more together.

I will send you a nice book for Johnny Dormer by the first opportunity, and will send back his book.

God bless you, dearest Willy.

Yours ever most affectionately,

N. WISEMAN.

The following letter, written seven years later, is addressed to the Collegio Pio, Rome, where young Burke was pursuing his studies for the priesthood:

Walthamstow: March 15, 1855.

MY DEAREST WILLY,—After working at a lecture which I have to deliver the day after to-morrow, on the War (!), I sit down before going to bed, to write you a few lines; as otherwise I don't know how long it will be before you hear from me. The first part of your letter I was sorry to read, though of course it causes me no uneasiness. Every mind must have its struggles, and those dark and silent hours of unseen conflict, where few can give consolation, are symbolised in our Lord's Agony in the Garden, the hardest of His trials. They must be borne in patience and resisted calmly, and they will pass away. . . .

The Boyle case stands for next week. All the Convents are having novenas, and there are prayers on all sides to help me. The other side are making every exertion and are abundantly supplied with Protestant money. It is quite true that there was a man waiting at the station to subpœna Searle and myself. They must have known of our coming up, by telegraph.

The story about the new house is a *canard*. I have taken it and shall cover the rent by that of Golden Square. I can hardly tell you what an improvement it is. It is cheerful and much better distributed. The chapel is a story lower, with a sacristy; *all* the servants below; back staircase, and many other comforts. My health has undergone a revolution. I rise fresh in the morning and can get through my work without that depression, physical and moral, which I used to suffer. Much of this is owing to the change of atmosphere, but, besides this, I am much improved in health, the symptoms of dyspepsia having greatly diminished, so that I feel better than I have been for a long time. Hence I am in infinitely better spirits for my trial than I was last year, and think very little about it.

All are well here except Mother Scott, who seems breaking. Nap is getting old, but becomes very lively when he can find anyone to romp with him. I have a ridiculous little dog, just like him in colour, and in proportion to him as he is to a horse. She is a great pet, being full of life and good temper. . . .

Give my love to Howard, Patterson, Knight, &c., and kind regards to Dr. E. and all friends; and Searle joins me. I have sent Miss G. another copy of 'Fabiola.' If yours is worn out, perhaps she would give you her first, which could be bound for the College. Your account of Mgr. Talbot's sermon amused me; but his statements about London have no foundation. I have returns from all the chapels which quite contradict them; but I am getting still more accurate ones made. Don't, however, tell him, for I will write to him myself. God bless you, my dearest Willy. Pray for me.

Yours ever most affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Take an opportunity of calling on Plattner the artist, and tell him I know Mr. Elmsly, the American gentleman who has ordered a picture, and he is quite safe.

8 York Place, Portman Square, London, W. :
Private. November 26, 1858.

My dearest Willy,—Tuesday and Wednesday will be *disagreeably* busy days, on which I think you had better not be here. I fear Thursday would be too late in the week, if you must be at home on the following Sunday. If, therefore, you have arranged for next Tuesday, *come* ; if not, do not come the next week. I shall be very glad to talk with you about what you have been studying. I doubt whether the Scriptural difficulties about religion can be discussed without philological and archæological studies which you have not had time for. A study of years of the *old* rationalists has proved most useful to me in later controversies (as with Donaldson) and in Biblical illustrations, even down to sermons. How gladly would I have met with anyone who would receive from me the little I have learnt. But I have never found anyone who seemed to care for them. Even the quantities of notes that I have, will be thrown to the moths after me, though they contain the fruits of years of diligent reading. . . . You have now a better opportunity than ever I had, and should cultivate it diligently. I do not think that as yet you have hit on the best way of treasuring up what you read. You make long extracts, which do not give play to your own mind and powers. It is impossible for two persons to follow exactly the same course, and each must explore and discover for himself. No man's experiences can teach another. Still, from what I have seen, you have not as yet got at what must be your method for life.

Though it might be unreasonable to expect at your age to find in you a tabulated mind, you have sufficient aim in what you are reading to permit of leading principles or thoughts being classified, so as to refer all that you read to a definite one. This method guided me for years. . . . But I think my powers, such as they were, had been trained and formed and logicised by rude exercises and inward severity which no one saw. Such a course of years ! Oh, my dearest Willy, may you never experience them ! Years of solitude, of dereliction, without an encouraging word from Superior or companion, denounced, even, more than once, by unseen enemies ; years of shattered nerves, dread often of instant insanity, consumptive weakness enfeebled from sinking energy, of sleepless nights and weary

days, and hours of tears which no one ever witnessed. For years and years this went on, till a crisis came in my life and character, and I was drawn into a new condition where all was changed. It was during this period, to me invaluable, that I wrote my 'Horæ Syriacæ' (which you probably have scarcely looked into, to see what they cost me), collected my materials for the Lectures on the 'Connexion,' on the Eucharist, &c. Without this training I should not have thrown myself into the Puseyite controversy at a later period. Yet many of that body, then and since, have told me that I was the only Catholic who understood them, or could throw his mind into theirs. If so, this was only the result of the self-discipline . . . . of previous years. The very principle which pervades the Lectures on the Eucharist is the ground of my Oxford Movement papers: that of trying to seize the ideas and feelings of those whose moods you interpret. . . . Some principles and thoughts have been so familiar to my own mind since I was eighteen or twenty, that they appear to me to be universal and commonplace; yet I find when I have compulsory occasion to utter them, they seem new . . . to others. They are seeds of early planting, which everyone should value in himself. There was one consolation through this early time of trial that the intellectual so thoroughly absorbed the physical, that it made me pass through a passionless youth—I had almost said temptationless. Very early I chose the one object of all my studies, to defend and illustrate religion, Christian and Catholic, and I do not think I have ever swerved in purpose from my aim. Whatever variety of motives may have been attributed to me, I do not think that I have ever been unfaithful to this end.

In one respect I am now what I was in my early days—alone with my own thoughts and my own pursuits. Not a soul about me ever alludes to anything that would let deeper thoughts have flow. Not one ever puts a question as to what occupies my now long hours of seclusion. . . . I never have felt more thoroughly alone than I have been for some months. I feel as if living in a frozen atmosphere. It is on this account that Teddy Howard's visits to me are welcome, in spite of his interminable gossip and provoking impossibilities; because our conversations generally end when we are alone, on more inward and thoughtful topics than most would think. And it is this that has drawn another person

closer to me than many like; that no one in conversation so frequently touches a chord which renews old vibrations or recalls and evokes unevoked sympathies. If God gives me strength to undertake a great wrestling match with infidelity, I shall owe it to him.[1]

I intended to write you a common sheetful, but have gone on almost unconsciously. . . . I have been, more than usual, alone for some days. It was therefore but natural that I should give free current to my thoughts when writing to you whom for years I have been looking to as one into whose mind I could gradually pour the accumulation of years of thought more than of study, and perhaps save him much trouble. It has pleased Providence otherwise; nor perhaps would it have been the most acceptable distinction to yourself. But at any rate, my dearest Willy, keep this letter, which you may perhaps read again at some future period, when your own experience may test its truthfulness of principle and of sentiment. You dream as little of your future as I did of mine at your age. It may be externally more blessed, more honoured, or what people call more brilliant. Of such unexpected results I have certainly no right to complain. But try early to get into a consort of mind with others; do not be solitary in your generation; avoid uncommunicated broodings and even isolated reading. Do not encourage the idea in yourself of a call to a peculiar line or an individual vein. At any rate, let the waters, after having been put up to turn your own mill, flow onwards, a generous, open, public stream, grateful to many, and fruit-giving on every side. In this way you will be a happy cheerful scholar, not a morose, unkindly bookworm. God bless you. Let me know when you will come.

Yours most affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Less tender than the love for his nephew, but very warm, were his friendships with old college friends; his masters, like Dr. Lingard or Dr. Newsham, or his equals, as Canon Walker, Mr. Thompson, and, in some degree, Dr. Errington. With Canon Walker he kept

[1] The reference is to Provost Manning, at whose suggestion Wiseman did undertake a course of lectures against modern infidelity.

up a constant correspondence on learned subjects; friendly and intimate in character—although they appeared to enjoy a species of good-humoured abuse of one another when occasion arose. The letters deal with subjects connected with the Cardinal's reading or lectures, or with news as to mutual friends. The following note encloses an account of Dr. Lingard's last days, an event arousing for the two Ushaw men many common memories:

London: May 10, 1851.

My dear Walker,—I send you the answer—indirect but valuable—from poor Lingard.

How can you be so stupid or obstinate as not to accept at once hospitality sincerely offered? Come here at once on your arrival. . . . It will be worth your while.

Yours affectionately in Christ,
N. Card. Wiseman.

With this was sent the following letter:

Lancaster Banking Co., Lancaster: May 6, 1851.

My Lord Cardinal,—I was this morning with our excellent friend Dr. Lingard, who is confined to his bed, and in a very precarious state of health.

As soon as I had seated myself at his bedside, the good old man, with tears in his eyes, placed in my hands your kind letter to him, dated yesterday, with which he seemed quite delighted. He made me read it aloud, and kept exclaiming 'He is very good,' 'It is very kind of him,' &c.

As a perfect stranger, I should not have presumed to address you, had I not noticed in your letter that you desired Dr. Lingard, if he was unable to do so himself, to get some person to write you on his behalf. I therefore take leave to say that I am afraid he is not likely to remain with us long. His medical man has a very unfavourable opinion of his case. I have visited him repeatedly during the last three weeks, and although he at times appears to revive and gain strength, yet he soon relapses, and, I fear, is gradually sinking. But he suffers little or no pain, and is quite cheerful.

Like yourself, I feel grateful to him for past kindnesses, and it is a great pleasure to me now to show him every attention in my power. For the last five-and-twenty years he has honoured me as his Banker with his confidence and friendship, and I shall deeply regret his loss. He is universally beloved in his own neighbourhood, and it is quite affecting to witness the solicitude shown by Protestants as well as Catholics for his recovery.

I have the honour to be, with profound respect,
Your Eminence's obedient humble servant,
JOHN COULSTON.

To His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman.

The communication by the Cardinal of some Latin lines for criticism, a few months later, evidently brought a schoolmaster's correction from Mr. Walker; to which the Cardinal retorts as follows:

How could you be so stupid as to suppose there could be such a schoolboy false verse in the lines which I sent you? Did you not suspect your own bad reading of good writing rather than the poet's knowledge of one of the first rules of verse, the violation of which sounds at once, to the least practised ears?

Another *jeu d'esprit* is sent for criticism on December 16th:

London: Dec. 16, 1851.

MY DEAR WALKER,—You, who are so clever at translating verses (I forgot to criticise yours in my last), translate into one verse, each word beginning with F, the following description of the flight from Moscow.

Franguntur Franci flamma, fame, frigore, ferro.

I have made two or three versions, but should like to see one from you. Do not talk or write about it, as it is for a secret purpose.

2. I am going to send a present of salt fish for Lent to the Vatican—salt cod, and sounds. I suppose bloaters don't carry. Now where is the best place to get the best, Scarboro'—Whitby,

or Hartlepool? Be impartial for once in your life, and tell me.

Yours very sincerely in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Do you know this classical riddle?

'Totum sume, fluit; caudam procide, volabit;
Tolle caput, pugnat; viscera carpe, dolet.'

Canon Walker has endorsed the letter thus:

Answered by return as follows—

France fell 'fore fire, frost, famine, fusillade.
Frenchmen from famine, fire, frost, faulchion fled.
Frenchmen from famine, flame, frost, firelock fell.

The other:

Entire 'tis a river, when tail-less it flies,
Beheaded gives battle, emboweled draws sighs.

Solved, ditto:

'Vulturnus' is flowing, and 'vultur' he flies,
And 'Turnus' gives battle, [and] 'vulnus' draws sighs.

To this Wiseman replies:

You destroy the force of the line by putting it in the past. 'Franguntur' is descriptive, not narrative. Which of these two would you take?

Fallen France from fire, frost, famine, falchion, flies,

or

Fierce Franks . . . . . fly.

It might be simply—and that was my first version—

France flies from falchion, famine, fire, frost.

Then fire is made, as pronounced, a dissyllable. For which there is good authority:

Double, / double / toil and / trouble, /
Fire / burn and / cauldron / bubble,

and the verse runs easier.

As to the fish, would Slater be up to the thing if I wrote to him? Your culinary instructions shall be attended to.

Yours very sincerely in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

There are several letters showing that Wiseman was wont to consult his friend as to the matter of his various lectures, up to the end, in spite of the frank criticisms which he received:

London: Dec. 5, 1853.

My dear Walker,—If you have not destroyed the letter I wrote to you about my coming lecture, could you send it to me? since in spite of your slashing criticism of it, I persevere in delivery, though I think it will not be what you expected. But there are some points in the letter which I want to see; please to let it come by return of post. Is there not a description of the prairies in Washington Irving? Also of the forests in 'The Last of the Mohicans'? I lectured, as you will have seen, on Sunday in church, and on Monday in a school, on Lord John. Both will be published, as well as the following ones.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,
N. Card. Wiseman.

Peace is on the cards. Lord Palmerston wrote an article in the 'Post' of yesterday or Monday on it. You will have seen that I met the King of S[pain] on Sunday.

Most of the Cardinal's private reading was connected with the various subjects dealt with in his lectures and in his essays in the 'Dublin Review,' of which we speak elsewhere. But he still devoted some time also to the study of Oriental literature. As an art critic he soon became a familiar figure at the private view of the Royal Academy, where, although he dispensed with the cardinalitial robes, he was conspicuous from his scarlet gloves and skull-cap. He was fond of visiting the studios of artists. In particular, he frequently repaired to the studio of his friend Mr. Stanfield at Hampstead. Here he sometimes met Charles Dickens, Lord Houghton, Charles Kean the actor, and others. Charles Dickens used

also to meet him at the dinners of the Literary Fund. 'I remember,' writes Miss Hogarth, 'hearing Charles speak of him after meeting him. I know he thought him a very remarkable man, with much universal knowledge.'

When Charles Kean was in course of his Shakespearian revivals at the Princess's, he was at a loss how to dress for Cardinal Wolsey in 'Henry VIII.' In his difficulty he drove to York Place, and consulted Wiseman, who thereupon promptly summoned his servant and secretary, and had himself vested in all his robes, giving for the actor's benefit a kind of extempore lecture on the name and history of each, as it was put on. Charles Kean was very anxious that the Cardinal should see him play Wolsey, and proposed to drape a private box in such a manner that Wiseman could be present without being visible to the audience.

Although eminently English in his appearance and straightforward manner, the Cardinal could never to the end divest himself of the standard of taste and etiquette gained in youth, during his residence in Rome. For a time he preserved the Roman etiquette which prescribed that he should be received by torchbearers when he dined out—although I believe that this was soon abandoned. He loved a progress in mediæval state, and when visiting the English Benedictines at Douay *en route* for Rome (probably in 1859), he surprised the monks by the length of his retinue. Successive carriages drew up at the monastery, containing the Cardinal and a brother Bishop, the Cardinal's secretary and his doctor, attendant priests, servants and

luggage. The monks were equally surprised to find, a few hours after his arrival, that his chief delight was in talking to the schoolboys, watching their games and obtaining for them treats and holidays.

Cardinal Wiseman's equipage at home was also elaborate. The old-fashioned Cardinal's carriage, with its gorgeous trappings —now abolished in Rome itself, and in England somewhat suggestive of the Lord Mayor's show—was to him the natural and right accompaniment of his dignity ; and any modification of it in concession to English tastes, was only to yield to No Popery prejudices. The carriage he used and the liveries of his servants were, consequently, only slightly modified editions of those then in vogue in Rome. Similarly, his notepaper and the characters in which his official documents were printed, were somewhat more splendid than English custom warrants. He likewise kept the table of a Roman Cardinal, and surprised some Puseyite guests by four courses of fish in Lent—in lieu of the herbs and bread and water which the strictest of the party were accustomed to at Oxford. 'The Cardinal has a lobster salad side as well as a spiritual side,' one of the Puseyite wits remarked.

Wiseman lived in the old house of the Vicars Apostolic, in Golden Square, until 1855, when he migrated to No. 8, York Place, Portman Square. The country house at Leyton, referred to by Bishop Patterson, was the successor to another place of Retreat from the cares of London life, Sherne Hall, near Walthamstow. At Leyton he received visits from many friends. The following letter to Mr. Patterson was

written at the time of the change of London houses, which was evidently a success so far as health and comfort were concerned. It also gives a glimpse of Cardinal Wiseman's jocose intercourse with his intimates, as well as of the matters occupying his mind at this time—the Boyle case, the appearance of 'Fabiola,' and the conversions to the Church which were in prospect.

'Most illustrious and most reverend Sir!

'Sir, most worshipful master!

'With deepest obsequies, and most tender affectations I receive your venerated letter, which demonstrates to me at one time the goodness of your heart and the badness of your pen, the glow of your sentiments and the paleness of your ink, the strength of your friendship, and the slenderness of your paper. For all which I thank you very hotly and with distinct esteem' (The Italian Complete Letter-Writer).

The first news I have to give you is that I feel, thank God, better than I have been for ages. This I attribute much to change of domicile, having come into the fashionable region of York Place, which is at the top of Baker Street, which disembarks itself amidst a current of omnibi into Portman Square, in which I believe Mr. Smith still lives. I rise in the morning like a strong man refreshed by sleep, with none of the muzziness which used to envelop my head in the nebulous regions of Golden Square. The house shows me that I have been living in a sort of Scutari atmosphere, which has been acting deleteriously on my complexion as the Italians say (*i.e.* constitution). I thus feel comparatively lightly the trouble that surrounds and awaits me. For you must know that I had hardly left the railway carriage from Folkestone than, with the utmost publicity, I was served with a subpœna, &c. No one knew of my coming that day, so a telegraphic message must have informed my good friends of the happy opportunity. But I leave all this matter in better hands than theirs or mine, or 'judge and jurys,' whether in the 'Garrick Head,' or the Old Bailey.

Turning to more pleasant topics, how is our *cubic* friend?[1]

As much a *brick* as ever, angular to the Protestants, kindly smooth to the Catholics, firm in his contact with the rock of Peter? Is it true that he has become a great botanist, having been the first to produce any *cryptogamia* in St. Peter's? So at least say those Roman infallibilities without appeal—'The Journals.'

You will no doubt have heard all news and rumours of the Oxford Movement: first I hear that your nuns have moved off, and the religious of the Apparition have disappeared. So I understood F. Chadwick to say. Mr. Foulkes's conversion seems to have set them a-going again. Dr. Dean is certain, and I hear of a Mr. Oxenham. I have confirmed Mr. (and Mrs.) Parry, late of SS. Paul and Barnabas', and Mr. Kirk, an Hiberno-Anglican parson. Among recent converts is Sir Archibald MacDonald, a Hampshire Bart., also a Mr. Mills of Eltham. Poor Mr. Wetherell is cut off by his uncle and, I fear, remains quite destitute. There are others on Dr. Manning's hands, whom Nat. Goldsmith calls 'the Apostle of the Genteels.' You will be glad to hear that 'Fabiola' has had a most unexpected success. It has got into railway stations, and into Protestant hands. I should think more than 2,000 copies have gone off. It has one good effect, it is . . . undoing some of the mediæval frostwork which late years have deposited round English Catholic affections to the forgetfulness of Rome and its primeval glories. I am booked for a terrible lecture on the war, on the vigil of the Queen's day of prayer and humiliation which will be kept by extra trains and cheap trips . . . . I do not pretend to give you newspaper news, true or false. Everybody feels thoroughly humbled, and ashamed of England's position at home and abroad. I may mention, however, that the conduct of our priests and nuns has won universal praise: the despatches of the Adj.-Gen. Estcourt speak in the highest terms of the former: Miss Nightingale writes that great part of her success is due to Rev. Mother of Bermondsey, without whom it would have been a failure.

Ora pro me.

Yours affectionately,
N. C. W.

[1] *Note by Bishop Patterson.*—'This refers to Monsignor George Talbot. I had called him τετράγωνος ἀνευ ψόγου, which is Aristotle's phrase for a man true and sincere on all sides, or as we say, "a regular brick."'

It was with the same correspondent, in his capacity of Master of Ceremonies at the cathedral, that the Cardinal exchanged many a friendly note, and passed many an hour of conversation, on that aspect of the Catholic liturgy which has exercised such writers as Merati and Baldeschi. Of Wiseman's love of the ceremonial I have already spoken in the account of his Oscott days. But the elaborate ritual belonging to the cathedral of the Cardinal Archbishop gave this taste fresh scope. Besides his keen interest in the general outlines, as the symbolical representation of the supernatural, he likewise made a close study of rubrical details; and his familiar intercourse with his Master of the Ceremonies gives a very characteristic side of his character. Letters giving minute rubrical directions are interspersed with all sorts of jokes. Bishop Patterson writes as follows:

In my official relations with him as Master of the Ceremonies he was often full of *facetiæ*. He used to write me decrees on the ritual of coming functions (which he used to say were so called because they put most people concerned into a 'funk'), which were headed 'S. C. R. [Sacred Congregation of Rites], Ramus Westmonasteriensis,' in which he gave various directions in a Latinity savouring of Fabricius' 'Thesaurus mediæ et infimæ Latinitatis,' which we used to call the 'Treasury of middling and infamous Latin.' He was a great authority on ritual, and was very particular in requiring it to be exactly performed; but it was characteristic that he was generally lenient to those whom he liked when they were caught tripping in such matters. Once in a great function, when he was sitting on his throne, the celebrant of the High Mass was a dignitary distinguished by great learning and a very singular congeries of personal defects—small and deformed, comically plain in features, and unkempt and untidy in garb, who was clad in a gorgeous and ample mediæval vestment and a long stole, which had got

entangled with his feet, so that he could scarcely move. When thus accoutred he advanced to make his homage to the Cardinal. He made a sign to me to come near, and said *sotto voce* and with great gravity, 'Quis est iste qui venit de Edom, tinctis vestibus de Bosra, iste formosus gradiens in stola sua?'[1] He was however, sometimes testy, and showed by his looks that he was annoyed, which of course made nervous people more nervous still. Manning once said to him, after a great function at the Oblates', 'I am never afraid of you except when you are in vestments.' Manning himself was very unrubrical, and never obeyed his Master of the Ceremonies, but argued the points at issue then and there: which was characteristic but embarrassing, as one never knew what he was going to do next.

Wiseman, on the other hand, well knew that an argument with the Master of Ceremonies was fatal to all order and dignity in the ceremonial. On one occasion his ready perception saved a great function from a breakdown. The Master of Ceremonies for the occasion was an excellent rubrician, but had recently been suffering from slight mental hallucination, of which the Cardinal was not aware. Suddenly, in the middle of a procession on the feast of Corpus Christi, he called on the clergy to halt The Cardinal asked what had happened, and the Master of Ceremonies replied that he had been told that moment in a revelation to stop the procession. The Cardinal at once took in the situation, paused a moment, and then whispered to the Master of Ceremonies, 'You may let the procession go on. I have obtained permission, by special revelation, to proceed with it.' This satisfied the other, and the position was saved.

Among the papers preserved by Bishop Patterson,

[1] Isai. lxiii. 1.

minute instructions, going into the most elaborate ritual, and the requisites for its performance -the times when the 'precious' mitre is wanted, or the 'damask' mitre, with movements of all officials - alternate with facetious invitations to dinner and letters crammed with puns, some good, some execrable. When Lord Petre sends the Cardinal some venison, Mr. Patterson is invited to share it as follows:

LEONTIUS TAMISIUS
AMICO GAMPIO [1]

Cum Dominus Petrè cervi mihi miserit ancam,
Quam nisi manducem nimium tolletur in auras,[2]
Te rogo cras, hora sexta mediante, venire, et
Pinguia, his epulis, exilia reddere membra.

Die Mercurii.

A letter to Mr. Patterson, on occasion of a visit of the Bishop of Amiens (Monsignor de Salinis) to the Cardinal in London, is another specimen of their familiar intercourse. The Bishop had brought with him a musical friend of portly appearance:

Friday, August, 1855.

DEAR F. CAEREMONIARIUS,—Inprimis, attend to the giving of the Pax [3] *per amplexum* and not *per instrumentum pacis*, that

[1] *Note by Bishop Patterson.*—'Wiseman was a member of the Roman "Academia of the Arcadians." They assign to their members a farm in Arcadia and a name in allusion to their personal qualities, nationality or birth. Wiseman's name was Leontius Tamisius, (British) lion of the Thames. My designation of Gampius refers to our discussions on Mrs. Gamp and Mrs. 'Arris.'

[2] 'Will get too high.' (Bretschneider).

[3] The kiss of peace with the words 'Pax tecum' is given by the clergy to each other towards the end of Mass.

you and Mr. Dale understand one another. It has hitherto been a most discordant and conflicting peace.

2. There is come with the Bp. of Amiens (not of his suite) a priest with a 20 serpent, 5 double bass, and 10 trombone power combined, who sings a solo in plain chant *à merveille*. They are anxious that he should break all the windows for us to-morrow . . . by the detonation of his intonation. He would sing, if there be room for it, an *O Salutaris* after the Elevation or the Gradual. Ask Mr. McQuoin if he can give him an opportunity of exploding. It is considered the best voice in France, and the instrument is in proportion to the sound, being of 5 canon dimensions. If the music be Gregorian in any part, he can act as a pedal-pipe to it. Remember the old Spanish epitaph about the precentor to my sovereign Lord the King.

Yours affectionately in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

When a friend wants to give a yearly treat to the Catholic shoeblacks, the Cardinal writes off the following witticism to his *Ceremoniarius*:

January 4, 1858.

MY DEAR P. P. C.,[1] —I wish to consult you on a rubrical point of some moment. Mr. A. B. wants to appoint some *feast*-day for the *shoe-blacks*: I mean, a day to give them a treat yearly. I first thought of SS. Crispin and Crispinian, but the shoe*makers* have secured that. I ask you, therefore, what you think of the following: *Festus Dies Martini*

Feast [of] *Day* [and] *Martin*?

Would not the 'Humourists' greatly approve of so holy an adaptation?

Pray come over soon.

Yours affectionately in Christ,
N. C. W.

When the Bishop of Bayeux came to England to consecrate Mgr. Vesque, then priest in charge of Norwood Orphanage, as Bishop of Mauritius, the

[1] Pater Præfectus Ceremoniarum.

Cardinal wrote full instructions to the Master of Ceremonies, a portion of which I append :

Thursday.

DEAR CEREM.,—I have been to Norwood, and found the omnibus at the door which had deposited the Bishop and a dozen of priests, &c. I ascertained the following particulars :

1°. The Bishop has his own cope, doubtless as follows, and mitre as below :

ye coape — ye myter

[below is sketch] — [below is sketch]

likewise his own Pontifical. As to a *plain* mitre, it never would enter into my head to drive a French Bishop's into one—so, plain or precious, he must wear what he likes. He is a good-looking, pleasing, and very functionable person, and you will like him. Rivière and another will attend him, also two Norwoodians will attend Mgr. Vesque, the consecrand. He expects a crosier to-morrow, and his cross is come.

They will arrive at St. Mary's by 10.30.

Also I have promised that the front seats—chairs—shall be for the strangers from France, who will enter through the house —they will be the Vesques, the Jumilliacs, and other respectables.

The orphans to be in the gallery. Their attachment to Mgr. Vesque is quite wonderful—a little toddle of a thing said she would be a little nigger to belong to his flock. So we must do our best for them.

There will be a sweet variety of costumes in the choir, the Bishop having requested that Canons should appear in *habit de chœur*, upon which I placed my hand on my *cœur*, or the habits over it, and bowed over the same with my ear to the shoulder, which was meant for a gracious assent thereto. So expect rochets, rabats . . . &c. What if *latet anguis in herba Norwoodiensi*, and a serpent or a bassoon make its appearance ?

Etloe House, Leyton, was, as has been said, the welcome escape from the busy London life, and the *Ceremoniarius*, as we have seen, often accompanied him thither. Thus, in 1857, a letter connected with preparations for a visit from the Archbishop of Paris continues thus :

W. Jan. 1, 1857.

I have had a most acceptable letter from the [holy] Father. To-morrow (Thursday) I have a wedding at 10, with the etceteras of breakfasting and casting of slippers then a dinner elsewhere, and then hurrah! for Etloe House.

Θέλω εἰρήνην
Ψυχῆς γαλήνην,

as the Greek song has it.

And the arrangements as to time and place of meeting, that they might travel together, are communicated in a letter written in the character of the verbose Irishman:

8 York Place, Thursday.

My dear Father Pat,—Having ascertained as a candid fact, and also received assurance incontrovertibly true, as I conscientiously believe that no doubt can be entertained of the sagacity of the conjecture—or to speak more correctly, or I should have said *to write*, or indeed it would have been more accurate to have put down *written* instead of said—of the veracity of the circumstances, most important to us to know, though in the twilight of our imperfect knowledge here below it is not altogether wonderful that it should have escaped our observation, for even the astronomer who revels in the height of the celestial planispheres, entering into his pocket-books the circulation of the golden coins of the nocturnal heavens, may occasionally omit an item in his account, and find himself, in dotting and going one, a fixed star out of calculation, or a planet out of pocket; wherefore dropping similes, having, on the reliable authority (as Jonathan says) of Bradshaw, come to a conclusion that the proper train by which to travel this afternoon is that of *a quarter before four post-meridian*, it will be my highest privilege and most elevated satisfaction to call for you about 3¼.

Yours to command,

N. C. W.

The sympathetic kindliness which these letters and reminiscences throughout convey, had a real affinity to Wiseman's attitude on greater questions.

Whether in his relations to his fellow-men or in his view of the Church, he looked instinctively towards what was sympathetic to him, and passed over what was repulsive or defective. He was conscious of this himself, and yet he maintained that (in greater matters) what to others seemed his tendency to idealise, was only an intense realisation of what was beautiful or lovable. Those whose minds were concentrated on defects spent their powers of perception on mere criticism. If to him the whole life of the Church appeared beautiful, he held this to result from his keen realisation of a beautiful and divine life, which was marred in fact by human defect. To give too much attention to the human defects was, in his eyes, to incapacitate the mind from appreciating its essential beauty. He carried out the scholastic doctrine that evil is not something positive but a negation. If that which is truest in the Church is, that it is the partial realisation of a Divine ideal, the first business for our limited faculties is to appreciate that ideal as realised in the Church, and the saying of the French writer, *l'idéal c'est le réel*, conveys an important truth.

This characteristic is to some extent conveyed in the Cardinal's own words, in a passage with which I may fitly conclude this chapter. Writing of his 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes' he says :

> This is not a history, nor a series of biographies, nor a journal, nor what are called memoirs. It is as much of a great moving picture as caught one person's eye and remained fixed in his memory ; that portion of it which came nearest to him, touched him most closely, interested most deeply his feelings. . . . It may be said that a darker and shadier side must exist in every picture ; there must have been many crimes within and

without the walls of Rome as well as of Troy which are not even mentioned here. . . . True; there no doubt was and no doubt is yet plenty of all this, but there is no want of persons to seize upon it and to give it to the public in the most glowing or most loathsome colouring. Provided they really describe what they have seen it matters not; let the historian blend and combine the various contrasting elements of truth-telling witnesses. But to the author such narrations would have been impossible. He does not retain in his memory histories of startling wickedness nor pictures of peculiar degradation. He has seen much of the people, of the poorest from city and country, in the hospitals, where for years he has been happy in attending to their spiritual wants; and he could tell about them just as many edifying anecdotes as tales of crime and woe. And as to wicked persons it certainly was the providence of his early life not to be thrown into the society of the bad. He can add with sincerity that later he has not sought it. His familiars and friends have been naturally those who had been trained in the same school as himself. . . . His looks were, therefore, towards the virtuous; their images stamped themselves habitually on his mind's eye. . . . Of others he cannot speak; and to do so would be, even if he could, uncongenial to him.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXIII

The following verses and inscriptions by the Cardinal have been referred to in the foregoing chapter (p. 167). The first is the inscription for Lord Hatherton's chalice:

CALICEM
SACERRIMO · CVLTVI · OLIM · DICATVM
ET · IN · PILLATENANO · SVO
VBI · DIV · OB · TEMPORVM · CALAMITATES
ABDITVS · LATVERAT
A · VIRO · CLARISSIMO · EDVARDO · LITTLETON
ANNO · MDCCL
REPERTVM
IOHANNES · PRIMVS · BARO · HATHERTONENSIS
IN · HAC · CAPSA · EX · AVITA · DOMVS · TRABE · CONFECTA
PRO · MAIORE · REVERENTIA · ET · TVTELA
REPONENDVM · CVRAVIT
ANNO · CIↃCCCLVI

On August 18, 1854, the morning of his trial at Guildford (elsewhere described), the Cardinal wrote this hymn to St. Laurence :

AD B. LAURENTIUM

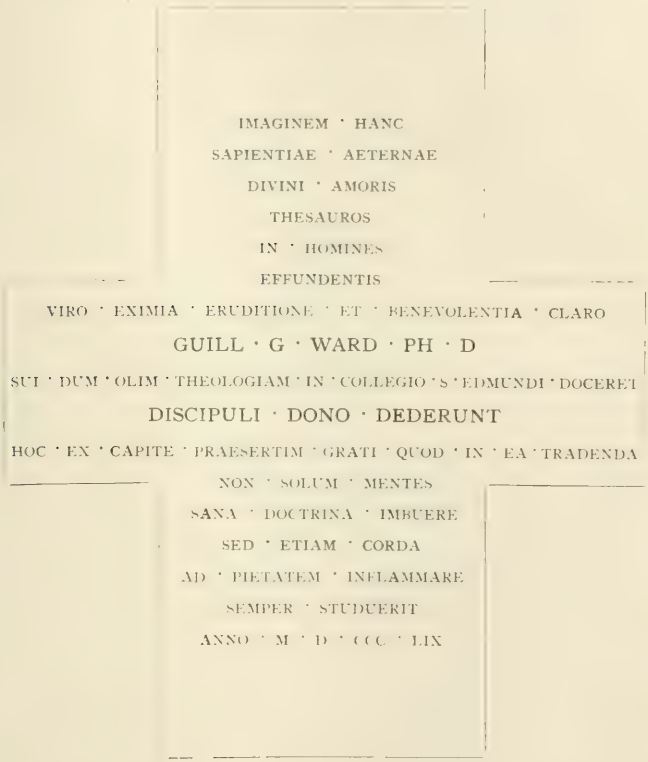
1854

Beatissime Levita
Cujus gloriosa vita
  Est pro Christo data ;
Cujus carnes dant odores,
Ac si prunæ essent flores,
  Per amoena prata ;
Generose Martyr Christi,
Qui tyranno tunc dixisti
  Summo inter duces,
'Prandium habes jam paratum,
Corpus satis est assatum,
  Versa ut manduces ;'

Te sincero corde oro,
Voce supplice imploro,
  Serenus ut maneam
Ante præsides vocatus :
Palam dure interrogatus,
  Ut recta respondeam.
Si exarserit ut ignis
Aridis immissus lignis
  Peccatorum ira ;
Dum appropiant nocentes,
Carnes meas comedentes,
  Robur mite inspira.
Cruci Christi sim adhærens
Sive lætus, sive mærens
  Exitum accepero ;
Sit Ecclesiæ decori
Dei laudi et honori
  Quidquid inde tulero. Amen.

The suggested inscription for a cross to be presented

to W. G. Ward by his former pupils at St. Edmund's College ran thus :


IMAGINEM · HANC
SAPIENTIAE · AETERNAE
DIVINI · AMORIS
THESAUROS
IN · HOMINES
EFFUNDENTIS
VIRO · EXIMIA · ERUDITIONE · ET · BENEVOLENTIA · CLARO
GUILL · G · WARD · PH · D
SUI · DUM · OLIM · THEOLOGIAM · IN · COLLEGIO · S · EDMUNDI · DOCERET
DISCIPULI · DONO · DEDERUNT
HOC · EX · CAPITE · PRAESERTIM · GRATI · QUOD · IN · EA · TRADENDA
NON · SOLUM · MENTES
SANA · DOCTRINA · IMBUERE
SED · ETIAM · CORDA
AD · PIETATEM · INFLAMMARE
SEMPER · STUDUERIT
ANNO · M · D · CCC · LIX

The following verses—in the colloquial Latin of a Roman student—were written on occasion of a visit to Rome, in company with Bishop Roskell and Monsignor Searle. To the initiated they abound with allusions. The *Collegio Inglese* has long been known to its *alumni* as the 'Venerabile Collegium,' or simply the 'Venerabile.' The

portly figures of Monsignor Searle and Dr. Roskell: Domenico, the college cook: Vincenzo Lupoli, the job master; the late Monsignor Thompson, the Cardinal's old college friend, all figure in the lines:

POEMA INCERTI AUCTORIS

ARCHIEPISCOPUS QUIDAM

EPISCOPO CUIDAM SUFFRAGANEO

S. P. D.

Archipræsul pergit Romam,
Vivet apud Sanctum Thomam,
Seu in 'Venerabili;'[1]
Ibi cibos manducabit
Quos Dominicus parabit[2]
Pretio rationabili.

. . . . . .

Archipræsul ibit solus?
(Non sic Cardinalis Polus
Erat in itinere:)
Suffraganeus ad minus
Unus (numerus sic trinus)
Nolit ita sinere:

Nam sacerdos est secundus,
Vir jucundus, et rotundus,
Qualis Archiepiscopus:
Sed cum trinum sit perfectum,
Tertius deest, et est rectum,
Ut hic sit Episcopus.

Sed quis erit? Quis electus?
Incrassatus est dilectus,
Vetus est oraculum:

[1] 'Sc. in *Venerabili* Collegio S. Thomæ Anglorum, sic ab alumnis κατ' ἐξοχὴν dicto.'

[2] 'Probabiliter coquus.'

Incrassatus, impinguatus,
Ultra modum dilatatus,
Suum cædat baculum.[1]

Surge ergo ; fac tonsuram ;
Te vestiri habe curam
Nigris braccis brevibus ;
Frixis cerebris vesceris
Maccaronibus pasceris,
Necnon vinis levibus.

Sed Latinam visitabis,
Ostiensem permeabis,[2]
In Vincentî curribus ;[3]
Loca quibus spatiabamur,
Cum Thompsono jocabamur,[4]
Sunt lustranda cruribus.

Colles dico Tusculanos,
Tiburtinos et Albanos,
Portium horum dominum,[5]
Invisemus Vaticanum
Catacumbas, Lateranum,
OMNIUM PATREM HOMINUM.

The following correspondence with Mr. Rowland Hill is given as a detailed sample of the Cardinal's interest in matters outside his own special studies :

8 York Place, W. : January 6, 1857.

SIR,—An extensive correspondence throughout London must be my apology for addressing you on the subject of the new postal arrangements, and for suggesting some measures connected with it.

[1] 'Sed hoc sermonem Anglicum potius sapit.'

[2] 'Forsan iis in viis, tunc temporis effossa loca fuerunt.'

[3] 'In marg. "Vincentius Lupoli dictus rhedas et equos pretio locabat."'

[4] 'Fortasse celebrem poëtam significat.'

[5] 'Amœnissimum collem Portiodunensem, in agro Tusculano procul-dubio significat, quo nihil jucundius, nihil suavius.'

For some time at least we shall all have much additional trouble in ascertaining the divisional letter to be added to our friends' addresses. But this difficulty will be much increased by the proposed changes in the names of streets, as we shall have to become acquainted with two different elements, both new, in many addresses. We shall have to ascertain first in which postal district a given King Street is situated, and then what is its new designation. Each of these new arrangements belongs to a different public department, and appears to be conducted independently of the other. It is, therefore, possible that they will afford one another very little assistance in diminishing our embarrassment and trouble.

My object in addressing you is to suggest a co-operation between the Post Office and the Board of Works, for the purpose of mutually helping one another in forming a general plan, such as may lessen the difficulties of a double change.

Such a plan may, indeed, be adopted in the new nomenclature as will at once inform us of the postal division in which a street newly named is situated.

1. For instance, let the initials of the new names suggest at once the letter of the divisions to which they belong. Let the alphabet be apportioned as follows :—

1.	A. B.	W.C.	6.	M. N.	N.
2.	C. D.	E.C.	7.	O. P. Q.	S.W.
3.	E. F.	E.	8.	R. S.	S.
4.	G. H.	N.E.	9.	T. U.	S.E.
5.	I.J. K. L.	N.W.	10.	V. W. Y.	W.

1. The divisional letter corresponds to the alphabetical group in which it is contained, as in Nos. 2, 3, 6, 8, 10.

2. The compound notes are placed before or after one of the letters contained in them. Thus E.C. precedes and N.E. follows E. ; S.W. and S.E. go before and after S. W.C. stands before E.C., as connected with C., and N.W. precedes N.

If this be a little perplexing a card will hold a sufficient table for use, and, with regard to many letters, will not require consultation.

It will follow from this arrangement that wherever a new name has to be given to a new street one will be selected that

begins with a letter corresponding to its postal designation. Thus :

'King Street, Portman Square,' may be 'Washington Street, W.'

'King Street, Camden Town,' may be 'Kelso Street, N.W.'

'King Street, Old Kent Road,' may be 'Southey Street, S.'

2. Should this plan be considered too material, and a more scientific one be prepared, perhaps the following might at least suggest one, in accordance with the avowed system already published, though I believe the more alphabetical the arrangement is the more it will suit less educated classes.

The Palace, Public Offices, and Houses of Parliament are in the S.W. district. Let all the names of streets in this division be derived from sovereigns, statesmen, politicians, &c., whose names will at once make known the division to which such streets belong.

The National Gallery, Museum, and Law Inns are in the W.C. division, and this would find names for its streets among artists, English and foreign, judges, and forensic celebrities.

The Bank district, E.C., could be supplied from eminent bankers, merchants, financiers, &c.

The E. division could be represented by celebrated navigators, discoverers, and persons connected with shipping ; also by the names of colonies, seaports, and places familiar to the inhabitants of that part of London.

Chelsea, S.W., would furnish place for military men as the division containing their hospital ; perhaps S.E., containing Greenwich, might have names from the Navy.

There remain for the other divisions poets, historians, essayists, orators, scientific men of every class, mathematicians, astronomers, inventors of mechanism, &c. ; then also philanthropists, moralists, founders of useful works, physicians, surgeons, naturalists, and many others, at home and abroad.

Such a division, however, though very educational, would not help the uneducated.

At first the names of streets might be written double, the old name in black, the new in red, with the letter of the division ; and the black might be allowed to wear out, while the new red would be kept bright

Apologising for this long intrusion in a matter of public interest,

I have the honour to be, Sir,
Your obedient humble servant,
NICHOLAS CARD. WISEMAN.

Regd. No. 1255.

General Post Office : January 21, 1857.

YOUR EMINENCE,—I am commanded by the Postmaster-General to thank your Eminence for your communication of the 6th instant upon the subject of street nomenclature.

His Grace desires me to state that, although a judicious reform of the street nomenclature of London would greatly assist the operations of the Post Office, the decision of the question (as your Eminence is apparently aware) rests not with this Department, but with the Board of Metropolitan Works. His Grace has, however, been in communication with the Board upon the subject, and, if you see no objection, he will forward a copy of your letter for consideration by that body.

I have the honour to be
Your Eminence's obedient, humble servant,
(Signed) ROWLAND HILL.

Copy.

8 York Place, W. : January 23, 1857.

SIR,—In reply to your last note I have to say that I have no objection to any use being made of my letter to you which can be considered of any use in forwarding public interests.

It was intended to be merely suggestive, as no doubt persons of greater ability and experience could easily strike out a simpler and completer plan for carrying out the object to which it refers.

I have, &c.
(Signed) N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Rowland Hill, Esq.

CHAPTER XXIV

CONVERTS AND OLD CATHOLICS

SOON after Cardinal Wiseman had returned from Vichy, his attention was called to an article in the 'Rambler' of November 1856, which seemed to portend a renewal of the differences between convert and old Catholic. This special fear proved groundless; and the questions at issue between the old school and the new were only points of departure for discussions of far wider interest. The essay in the 'Rambler' was, in the event, the prelude to controversies which reflected, and in a considerable degree influenced, religious thought in Germany, France and Italy in the years that followed. The part played by Manning at the Vatican Council, the influence of Faber's works in France and Italy, the position of Döllinger from the time of the Munich Congress and the Syllabus of 1864 to 1870, the work of Newman as moderator between the extreme parties, were the outcome of lines of thought nowhere more accurately defined than in the pages of the 'Rambler' and in the writings of its critics. The 'Rambler,' founded in 1848 by some of the converts of 1845, was at this time edited by Mr. Richard Simpson, a convert of original and independent mind, and Sir John Acton,

now Lord Acton, a pupil of Döllinger, even then known as a profound student of history. It was avowedly independent of any special episcopal influence; and it brought out with the utmost frankness—many thought with rashness—the difficulties which existed, in harmonising the traditional Catholic positions with modern thought and science. But to understand the part it played in the wide field it covered, it is necessary to go back a little.

We must revert to the days when Wiseman halted at Munich, on his way from Rome to England, and talked eagerly with Möhler and Döllinger of the prospects of the great revival, and then passed on to Paris and saw Notre Dame crowded for the conferences of Lacordaire, and heard from Ozanam and Montalembert of the growth of religion among the French people. In both countries a vigorous movement was being carried on for 'freedom' for Catholics to follow their conscience.

How Lamennais, and afterwards Lacordaire and Montalembert, endeavoured to consecrate this freedom by placing it under Papal guidance we have seen.

In Germany Möhler, Döllinger, Görres, joined in the cry of 'freedom' for the Catholic Church. We have seen how their countrymen took up arms in defence of the Archbishop of Cologne, when he vindicated the Church's marriage law. But they likewise impressed their own distinctively intellectual genius on the movement. Thorough reality and originality in theological, critical, and historical research, was their special aim. While religious liberty

was to be combined with deep loyalty to the Pope, theological and historical research, carried on with freedom and openness of mind, must—so they confidently hoped—fashion in the end a great intellectual bulwark for the Papacy. The spirit of these men was, then, at once Liberal and Ultramontane.[1] They condemned the stagnation of the old Gallican and Febronian Churches. Catholicism was to be living, active, abreast of the times, not the slave or creature of the State, but warmed by a generous loyalty to the centre of religious life—the Papacy.

Wiseman imbibed from his friends in Munich and in Paris the full content of this spirit. It was his ambition to bring to England the intellectual enthusiasm and loyalty to the Holy See, which he found among his German friends, as well as the piety of his French neighbours.

He preserved to the end of his life this buoyant hope, the essence of which was the conviction that the Church was being re-awakened and endowed with modern culture, and with devotion which would sanctify the varied aspirations of the nineteenth century. As time went on, however, the different lines of thought which seemed at the outset to blend so hopefully, and which issued in such typically beautiful characters as those of Lacordaire, Montalembert and Möhler, gradually developed, and in doing so parted. The original ideas of the revival seemed, in some cases, to lose their freshness and beauty, and to stiffen into set attitudes, in which their early bright

[1] Möhler was less Ultramontane at the end; but he, equally with the others, represented the reaction from the stagnant 'National' Church.

promise was hardly recognisable. In other cases, the later developments were mere exaggerations—not very harmful, but in which, as in a caricature, the grace and due proportion of the original were lost.

The most important of these divergent developments was in the case of the Liberal and Papal tendencies of Ultramontanism. The story has been told before now.[1] Lamennais' censoriousness, violence, tendency to extremes, reappeared in a very prominent section of French Ultramontanes, who abandoned the Liberal views of which La Chesnaie was the centre, and instituted a cult of the Papacy which some of the French Bishops considered almost blasphemous. Its worst excesses belong to a period somewhat later than this narrative has reached. Epithets applied in the Liturgy to the Holy Ghost came to be printed in hymns to the Pope. He was addressed as 'Pater pauperum,' and 'Lumen cordium.' In one hymn the word 'Pius' was substituted for 'Deus.' In place of the manly loyalty to Rome, of Montalembert and Lacordaire, which was closely bound up with the love of spiritual freedom, came an inquisitorial system, which invoked the Papal name at every turn to force on the Church a particular set of views. The 'Univers,' which was the mouthpiece of this system, did not spare the Bishops themselves. If they differed from the 'Univers' they were unsound. Loyalty to the Papacy, which had been preached as a sentiment binding Catholics in a common brotherhood and a

[1] The reader may be referred to the fifth chapter of my work *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival* for *pièces justificatives* of much which is here briefly summarised.

common enthusiasm, became a weapon of contention, and an excuse for the denunciation of their neighbours by the party of the 'Univers.' Montalembert and Lacordaire long remained true to the original Ultramontanism, and the 'Correspondant' faithfully represented its spirit, with such eminent names among its writers as Cochin, Foisset, Abbé de Broglie, the Comte de Falloux. But the 'Univers' tainted many of the French clergy with its *ethos* of extravagance and petty tyranny—faults to which the French nature is easily liable—notably in the years between the Syllabus of 1864 and the Vatican Council.

Then, too, the German thinkers, in whom at first the poetry of Church history and an appreciation of the genius of the Church were the guiding spirit—as we see in Möhler's 'Symbolism'—gradually became specialists, and from ceasing to balance the results of mere specialism by the general conclusions of which the truth of Catholicism gives a presumption, passed from Christian liberty to free thought. The wholesome check on the mistakes of specialists, which, in secular matters, is given by general experience of the world, comes, perhaps, in theology from familiar knowledge of the Church in all its aspects, and the phases of its past. The absence of this check, leads to an enormous overrating of the significance or accuracy of isolated discoveries in history or philosophy. The critical and historical specialist triumphantly revolutionises the received tradition, by conclusions which are, in turn (as with the results obtained by Baur's revision of the dates of the Gospels), reformed by his successors. Or the philosophical thinker bases a whole system on

a newly seen half-truth—as did the traditionalists. Participation in the many-sided life of the Ancient Church, and familiarity with the fate of past speculations in her history, make such revolutions too serious to be accepted rapidly, and give a wariness as to the necessity claimed for them. The Catholic's readiness to submit to authority, his final trust in the Church, which makes so much of his speculation tentative—which is based on a sense of the great limitations of the individual intellect in any particular inquiry, and the consequent conviction that to desist from a line of speculation at the word of authority may best serve the interests of truth—this spirit failed in Germany in some noteworthy cases. Fröschammer, and later on Döllinger, were instances in point. The 'old Catholic' schism could furnish more names. Here again the fusion of Ultramontane loyalty with the best and most thorough research, failed for a time to fulfil its promise. While extreme French Ultramontanes ceased to be Liberal or rational, the extreme German Liberal Catholics ceased to be Ultramontane. The antithesis between Liberalism and Ultramontanism replaced the antithesis between the Ultramontane plea for freedom and the servitude of Gallicanism.

But, in the domain of devotion and theology, the transformation was more curious. The old Gallican and Jansenist clergy of France were often men of solid but undemonstrative piety. In regard, however, of the startling and exciting legends of mediæval hagiology (still in some degree remaining in popular devotion) they had largely adopted the views of

Mabillon and the Maurists, the learned authors of 'Acts of the Benedictine Saints' and the 'Acta Sincera Martyrum.' The careful criticism of the Maurist fathers had considerably diminished the wonderful records in the lives of the Saints which were accepted by educated Frenchmen as true, and even the number of Saints who were allowed to have existed at all. But the violent reaction after the Revolution, which had given birth to Lamennais' reforming movement, brought here a great change. Lamennais, as Bonald had already done a few years before him, maintained that the individual reason only led to scepticism ; that the atheism which had culminated in the Revolution had been the outcome of rationalism. Truth was to be found only by accepting the traditions of the human race, as witnesses to a primitive revelation. The 'consent of mankind' was the final argument. To do away with tradition, and rest, with the scholastics, upon arguments appealing to the individual, was to dismiss our inheritance of wisdom from past ages. Religion came to the individual first with the sacred tradition instilled by his parents, and was confirmed by its absolute necessity for the life and stability of society. The Revolution was an object lesson in the results of its rejection.

The elements of a profound philosophy contained in this system—elements which have influenced Herbert Spencer, and the many thinkers who appreciate the importance of the social standpoint in the discrimination of truth—were seized and submitted to an obvious and absurd travesty by later writers, among whom may be named the Abbé Gaume. The

position of Lamennais and Bonald, be it observed is somewhat akin to that which has been recently discussed in England, in reference to the works of Mr. Balfour and Mr. Kidd—that certain non-rational beliefs, which we inherit, are to be accepted, as we can't get on without them. Almost as though a *reductio ad absurdum* were intended of the fallacy in this statement, if it be unqualified, M. Gaume, accepting the situation that all traditional beliefs useful to the devotional life should be admitted, multiplied endlessly the marvellous legends submitted for the acceptance of the pious. The position was frankly accepted, that reason led to infidelity and anarchy, that faith—or a readiness to believe what tradition handed down—was the safest course. The unspoken words in Lamennais, that it was the wisdom of the past which was to be accepted, and not its folly or its dreams, and that reason must by some means discriminate between the two, was apparently unthought of, as well as unspoken, by Gaume. Consequently a thoroughly 'loyal' Catholic was expected to believe without difficulty every wonder which the populace reported. Improbability in the ordinary sense was a ground of probability to the religious mind. *Credo quia impossibile.* What the man of the world called love of truth, this class of thinker called want of faith.

Certainly those who regret the condemnation by the Holy See of traditionalism in 1855, and the revived popularity of the scholastic philosophy, should look well at these results of the displacement of scholasticism by traditionalism, before they pass

their final verdict. Traditionalism had, doubtless, noted a flaw in the scholastic method: but to correct and supplement scholasticism was one thing; to substitute for it, as the basis of Catholic faith, a theory so insufficiently elaborated as to lead to the results just indicated, would have been to make Catholicism tantamount to unreason. Nothing more clearly showed the wisdom of adhering to the time-honoured system, in spite of its obvious shortcomings, than the results to which the *ethos* of unmixed traditionalism led.

From the beginning of the fifties, when Louis Veuillot refused to follow Montalembert in his proposed compromise with the Government on the education question, and the old *Parti Catholique* was broken up, the 'Univers' developed its aggressive papalism without check. M. Gaume published in 1851 his work 'Le Ver Rongeur du dix-neuvième Siècle,' in which he sketched the form of traditionalism to which I have already referred; and the fusion of the views of the 'Univers' with those of M. Gaume was obviously calculated to transform the intellectual temper of the religious revival, as Wiseman had at first known it.

It was no longer a movement adopting and sanctifying the best tendencies and knowledge of the age. It was in the teeth of all modern criticism and its canons of probability. A whiff of this new spirit had got into St. Sulpice, as early as 1845. M. Renan, whose account of his life there is transparently truthful, records his experience of this in the language required by his own position. 'Ultramontanism and

the love of the irrational had forced their way into the citadel of moderate theology. The old school knew how to rave soberly, and followed the rules of common sense even in the absurd. This school only admitted the irrational and the miraculous up to the limit strictly required by Holy Writ and the authority of the Church. The new school revels in the miraculous, and seems to take its pleasure in narrowing the ground on which apologetics can be defended.'[1]

The readiness to multiply miraculous incidents appeared, in many Frenchmen, as merely a part of that new spirit of faith and devotion, which multiplied pilgrimages and increased the number of communions; which reacted from the old Jansenistic severity, and gave brightness and poetry to religion. In this form its more moderate exhibitions retained the beauty of the original revival, and were in harmony with Wiseman's own efforts in England.

In the year of the Oxford conversions—1845—the more startling manifestations of the new spirit had

[1] *Recollections of my Youth*, p. 239. It should be added, however, that M. Renan confirms what is abundantly evident, that while the greatest extravagances from their very nature become prominent, they were very far from being widespread. Ultramontanism had become tolerably general by 1845, but the peculiar ingredients added by Lamennais and Gaume were observable among comparatively few. Such an Ultramontane as M. Le Hir, whom Renan regards as one of the greatest of French Orientalists, critical in his intellectual temper, yet full of faith, was doubtless the more normal type. Yet, on the other hand, the transformation from Gallicanism to Ultramontanism was largely effected by the men who were inclined to extremes—in the first stage by Lamennais and his followers, in its later stages by Gaume and Louis Veuillot.

not yet come. M. Gaume's 'Ver Rongeur' was not yet published. Montalembert and Lacordaire were still leading powers in France, and M. Veuillot had not yet dissociated himself from them, or taken his own line. But Frederick Faber and his immediate friends had come under French and Italian influences, and in their own way threw themselves eagerly into the devotional movement of the new Ultramontane school. Of the traditionalism by which some defended it, they probably knew nothing; and in their hands it became simply a way of helping the life of devotion, and arousing the slumbering piety of Englishmen. And their efforts in this direction were eventually crowned with extraordinary success.

As an Anglican, Faber had travelled on the Continent in 1843, and had been attracted by those very features in the religion of the people which, to some Englishmen, even Catholics, seemed exaggerated. Popular devotion in Italy also attracted him, and he drew his inspiration less from directly mediæval sources than from such collections of their modern counterparts as St. Alfonso's 'Glories of Mary.'

The old Catholics, on the other hand, had imbibed both from English tradition and from Douay a temper far more akin to that of M. Garnier of St. Sulpice, as described by Renan. And some of the more eager of the converts, to whom 'moderation' recalled only what they had disliked in the dignitaries of the Church they had left, quite failed to appreciate the worth of the old Catholics at their best. The deep, but reserved and undemonstrative, piety to be found among them—typically represented to this day by

Ushaw College—was largely overlooked by this section of the converts. The difference of temper between old and young, observable in France, was here reproduced, but with special circumstances which greatly increased the contrast. On the one side were the families of the martyrs, who had sacrificed all for the Faith. These cared little to talk where deeds had been so significant. They had lived for generations amidst their enemies, and had had to practise reserve if their very lives were to be safe. They had long discarded the outward splendours of religion, and, from reminding themselves that they were not essential, had come by habit not to wish for them. They had now lost even the intellectual advantages which University training at Douay had given to their fathers. On the other side were men who had also given up much, but who wished to realise and possess all that fascinated them in the system for which they had made their surrender; men whose keenness and activity of mind, and buoyancy of devotion, had been the very means of bringing them to the Church, and who would have starved if these qualities had found no scope in their new home. Far from wishing to shun the attentions of a Protestant public, they gloried in showing openly how deeply they valued what they represented as part of the 'foolishness' of the Cross.[1]

[1] The supposed readiness of Puseyites and converts to court attention was gibbetted by *Punch* as follows :—

'The Superior of the Monastery [of Pimlico] will be an eminent clergyman recommended for the situation by his ingenuity in interpreting the Articles of the Church of England in a non-natural sense. The monks are to be young Anglican ecclesiastics of a class now not uncommon, whose state of mind needs temporary seclusion, and who,

What was startling in religion and opposed to the maxims of the world seemed part of the justification of the step they had taken, in leaving a Church which appeared to them to have lost all hold on the supernatural.

The guiding element necessary to every young man, respect for the wisdom represented by the tradition of the race or family to which he belongs, had been taken from them. Oxford tradition had been rudely snapped; and they were not ready to accept the traditional ways of old Catholics, who appeared to them sleepy and uninteresting. To feed their devotion and to arouse the zeal of their neighbours, they propagated and translated prayers and spiritual books in the modern Italian style. They entered into Wiseman's wish to infuse life into the English Catholics, but naturally knew less than he did of what had already been done in this direction. Having little knowledge as yet of their new companions, they often generalised unfairly. The remnant of Gallican spirit, and of disloyalty to Rome, which existed only among a few of the old Catholics, was readily ascribed to many; and the converts tended to regard their own devotional innovations as an essential part of the new and loyal spirit which they wished to introduce. The special form of Ultramontanism which Milner had done so much to unite with the Old English

if they had not an abbey to go to, would require to be sent to some other asylum. They will occasionally ride in the Park, with a view to court rather than to shun observation. The Father Superior will use a mule, and as many donkeys will be kept in the Monastery as there are friars in it.' (Vol. xx. p. 189.)

Catholic habits of piety, appeared sometimes to be outside the calculation of the Oxford converts. Of this spirit, splendid in its thoroughness, its unpretentiousness, its devotion to duty, and its union of sobriety with genuine piety, Bishop Ullathorne, in whose diocese Faber found himself, was a typical instance. It represented a revival of English piety, on the lines, not of the 'Glories of Mary,' or what Faber called 'hot prayers,' [1] but of Challoner's Meditations.

Before Faber had joined the Oratorians he had inaugurated a series of 'Lives of the Modern Saints,' translated mainly from the Italian or drawn from Italian sources, in which the marvellous and the miraculous element was very prominent. Moreover, devotion to Our Lady in Italian forms which were not congenial to English Catholics was emphasised in these works. Dr. Wiseman and his chief, Dr. Walsh, gave their patronage to the enterprise, and Wiseman promised a Preface to the series. When Newman accepted Faber as a member of the Oratorian community, he threw himself into this enterprise with the loyalty of friendship, but, as he has since told us, against his more permanent convictions.[2] Wiseman's

[1] A phrase used in some of his letters to Wiseman.

[2] Newman's sentiments on the subject in 1865 are thus given in his letter to Dr. Pusey :

'I prefer English habits of devotion and belief to foreign, from the same causes and by the same right which justifies foreigners in preferring their own. . . . And in this line of conduct I am but availing myself of the teaching which I fell in with on becoming a Catholic, and it is a pleasure to me to think that what I hold now and would transmit after me, if I could, is only what I received then. . . . The utmost delicacy was observed on all hands in giving me advice. Only

predecessor in London, Dr. Griffiths, had especially cautioned Newman, after his conversion, to avoid Italian forms of devotional reading which were unsuited for Englishmen. The old Catholics were alarmed when the 'Lives' appeared, both at the novelty of the language used in the 'Lives,' and at its probable effect on the Protestants around them. Having long been in the habit of keeping as far as possible from those Catholic practices which were unintelligible to outsiders, they were now confronted

one warning remains on my mind, and it came from Dr. Griffiths, the late Vicar Apostolic of the London District. He warned me against books of devotion of the Italian school, which were just at that time coming into England. . . . I took him to caution me against a character and tone of religion, excellent in its place, not suited to England. When I went to Rome, though it may seem strange to you to say it, even there I learnt nothing inconsistent with this judgment. Local influences do not form the atmosphere of its institutions and colleges, which are Catholic in teaching as well as in name. . . . When I returned to England the first expression of theological opinion which came in my way was *à propos* of the series of translated Saints' Lives, which the late Dr. Faber originated. That expression proceeded from a wise prelate [Dr. Ullathorne], who was properly anxious as to the line which might be taken by the Oxford converts, then for the first time coming into work. According as I recollect his opinion, he was apprehensive of the effect of Italian compositions as unsuited to this country, and suggested that the Lives should be original works drawn up by ourselves and our friends from Italian sources. If at that time I was betrayed into any acts which were of a more extreme character than I should approve now, the responsibility of course is my own; but the impulse came not from old Catholics or Superiors, but from men whom I loved and trusted, who were younger than myself. But to whatever extent I might be carried away (and I cannot recollect any tangible instances), my mind in no long time fell back to what seems to me a safer and more practical course.'[1]

[1] Letter to Pusey, pp. 20–22.

with statements difficult of acceptance even by themselves.

Cardinal Wiseman, the fast friend of the converts, defended them warmly, but intimated to them the wisdom of moderation. Bishop Ullathorne was less favourable to the series, and recommended considerable changes in the form of the 'Lives' if they were to be continued. Newman, sensitive to criticism from such a quarter, regarded it as tantamount to advice that the series should cease, and counselled Faber to bring it to an end, on the ground that the lives of foreign Saints were unsuited to England. This suggestion was made in a letter which was printed and published together with Faber's answer. In both, the tone of aggrieved men was observable. Dr. Ullathorne regarded Newman's action as hasty, and begged Wiseman to urge him to caution and prudence in his public utterances, and not to form a party. Dr. Ullathorne moreover wrote to the 'Tablet' a conciliatory letter, stating that the 'Lives' had not been suspended by authority, and implying that if due care were used to avoid extravagance, he would be ready to support the series. Wiseman undertook that the strongest public utterance which had appeared against the 'Lives'—implying an idolatrous tendency in them—should be publicly retracted. The result was, unquestionably, to bring about a far better understanding between the two parties.

The following is the text of the circular in which Faber first announced the cessation of the series :

To the Translators and Subscribers.

St. Wilfrid's, Feast of St. Martin, 1848.

It has become my duty to inform you that I have suspended the publication of this series, which you have so kindly encouraged, whether by subscription or by taking part in the labour of translation. A few words will suffice to explain the circumstances which have led to this suspension. When, in February last, I entered the Congregation of the Oratory, I submitted my work to the Fathers, with a view to obtaining their judgment on its continuance. They, for various reasons, put off their determination till the close of the year, and upon what grounds they have at length made it will appear from the following letter which I have received from the Father Superior:

'Maryvale, Oct. 30, 1848.

'My dear Father Wilfrid, – I have consulted the Fathers who are here on the subject of the Lives of the Saints, and we have come to the unanimous conclusion of advising you to suspend the series at present. It appears there is a strong feeling against it on the part of a portion of the Catholic community in England, on the ground, as we are given to understand, that the lives of foreign Saints, however edifying in their respective countries, are unsuited to England, and unacceptable to Protestants. To this feeling we consider it a duty, for the sake of peace, to defer. For myself, you know well, without my saying it, how absolutely I identify myself with you in this matter; but, as you may have to publish this letter, I make it an opportunity, which has not as yet been given me, of declaring that I have no sympathy at all with the feeling to which I have alluded, and, in particular, that no one can assail your name without striking at mine.

'Ever your affectionate friend and brother,

in our Lady and St. Philip,

'J. H. Newman,

'Cong. Orat. Presb.

'Rev. F. Faber, St. Wilfrid's.'

That this determination will be a great disappointment to you, who as subscribers and purchasers number nearly one

thousand, and especially to the sixty-six friends who, in our colleges and elsewhere, are engaged in the kind labour of co-operation with me, I cannot doubt; but I am sure you will at once submit with the most perfect confidence that what has been done so religiously will turn out for the best. It is, in fact, a great gain to have to give up a plan for the good of others upon which our hearts were bent; and if we have for the present to see removed from us what we knew was profiting so many, and looked upon as an additional help to perfection for ourselves, we must not therefore think that it will come to nothing, or be labour lost. Allow me to thank you all most sincerely for your willing and affectionate support and co-operation in this arduous and extensive undertaking. Meanwhile you with me will find no little comfort in the words with which Mother Church has been haunting us for many days past, and which have only just died away upon her lips. 'O quam gloriosum est regnum, in quo cum Christo gaudent omnes Sancti, amicti stolis albis, sequuntur agnum quocumque ierit.'

F. W. Faber,
Congr. Orat. Presb.

The situation was further complicated, by an article in the 'Rambler' (by one of the converts), in which the educational shortcomings of the old Catholics were alluded to in plain language. Bishop Ullathorne wrote a severe criticism on the article. He wrote to Wiseman on November 22, in reference to Faber's circular, that 'all the clergy about here and at Oscott are much offended at it.' 'What all the world see in [Mr. Newman and his priests]' he adds, 'is a spirit of isolation from the Catholic body, and much ignorance of *our* spirit, a critical spirit with regard to us, a tone like that of a party. Mr. Newman, after all the kind and familiar confidence shown him both by other Bishops and myself, stands stiffly to his own opinions.'

The converts on their side were sensitive to Dr. Ullathorne's remonstrances. Frederick Oakeley wrote as follows, to Wiseman, on the subject :

> I regret [Dr. Ullathorne's] letter, more especially on account of its probable effect on expected conversions from the Anglican body ; for I know an opinion widely prevails that the more excellent of the recent converts, the more learned, devoted, self-denying, zealous, are not appreciated among us, and this opinion, most unfavourable . . . to the conversion of similar persons, is likely, I fear, to be promoted by such a letter as Dr. Ullathorne has felt it his duty to publish, not confined . . . to a correction of the mistakes or exaggerations into which the 'Rambler' has fallen on the subject, but implying a hint of confederacy on the part of certain converts to assail our existing institutions.

That these differences soon issued in a better understanding, we see from the following letter, written by Ullathorne to Wiseman in 1849 :

> Mr. Newman and his party have begun in Birmingham in a very good spirit, and I think the little rubs we have had have had the effect of bringing things together and awakening more consideration.
>
> By the way, however much you may have disliked my rap at the 'half-dozen' converts, you must admit that they now write with more consideration for the old Catholic body. Ward's article in the new 'Rambler' is quite decent, though a little sly. I am fully aware of many of our deficiencies, and am most anxious about a body of regular professors for Oscott, but they must grow out of our own people. A homogeneous body will work best together.

In the interval which elapsed between 1849 and 1856, the trend of opinion among Catholics, both in England and in France, had been distinctly in the direction represented by Faber and his friends. The new Ultramontanism, and much of the Continental

stamp of devotion, had got a firm foothold in England, and Father Faber himself had obtained great influence as a spiritual writer. Thus when, in 1856, Father Waterworth, the Jesuit, expressed to Monsignor Talbot the suspicion and dislike which still lurked in some quarters as to Father Faber's writings, Faber's indignant protests entirely carried even the Jesuits of England with him. The Provincial of the Jesuits wrote expressing a deep sense of the value of Faber's work for the Church, and Father Waterworth disclaimed having spoken of his books as containing heresy. Indeed, they had been examined by Father Cardella, the Roman Jesuit, and however little they might suit the taste of one class of readers, their admissibility, from the point of view of orthodoxy, was as undeniable as their popularity.

It was at this time that the more directly intellectual movement, also initiated by the English converts, expressed itself in the utterances of a comparatively small group of men in the 'Rambler.' They took up the work of Döllinger and his friends, at the point where their tendency had passed from Ultramontanism to Liberalism.

The chief writers in the 'Rambler' were urged on by that great wave of Liberalism which canonised the scientific and critical achievements of the age—notably in the fifties and sixties. They dealt with problems in philosophy, criticism, and history, the full importance of which is only now becoming apparent. Sir John Acton, Mr. Simpson, Mr. H. N. Oxenham, and Mr. Wetherell were the representative writers on

these subjects of permanent interest. Of these Sir John Acton was the only Catholic by birth.

The central truth which the 'Rambler' writers urged was the necessity of absolute freedom and candour in scientific, historical, and critical investigation, irrespective of results. Whether the truth told for or against Catholic polemics, it must not be withheld. To write as a party man—even though the party was the Catholic Church—was fatal to the scientific character of all investigations. To accept historical conclusions, only so far as they helped Catholic evidences, and to reject them so far as they supplied arguments against the Church, was to depart altogether from an intellectual method which would command respect. Science, physical, historical and critical, must proceed on its own principles and methods.

In this most important principle, the writers had the concurrence of Newman, who had expressly treated this subject in one of his Dublin lectures.[1] The very existence of real intellectual life among Catholics depended on this position being accepted. Moreover, to enter into the point of view of those who had come to historical conclusions at variance with the claims of the Church, an impartial and unpolemical survey of history was necessary. Only thus could attention be gained from those leaders of cultivated public opinion whose influence, in the long run, is so great.

In all this Wiseman, too, concurred, at least theoretically. It was the carrying out of the programme which he had advocated in his lectures on the

[1] See *Idea of a University*, p. 440.

Eucharist. As long as this remained the order of the day with the 'Rambler,' Wiseman himself contributed to its pages, besides continuing his articles for the 'Dublin.'

But gradually, owing chiefly to the influence of Mr. Simpson, a new development appeared. The independence of ecclesiastical authority, which the 'Rambler' had all along claimed, issued in a tone which seemed to many disrespectful to the constituted powers. Mr. Simpson, as an Anglican, had been at constant war with his Bishop, and the habit appeared to cling to him. Some of his remarks seemed as though they were designed to 'tease' the Cardinal. Wiseman's enthusiasm, his 'gush,' his occasional pomposity, were subjects of much merriment; and the Cardinal, who was not good at taking a joke at his own expense, was irritated. Too just to make this a reason for condemning the writers, it probably made him the more ready to note the graver causes of offence which came later.

For by degrees, between 1856 and 1859, the 'Rambler' appeared to Wiseman to be adopting a tone and method which not only destroyed its influence with Catholics, but defeated the very object it had in view—of impartial investigation. The story has been told before. The heads of complaint against it brought by the English Bishops, were a habitual contempt even for the best Catholic thought, a bias in favour of anti-Catholic writers or traditions, a want of respect for the very life of the Church—the spiritual genius of the Saints—its constant criticism of Catholic authorities. All these were (Wiseman held)

elements tending either to unfairness or to disunion. Party spirit against the Church was as uncritical a temper as bigotry in its favour. Catholic thought might be one-sided or *arriéré*, but this could not be remedied by an attitude of contempt and aloofness towards the bulk of Catholics. To influence a corporate body you must share in its work, respect its laws, and work in harmony with its constituted authorities.

Wiseman, all the more confident from his consciousness of Newman's support in the main question, spoke and acted strongly. The first occasion was in 1856, before things had gone far in a liberalising direction. The 'Rambler' published, in November 1856, an article which plainly insinuated that the old Catholics were too bigoted and uneducated to profit by a method of criticism which would command the respect of the intellectual world. This article was, in Wiseman's opinion, eminently calculated to sow disunion. It had been the principle of his life to be above parties; and when the old Catholics had been ungenerous to the converts, and had regarded them with suspicion in the years immediately succeeding 1845, he had come to the rescue and championed their good work and loyalty. And now, when a group of men—most of them converts—wrote with a touch of contempt for the hereditary Catholics of England, and fathered upon them all, and more than all, the intellectual shortcomings of modern Catholic polemics, in this country and in others, he stood up in their defence. Most of the intellectual methods, advanced in theory by the 'Rambler,' he accepted, and denied that English

apologists had ever rejected them. But to taunt men of the old school with want of education, was unjust and ungenerous. Public schools and universities had been for generations closed to them, and they had submitted to lose many educational advantages for the sake of the Faith. Was not the habit of steadfastness, the firmness of faith and tenacity to principle, which such a tradition represented, a better security against intellectual dangers, than a freedom of speculation which, while sometimes enlightened, was often flippant and unreal? Did not character often give truer and steadier insight than culture? In the 'Dublin Review' of December 1856, the Cardinal made an eloquent protest against the 'Rambler,' which was also a vindication of his whole policy as Bishop and as Cardinal.

Let us not [he wrote] be accused of wishing or aiming at the unity of stagnation, or desiring to see Catholics think alike on matters of politics, science, literature, or art. Let them have their tastes and their humours about basilical, Byzantine, Gothic, or Grecian architectures, about Gregorian, Palestrinian, or German music. Let there be any variety of philosophical schools, from Descartes to Rosmini, or let us fight about nominalism or realism once more. Nay, in theology itself, dogma being safe, let men range themselves under the banners of different schools, be Thomists or Scotists, if they do not despise such antiquated names, or select any of the methods freely allowed by the Church, of treating doctrines, intellectually or historically, taking Klee or Möhler for a model. And in matters of action let there be variety of opinions and methods; let each one prefer his own form of charity and his own fashion of giving, only let him give; take his own way of satisfying his devotion among the varieties offered him for choice; indulge his preferences for particular religious institutes; like more or less of Government interference or of purely secular learning in our education; vote, or not, at elections as he likes; get rid of

church rates where he can, or pay them if he prefers. On these and a thousand other subjects—indeed, on all except matters of faith or Catholic practice—we do not wish to pull or drive people into uniformity of views. Like all persons of sincere and hearty convictions, we should indeed be glad to see all agreeing with us, and we claim the right of advocating our own ideas with all the earnestness of a good conscience; but we will not quarrel with those that will not adopt them, nor will we despise them for it.

But there surely is a point at which differences should cease, when even an apostle who permitted every latitude admissible in grave matters could say that he had heard with pain that there were contentions springing up, and exhort the faithful to be of one mind, beyond the narrow boundary of strict faith. The moment differences create parties—that is, distinct bodies disposed to look suspiciously or contemptuously on one another, or so sundered that they will not have a joint action, or that the one paralyses the efforts of the other in a common cause, or beginning to speak of one another by peculiar names—we have symptoms of 'contention' and weakening disunion, sure to produce evil effects.

It is this danger which the Cardinal finds in the passages in the 'Rambler' article which he especially selects for criticism. The first passage contains an obvious and clever travesty of the Cardinal's own optimistic defence of things Catholic, and it must be given here, as the Cardinal gives it, at length.

The contributor to the 'Rambler' had written as follows:

England, and especially the little remnant of Catholic England, lives very much on tradition—lives by the past. We cannot criticise the past without breaking with that on which our editorial existence depends. We have to write for those who consider that a periodical appearing three times in the quarter has no business to enter into serious questions, which must be reserved for the more measured roll of the quarterly. Our part, it seems, is to provide milk and water and sugar,

insipid 'amusement and instruction,' from which all that might suggest and excite real thought has been carefully weeded. These are the conditions sometimes proposed to us as those on which our publication will be encouraged. We may, indeed, be as severe as we like in showing that there is not a jot or scrap of truth in any of the enemies of Catholics; that all who oppose us or contend with us are both morally reprobate and intellectually impotent. We have perfect liberty to make out, by a selection of garbled quotations, how all the sciences of the nineteenth century are ministering to their divine queen; how geologians and physical philosophers are proving the order of creation as related by Moses; physiologists, the descent of mankind from one couple; philologists, the original unity and subsequent disrupture in human language; ethnographers in their progress are testifying more and more to that primeval division of mankind into three great races, as recorded by Moses; while any serious investigation of these sciences, made independently of the unauthoritative interpretations of Scripture, by which they have hitherto been controlled and confined in the Catholic schools, would be discouraged as tending to infuse doubts into the minds of innocent Catholics, and to suggest speculation where faith now reigns. People, forsooth, to whom the pages of the 'Times,' the 'Athenæum,' and the 'Weekly Dispatch,' with all their masterly infidelity, lie open, will be exposed to the danger of losing their faith if a Catholic speculates a little on questions of moral, intellectual, social, or physical philosophy; if he directs his mind to anything above writing nice stories in illustration of the pleasantness and peace of the Catholic religion and the naughty and disagreeable ends to which all non-Catholics arrive in this world and the next—to anything more honest than defending through thick and thin the governments of all tyrants that profess our religion, and proving by 'geometric scale' that the interior of a Neapolitan prison is rather preferable to that of an English gaol.

The Cardinal contends that this obvious burlesque of faults which may be in some degree laid at the door of Catholics—as of any religious body bent on self-defence—has one fatal fault, even apart from its

being a burlesque. Supposing even that the criticisms were just, the writer adopts a supercilious attitude which is fatal to all hope of remedying the very defects he criticises.

Allowing—and the Cardinal with dignified humility does allow—that the conductors of the 'Rambler' are the superiors intellectually of the old Catholic body—by standing aloof from them and adopting a tone of contempt in their regard, these writers stamp their action as indulgence in intellectual self-sufficiency rather than a frank attempt to impart to others the advantages of their own superior training. There follows a double evil. Bitterness and party spirit are aroused, and no actual good result is achieved as a compensation.

The Cardinal writes as follows:

> [The conductors of the 'Rambler,'] no doubt, belong to this [highly educated] class, and have full right to know it. They separate themselves in intellectual condition from 'the little remnant of Catholic England,' and feel that they are able and ready to instruct it. . . .
>
> We are ready to take their own word for their estimate of their powers, and to be grateful that they have been bestowed upon them, and sincerely hope that they may long enjoy them, and usefully employ them. With unfeigned conviction we say to them, in the name of 'the little remnant' to which we belong, 'Nos stulti propter Christum, vos autem prudentes in Christo: nos infirmi, vos autem fortes: vos nobiles, nos autem ignobiles.' And we will go on further, speaking of the intellectual appetite; 'Usque in hanc horam et esurimus, et sitimus, et nudi sumus, et colaphis cædimur' (1 Cor. iv. 10, 11).

But the utility of such gifts is that they should be used in the Catholic cause; that Catholics should

profit by contact with their gifted brethren. It is here that, in the Cardinal's estimate, these writers fail in devotion to the cause.

They do not attempt to throw themselves into the true position of Catholics. They stand aloof, and do not share the real burthen of Catholic labour. They lecture admirably, criticise, find imperfections in what is done; give excellent theoretical instruction on our duties as Catholics. But they address us rather as a speaker does from the hustings, from without and above the crowd addressed. Can it be otherwise if they take us to be such a body as they have represented us to our Protestant fellow-countrymen, in the passage which we have quoted? No influence will ever be obtained without identification of ourselves with those whom we wish to lead. Let these writers, whose ability we are the first to avow, feel that interest in our work which can only be gained by sharing its pains and troubles, and they will know the effect of an occasional cheering word to those that toil, instead of a continual chaptering, and telling them that they have all to learn.

But this brings us to the second reason for our deploring the expression of such contemptuous sentiments respecting the 'Catholic remnant' of England; it is that this intellectual separation of a knot of able persons from it is at once the creation of party, upon the very worst ground, that of a distinction of old, and new, Catholics. We all know how again and again the English press has endeavoured to divide us, and this has been the very wedge by which they have vainly striven to cleave us. Their efforts have been vain. Our own sentiments on the subject we shall have occasion to express later. But it is too clear that the writer, whom we have quoted, draws a line between himself and colleagues on one side, and the general body of Catholics on the other; between writers and readers; between those who would instruct and 'those on which their editorial existence depends.' And it would be mere affectation to ignore that the line is meant to divide *some* belonging to what the same journal elsewhere calls the 'convert portion' from the 'old Catholic.' We say *some*; because we know there are hundreds of converts, who join us in deprecating the forming of such a distribution of members of one

Church, and wish not to be distinguished by a party term from the mass of its members.

Indeed, it was an illustrious convert, who would be sorry to be recognised as such, by any peculiarity of notions, who struck us much by the simple and dignified severity of his remarks upon the desire to draw such a distinction. It was, he remarked, ungenerous. And we understood his meaning to be this: If a family had been unjustly plundered of its wealth by confiscation, could we otherwise characterise the conduct of a person who had been enriched by the spoliation, and now recognised its injustice, should he taunt or upbraid the sufferers with their poverty, and draw their attention to his own abundance? For 300 years, 'usque in hanc horam,' Catholics have been debarred from the resources for high education, endowed by the Wykehams, the Wainfleets, the Wolseys, the Lady Margarets, their ancestors in the faith. Every national institution for classical or scientific training has been closed against them - first Eton, Harrow, Rugby, Winchester, Shrewsbury, then Oxford and Cambridge. They have not been allowed, without surrender of faith, to walk their stately quadrangles, or meditate in their beautiful meadows. No scholarship, or fellowship, or lectureship, or mastership has allured them to long study, or given them honourable leisure for its pursuit, or crowned it with rewards. The names of tripos, and wranglers, and first-class men, and double first-class have formed no part in their vocabulary. All these immense advantages Catholics have foregone, only because the price for them was too high, the loss of their faith. They preferred sending their children abroad in disguise, and at risk of ruinous penalties, for education. Well, the great Continental Revolution swept away their noble establishments, with the wreck of everything holy. Yet the love of good learning was not extinct. Without endowments, almost without resources, they have been toiling from then till now in erecting colleges, and, like ants, bearing large loads, almost beyond their strength, to replace their ruined retreats of learning. In the meantime what they lost others have enjoyed. At the tremendous price of separation from the faith . . . . they have possessed the blessing (shall we call it so?) of a full and elevated secular education in those ancient halls of Catholic foundation. [And now] a loving grace has granted to [the con-

verts] in addition that which the 'old Catholics' had only been allowed as compensation; *they* are Catholics (God be praised!) as well as these. . . . To them has been given the double fruit of the tree of knowledge, and of the tree of life; to others the second only.

But under the circumstances is there not something unkind, to say the least, in twitting these, in worldly estimation less favoured brethren, with an intellectual inferiority, supposing it to exist? in reproaching them for not having possession of what had been taken from them, and asserting superiority because one *has* had the advantage of it? Ought not such honours to be borne meekly? Should the old family, so touchingly described by our most eloquent writer as mysteriously dwelling in the quaint mansion among the trees, be reprehended if it has grown up somewhat 'living on the past,' while no present enjoyment was allowed it? If the present supply of intellectual food for its children was cut off, what more natural than that it should turn to its stores of past thrift and careful provision, and cling rather tenaciously to what afforded at once honour and consolation? It is not a little to have 'a past' on which to live, to have branches on the family tree tipped with ruddy blossoms, and an occasional lily brightly peeping through its gloomy foliage; to have in one's pedigree the name of a man who was drawn, hanged, and quartered for the faith, or of a woman who was pressed to death for conscience sake, of a learned writer or of a lady abbess . . . a perpetual exile from home and country. It is an honour worth dwelling on to have had heavily to contribute to those exorbitant extortions which the 'Rambler' is so laudably making known in its 'Glimpses of the Working of the Penal Laws under James I.'; or to be able yet to show the priest's hiding-hole, such as there was at 'Preston Hall,' and the place of the old chapel in the garret. Nor can we think that the owners of such records and monuments will easily yet let them go into oblivion. For, although the present is no moment for dreamy listlessness, and we must go on plunging, and swallowing of the wave which hurries us forward beyond the middle of this boastful and pregnant nineteenth century, we cannot but believe that an old plank torn and preserved from the ancestral mansion will bear a youth more buoyantly and more safely through the whirlpool to which

he is hastening, than scientific theories and philosophical refinements; and while too many of these will be found shivered on rocks, or turned bottom upwards by stronger and ruder craft that will follow, the solid old *robur* of simple faith enwrapped in family recollections will gallantly outride the storm.

The Cardinal, true to his hatred of party, follows up this protest with an account of the good work done in England by converts and old Catholics alike. He gives the list of forty-three missions founded since 1845 by the converts, and of the innumerable charities supported by the hereditary Catholics. Let both sections continue their good work, he urges, with mutual good feeling and respect on either side.

He then passes to another characteristic passage in the 'Rambler,' evidently aimed at his own habitual enthusiasm and hopefulness. The 'Rambler' draws the picture of the '*couleur de rose* Catholic,' to whom all is advance and success, and of the 'croakers' who can see nothing but flaws in the good work. The writer admits a certain justice in both views, and himself adopts the *rôle* of the philosopher who admits the dark side of the picture, but thinks it unpractical to dwell upon it. The Cardinal pleads guilty to the charge of seeing things '*couleur de rose*,' but prefers in lieu of the attitude of the philosopher that of the Apostle, who ever rejoices in the advance of God's work and sees God's hand even in adversity, and yet ever notes and laments the flaws in the human instruments whereby it is carried out. The passage is so characteristic, as an *apologia* for the Cardinal's whole career, that it shall be quoted in full, together with the remarks on which it is a criticism.

The 'Rambler' had written thus:

Amongst Catholics one finds two sorts of people. Some, when speaking about our present position in this country, can see in it nothing but what is cheering and delightful. Your *couleur de rose* man lives in a poetical atmosphere of his own. Openings of new missions, churches, and schools, functions, devotions, sermons, conversions—these are his talk and his life. Were there ever, thinks he, such glorious times as these, such palmy days for the Church? In his excited fervour he can see nothing but progress, nothing that is not enchanting, hopeful, and glorious. On the other hand, there is a select little circle of croakers who make it their business to undeceive those who are under any such delusion. Our position is most unreal, say they, and nothing is to be expected from it but the most dire calamities. Every present success is with them but the precursor of debts, difficulties, and disasters. There is a flaw in every undertaking, a black spot in every character, which serves as a target for their grumblings. The whole of our present position is unsound and rotten, and if it does not end in a great smash, it is only because of God's providence overruling His Church.

For ourselves, being of a philosophic turn of mind, we think that there is a great deal to be said on both sides. To the gentlemen of rose-coloured minds we urge that there is an old-fashioned proverb about glittering gold which is still as applicable as ever; that the croakers and grumblers are, many of them, no visionaries, but clear-headed and thoughtful men, who not only really see the faults and failings they speak of, but also feel them most keenly; and if we do not take their view it is not because there is no truth in it, but because it is only one side of the picture, and one, too, that leads to no results. Yes, gentlemen croakers and grumblers, you are right; there *are* plenty of flaws and black spots; plenty that is unreal, unsound, rotten; but this is not peculiar to our age or country, nor to the present state of religion amongst us.

On this the Cardinal comments as follows:

We certainly must plead guilty to belonging to the first of these classes. This Review was founded upon a *couleur de rose*

principle. It was started simply in hopefulness, in buoyant, bounding confidence that there was 'a good time coming.' Nay, its complexion at birth was deeper than the paly rose-bud—it was sanguine. There were croakers then as much as now; men who liked the cineraria better than roses, preferred cypress to myrtle, the raven to the nightingale. What was prospect then is retrospect now. Were the croakers right then in prophesying that not a single conversion would emerge from the 'Oxford Tracts,' that the eloquent voice in St. Mary's would never resound in a Catholic pulpit, and that there was no more vitality in the 'movement' than there was in the time of Laud or of the Nonjurors? All was to them a sham. It is plain, then, that, carrying back the two parties twenty years, the roseate people were safer than the sooty. What reason have we to believe the order to be reversed, and the future of to-day to be different from that of years ago? There was, indeed, a moment when the dark foreboders seemed to have it all their own way, when the atrocious onslaught on the Hierarchy began. Then, indeed, there were more than ugly omens, something worse than mares' tails in the clouds and Mother Carey's chickens on the curling waves . . . . there was a roaring blast around the frail-looking bark of England's Catholicity. Well, she drove straight on, neither ported her helm nor put it hard a-lee, but trusted to the heavenly steersman, who sometimes appears to slumber in the boat, but always awakes in time. This was a glorious time for the prophets of evil; their predictions were coming most satisfactorily true; all the consolations of past years had been delusive; we had been going much too fast, and the whole was going to end in what is denominated 'universal smash.'

Now, if it had pleased God to give us a much harder trial, and subject us to a harsh, and searching, and long persecution, had we been pushed back civilly (in one sense of the word) into the last century, we should have remained still *couleur de rose*. Never did sweeter rose of resignation blow than Job upon his dunghill. We should have seen the Hand of God in our humiliation and depression, and should have made every effort to suppress the croak that rose into our throat. Was Job wrong in looking at his own future brightly from that vilest seat, with earthquakes, pillagers, pestilence all round him, and, what was

worse, with three good hearty croakers seated before him for seven days and seven nights, then, with his gentle wife to back them, bidding him take as gloomy a prospect as possible of everything, past, present, and to come? The worldly hero may boast that reverses have plundered him of all but his honour; the Christian will admit that, bereft of all else, his enemy cannot pluck hope from his bosom. So thought Job, and he was right.

But it pleased God that we should not endure so severe a tribulation. The storm subsided; we found ourselves again in smooth water, to be troubled again only if it pleases God. Is not this liberation an encouragement to our hope? Did not the trial prove that the trustful had been right, and the despondent mistaken?

If, then, among Catholics there must be two parties designated by colours, we will hold to the *Bianchi*; be those who choose of the *Neri*. And the paragraph before us proposes a good motive for our preference. 'Openings of new missions, churches, schools, functions, devotions, sermons, conversions' are things, or facts, solid and palpable, on which hope may stand and rest; they are unmistakable realities which may be entered into account. The sanguine man, as he is called, reckons them up, and finds they come to something at the end of the year to carry forward into the next; for they are durable and not evanescent, perennial, not annual. But the dark-eyed man who sees a 'black spot' everywhere (physically this would indicate a diseased organ) sees in reality nothing, but only absence of something; the 'blot' is merely a screen interposed between the object and the vision. In plain language, the croaker sees the defects on everything—its imperfections, its shortcomings—he cannot deny the existence of the thing. 'We have new churches,' he says, 'it is true, but thousands never go into them; schools, but with inferior education; devotions, but they are merely passing excitement; conversions, but they are more than counterbalanced by perversion.' Now let all this be true. If thousands neglect going to the new churches, hundreds do go to them who did not go at all; schools with imperfect education are better than no schools at all, and the education may be improved in them; devotions may excite, but a single good Communion more, and some scores of acts of faith and love additional have their fruit; and

as to the conversions, suppose the fact to be true that for every Puseyite gained two poor Irish are lost, as one is not the effect of the other, we may surely rejoice at that which is good, and rather have it than not, while we deplore the loss. It is plain that every one of those things which are enumerated as forming the hopeful man's joy is a diminution of every reason which the desponding one has for his dark views. Every new church, mission, or school must remove a blot or dark spot from the system.

But this is a deeper and graver subject than it looks at first sight. That men who overlook all defects are wrong, and that in their calculations they will be as mistaken as an astronomer would be who should overlook the mutual perturbations of the planets, there can be no doubt ; but that they who can never see anything but faults to repine and grumble over, and will not look about them with a cheerful eye, are at least equally wrong is no less certain. A middle course is therefore to be chosen ; and what is this ? To say, 'I will be neither one nor the other' is almost equivalent to proclaiming indifference. This will not do. The true medium seems to us very clear, and we hope has its rule highly sanctioned. Does the croaker and grumbler look at the work before him as that of God or of man ? Surely not as the first, or it would be blasphemy to murmur. He looks, then, at the whole as man's work, as the fruit of his industry, skill, and ability. 'Openings of missions, churches, schools, &c.,' are all, in his eyes, only results and evidences of activity, good management, human powers. He picks holes in them, and criticises them as he would the opening of new worldly institutions. He has no confidence in their solidity or duration, because they come from a perishable workman.

The sanguine man may be easily understood to reason contrariwise. The progress of religion is God's care, and can be granted by Him alone. Every step gained, every advantage secured, is a new blessing from Him, and surely any manifestation of His blessing, any evidence of His love, is 'enchanting, hopeful, and glorious.' And what is every new 'opening of mission, church, or school,' every solemn 'function' performed with the requirements of the Liturgy, every 'devotion' such as that of the Forty Hours, every 'conversion,' but an outward sign of that superintending watchfulness which makes the rising

up of a new church or school in a desolate district as true a mark of itself as is the springing up of the snowdrop or the crocus an evidence of care over the earth? Each may be humble, but each is God's work.

But while in this, which is of God, we rejoice and exult, and feel sanguine of success, we will go all the way with the murmurers and discoverers of black spots and flaws, the moment we turn from the beautiful work to its clumsy instruments. That he is a useless servant, that he is only in others' way who would do better, that he is blundering, feeble, obstructive, and doing all as badly as possible, is a conviction quite consistent with the full belief in a man that, not by or through him, but in spite of him, God's work will go on prosperously, blessedly, and gloriously.

This we hold, and have always held, to be the middle way between these two conditions of mind and principles of action; and they seem to us, as we have said, highly and potently sanctioned. To sow in tears, but with the confidence that God will give increase, and that there will be sheaves for somebody to carry at harvest-home, is surely a consoling thing. While the Apostles were taught to think despicably of themselves, and to expect nothing from themselves, they were equally taught to be most sanguine as to the final results of their labours.

We know that your sanguine man is supposed to live in a sort of mesmeric exhilaration, in an atmosphere of laughing gas, which quite incapacitates him for practical life and hourly duties. He is always dreaming, and provokingly happy when everybody else sees nothing but disaster and approaching ruin. We believe, on the contrary, that no one suffers more acutely than he. Giving the eternal grumbler credit for rejoicing, in his own saturnine way, when evident good does appear, he has, in addition to this pleasure, the lugubrious joy of being glad whenever hopes are disappointed and his own Cassandran prophecies come true. But the sanguine man draws his hope to its highest tension, and if it break it strikes him fearfully. He has been planning and studying something 'enchanting and glorious'; it has been a vision in his dream, a beautiful thought in his waking hour, a fervent aspiration in his prayers. He has brought it to the very verge of execution; an insuperable obstacle intervenes, and all is dashed to the ground. He is

laughed at as a visionary, despised as a mere enthusiast. No one can tell what he may suffer. Happy if he steal away in silence, to say, 'Yes, in spite of all, it will be done; it is too good to fail. But not by me, for I am not worthy of so great a work.' He remains sanguine to the end. To 'hope against hope' is not certainly anywhere chid in Scripture.

Would to Heaven that we could blend these two 'sorts of Catholics' into one, acting harmoniously on this simple principle of croaking about our own work and being sanguine about God's. All other party feeling would soon disappear.

The Cardinal's article, while appealing strongly to the bulk of Catholics, effected no change in the tone of the 'Rambler.' Indeed, the essay he had criticised, though irritating to the susceptibilities of some readers, gave little indication of the peculiarly one-sided bias which it soon developed. Here again, as in the case of the attacks on the Cardinal, it was the tone more than the logic which was in fault But the love of maintaining startling positions, apparently at variance with Catholic tradition, soon aroused a very widespread dissatisfaction. Moreover the attacks of the writers on the English Bishops, at times when they most needed support, were distasteful to the great bulk of their co-religionists. In the end several of the Bishops met, in February 1859, to discuss the matter. Dr. Ullathorne was deputed to write to Newman to see if his influence could ensure a change of programme. Newman, on Dr. Ullathorne's representation that Mr. Simpson was really responsible for the tone which had given offence, in an interview with him recommended that he should resign the editorship. Newman did not, however, disguise the fact that he felt a great deal of sympathy with Mr. Simpson at

the time, although later on he unreservedly dissociated himself from that writer's essays.

Wiseman at the same time made efforts to secure the aid of Ward, Oakeley, and other converts in making the 'Dublin Review' do, in a loyal spirit, the useful work which the 'Rambler' writers had marred by their tone and treatment. In the meantime Newman, with the same object in view, and without knowing the Cardinal's intentions, had undertaken to edit the 'Rambler' himself. The Cardinal on hearing of this proposal accepted it frankly, although it involved, as he saw, the decease of the 'Dublin.' True to his principle of welcoming good from whatever source, he was glad that the 'Dublin,' though dear to him from many associations, should give place to what he recognised as so desirable—a Catholic Review under the personal supervision of John Henry Newman. The 'Dublin' had done its work, and would die as it had lived, resolute in its refusal to become the organ of a party.[1]

[1] A full account of the *Rambler* controversy will be found in *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, chapter x. It was in Newman's judgment a 'tone' or a 'smack' of something uncatholic, which made it calculated to do harm in spite of certain very important intellectual principles which it advocated. Dr. Ullathorne's judgment in his published 'Letters' is much the same. But Newman's own intellectual temper was so deeply in sympathy with the principles in question that he felt far more strongly than Ullathorne the misfortune of having to check their propagation. The misfortune in his eyes was that true intellectual principles were coupled with language so (apparently) irreverent to the Church or to Saints, that they became discredited rather than propagated. I find among other instances the statement that St. Augustine was the 'father of Jansenism' made by one of the writers. Wiseman took counsel whether to take official cognisance of this statement and call for its retractation. Faber favoured such a course,

The following letters mark the course of events :

Dr. Ullathorne to Dr. Newman.

Feb. 16, 1859.

DEAR DR. NEWMAN, In London on Saturday I met Cardinal Wiseman, Archbishop Errington, and Bishop Grant. After our business we talked about the 'Rambler.' Our opinions were unanimous that something must be done. The point is to act with as much quietness and consideration as the case admits of. I mentioned my conversation with you, and your kind offer to write to the editor and Sir J. Acton. Cardinal Wiseman said it was like you, and that everything was always safe with you.

We agreed, first, I should ask you, if you thought well, to write to Mr. Simpson and Sir John Acton. Should that fail, Dr. Grant will see Simpson, and if he fails then we must proceed in the way of authority.

It is our opinion that nothing short of Mr. Simpson's retiring from the editorship will satisfy, as he plainly cannot judge what is and what is not sound language.

I ought to have seen you on Saturday ; I promised to do so, and to write to the Cardinal to say whether you thought it judicious for you to write or not, as time is not to be lost. As it is we must in our Pastorals animadvert on the attacks on the conduct of the Bishops in the Royal Commission affair. Perhaps you will kindly talk the matter over with Bishop Clifford.

I remain, &c.

W. B. ULLATHORNE.

Dr. Ullathorne apparently supplemented this letter by another, in which he intimated that Simpson's resignation would preclude the necessity of criticising

but Dr. Newsham maintained that the statement might be explained in a true sense, and had best be left alone. Wiseman followed the advice of his old tutor. But it was obvious that such a form of expression, which appeared to most readers to be an endorsement of Jansenius's own views, was startling to the average pious Catholic.

his writings in the forthcoming Pastorals. Newman writes to him as follows:

Dr. Newman to Dr. Ullathorne.

The Oratory, Brompton: Feb. 19, 1859.

My dear Lord,—Mr. Simpson most frankly put the whole question of the 'Rambler' into my hands, and expressed his wish to abide by my decision.

I did not hesitate to recommend at once the course to which your letters directed me, viz. his ceasing to be Editor. This I did, encouraged by your kind and condescending assurance, or at least persuasion, that in the event of his retiring from the editorship without delay the Bishops would omit allusion to the 'Rambler' in their Pastorals. Should his withdrawal be followed by the cessation of the 'Rambler,' he will consider himself at liberty to publish his account of the whole transaction; but this he will not and cannot do as editor of the 'Rambler,' which will by the hypothesis have ceased to exist, but, as it stands to reason, in his own person. Such a course I did not feel myself called upon to speak about and interfere with, by the duties which your Lordship had put upon me, which related solely to the existing magazine and its editor.

I ought not to conceal from your Lordship that Mr. Simpson feels very severely some of the accompaniments of the Bishop's message to him. He is much pained that, at a moment when, as his own Bishop knew, he had a sick brother on his hands, or rather, as medical men directed, under his watchful eye, he should be suddenly hurried to make up his mind on a difficult question, and that too at the end of the month, when the March number of the magazine was already in type, and an expense incurred which he thinks he ought not to be the person to sustain, and all this without learning from any of your Lordships the definite charges which lie against him, as he might in equity demand.

And now, my dear Lord, having brought, as I trust, this anxious matter to a satisfactory solution, I have but to beg your blessing and to subscribe myself

Your faithful, affectionate servant in Christ,

John H. Newman,
of the Oratory.

From Cardinal Wiseman to Dr. Newman.

March 14, 1859.

MY DEAR DR. NEWMAN, Although I have heard on every side of your intention to edit the 'Rambler' as a *bi-monthly* magazine, I do not like to act on the supposition without having it confirmed from yourself.

The near approach of a two-monthly periodical to a quarterly renders the existence of the 'Dublin Review' not only critical, but, I fear, impossible. In the plans lately proposed for its regeneration several writers engaged themselves, who will, I know, feel it their duty on many grounds to offer their services to you, in preference to anyone else. This would leave no chance to a second periodical.

If, therefore, the reported transfer of the editorship of the 'Rambler' to you be correct, I should feel obliged to you for a line informing me of it. I shall then feel in a position to determine in what way the 'Review' should be dealt with.

As for myself, as long as the wants of Catholic periodical literature are properly supplied, as they would be under your editorship, I care comparatively little for other considerations. The 'Dublin Review' will have done its own work, with single-hearted aim and without the reproach of ever having belonged to a party.

I am ever your affectionate servant in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

It was Mr. W. G. Ward who had intimated to the Cardinal that the contributors to whom he had looked for the proposed new series of the 'Dublin,' would feel allegiance due to Newman's 'Rambler' rather than to the 'Dublin'; and the Cardinal wrote to him quite accepting the position, and expressing his hope that the career of the 'Dublin,' which was now at an end, would be recognised as having been a useful and honourable one.

Mr. Ward's reply, in which he spoke for others

besides himself, was in this respect all that the Cardinal could wish:

Northwood Park, Cowes: Ash Wednesday, 1859.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—I feel very much the great kindness of your letter to me. Certainly the 'Dublin' has performed most important work. There can be no doubt whatever, in my opinion, that without such a view of the Catholic Church and her position as we obtained from the 'Dublin' we Oxford people should have had our conversion indefinitely retarded, even had we at last been converted at all. I am sure none of us can ever think of the 'Dublin' without a most affectionate feeling, grounded on a sense of the great benefits we derived from it. . . . Mrs. Ward begs her affectionate respects, and your 'faithful subjects' send their love.

Believe me ever affectionately and obediently yours,

W. G. WARD.

It would be anticipating the order of events too much to narrate here the sequel. It need only be said that it was curiously similar to what took place in France, in Germany, in Italy. We have seen that the intellectual liberalism of the 'Rambler' was part of the same Movement for new life, reality, and enthusiasm among Catholics, as the new Ultramontrane Movement in France and Germany. In all these cases the genesis of Liberalism, political or intellectual, had been under the Papal banner. Lamennais and Döllinger had (as we have already said) been marked Ultramontanes. Gioberti's dream had been of increased Papal influence, as the result of the *plébiscite*. But in all cases the Liberal and Ultramontane tendencies had ultimately parted company, and became in the end absolutely opposed. The fusion between the two—the dream of Lacordaire, of

Newman, and (in a less theoretic form) of Wiseman himself—appeared at one time to be made impossible. It was the violent and extreme Papalism of Louis Veuillot which made Montalembert finally appear to oppose the Papal party in France, which he had once led. The orator who had made the French Assembly thrill with his defence of the temporal power in 1849 of the defenceless Church who should be protected by the generous, 'because she was a woman—nay, more, a mother'—was tabooed in 1870 as the opponent of Papal Infallibility. The violence of the French Liberal party, on the other hand, made Lacordaire unable to retain his seat on the Extreme Left of the Assembly in 1848. Gioberti became a co-operator with Mazzini. Döllinger broke with the Church. Pius IX., from being regarded as the most liberal of Popes, found himself obliged to choose between heading the revolution and incurring the charge of *intransigeance*. It seemed as though passion on either side made the due fusion between tendencies, each representing a truth, impossible. Wiseman and Newman alike were incapable of joining either extreme party. They could no more renounce what was to both a cherished ideal—the endeavour to make the Church blend with all that is best in modern civilisation—than they could sacrifice to the modern cult of freedom, their deference to Papal authority. Newman attempted the fusion in the 'Rambler,' but he satisfied neither party. Manning and Ward, on the one hand, and Acton and Simpson on the other, wished him to go

further in opposite directions. He held the editorship for two numbers and then resigned in July 1859.

Newman lived to see, after the Vatican Council, new possibilities of the happy union between loyalty to authority and intellectual thoroughness and freedom. Wiseman did not live to see the acutest development of a contest in which he, like Newman, could take no part. But one who was his constant friend and companion said of him, soon after the conclusion of the 'Rambler' controversy in 1859, 'His work is done; his day is past.' And the events which followed his death go far to confirm this judgment. The division into irreconcilable parties, of which the 'Univers' on the one hand and the Munich school of Döllinger on the other were typically representative, became pronounced. And to Wiseman to be a party man was to act contrary to the genius of the Church. The course of events, from 1865 to 1870, would have tried him acutely. The division lasted until the Vatican Council, by condemning the excesses of Liberals and by the moderation of its decree of Papal infallibility, gave scope for that temper of mind of which Newman's Cardinalate in 1877 was, as it were, the official recognition.

> Let knowledge grow from more to more,
> But more of reverence in us dwell,
> That mind and soul, according well,
> May make one music, as before,
> But vaster.

Of the immediate effects of the 'Rambler' controversy in Wiseman's own domain of Catholic

England, we need only say that it almost obliterated the intellectual division between convert and old Catholic. The 'Rambler' had arrayed against it the great bulk of both bodies. The few who sympathised with it probably included the scanty remnant of the ancient school—men like Mr. Tierney, who opposed, on Gallican principles, subservience to Roman authority and the multiplication of pious legends, which the 'Rambler' opposed on principles of liberal criticism. And, on the other hand, the most thorough opponents of the 'Rambler' were converts—Ward, Oakeley, and Faber: while Newman, Monsell,[1] Dr. Russell of Maynooth, occupied a middle ground—sympathising with some of its theoretical principles, but condemning its tone.

But while the intellectual division between old and new lost its former landmarks, there remained, among many of the clergy, the tradition against innovations in discipline and devotion. The Oratorians were still regarded by the old priests as extravagant, though Faber's works were fast winning their way. And a new enterprise by a convert was, in some quarters, prejudged as an indulgence in æsthetic devotion, likely to be accompanied by unpaid bills; likely to issue in the hasty reception of converts, which would be followed by relapses into infidelity; likely to have far less solid and steady piety than the work of those who were content with the old ways and old doctrines. This feeling, which has lasted in some degree to our own time, was then still strong, though on the wane, and it gathered and concen-

[1] William Monsell of Tervoe, Limerick, afterwards Lord Emly.

trated itself in 1857 on the person of a distinguished individual, Henry Edward Manning, lately Archdeacon of Chichester, the founder of the Congregation of the Oblates. But the circumstances attending this development must be reserved for another chapter.

CHAPTER XXV

ESTRANGEMENTS

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S ill-health and ever-increasing duties made him, in 1855, determine to apply to Rome for a Coadjutor. His large foreign correspondence, his work for the 'Dublin Review,' his lectures, his special duties as Metropolitan, in addition to a Bishop's regular work, were becoming too much for him. He wanted to write his 'Church of the Basilicas,' and to give his mind, so far as health permitted, to larger questions of policy. A Coadjutor, who could take off his shoulders the worry of business routine, was a great desideratum. Also he had a scheme, long in his mind—to introduce into the diocese a body of priests trained by the discipline of community life, who should nevertheless place themselves directly under the Archbishop, and carry out the work—notably among the poor—of which he felt the necessity. The existing religious Orders were (as we have seen) so far hampered by their constitutions, and so far independent of the Bishop, that they did not meet the case. The old-fashioned clergy had got into their groove, and were as a body little inclined to enter into new enterprises such as Cardinal Wiseman was ever ready to plan and foster. On a new com-

munity he might impress that view of the priesthood which he had imbibed in Rome; and they would be ready at hand to carry out such designs as from time to time he might conceive to be necessary for the Church's welfare.

This double help was supplied to the Cardinal by two men—each in his way remarkable, and of most opposite character, Dr. Errington and Dr. Manning. Dr. Errington became Coadjutor, and Dr. Manning founded the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles —to do the special work required by the Archbishop. The gratification of the Cardinal's two wishes led to the saddest events of his life. Two new powers were introduced into the diocese—both men of strong will, with utterly opposite ideals and aims. A collision between the two was the ultimate consequence, and a party warfare which alienated from the Cardinal his oldest friends.

The events must be narrated in order.

The person the Cardinal naturally turned to for a Coadjutor was a man who from early boyhood had been his close friend and associate. Wiseman and George Errington had been boys together at Ushaw from 1814 to 1818, spending their Long Vacations in each other's company. They had been fellow-students at the English College at Rome, and when Wiseman as Rector of the College wanted a Vice-Rector, it was to George Errington that he turned. Later on, when he found the routine work of schoolmaster at Oscott trying, and required a free mind to attend to the 'Dublin Review' and the Oxford Movement, it was to George Errington that he looked to

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From a photograph taken at the Congress of Malines

be his Prefect of Studies. 'He appeared at Oscott,' writes Lord Acton, 'as Wiseman's confidant and *locum tenens*, and worked hard to enable the President to attend to other things. It may be said that in neither case had their views entirely coincided. But the differences had been passing; and when, in September 1850, the great Hierarchy measure was to be drafted, Wiseman wrote to Errington and asked him to help him to draw out its details.

Errington was in 1855 Bishop of Plymouth. He had on many occasions sought the advice of his old friend, in critical matters connected with the government of his diocese. The old intimacy had thus been kept up. It was, then, to Errington that Wiseman turned to find a Coadjutor. If Errington would do the business work of the diocese, Wiseman thought that he should find himself free to follow the bent of his own genius, and to utilise such strength as ill-health left him in doing his own special work.

Among Father Morris's papers are some interesting fragments, containing a narrative of the appointment and of its consequences:

> We come now to an event in the Cardinal's life which, while at first it seemed to promise him rest and help and sympathy, ended—without anybody's fault, or at all events no grave or intentional fault—by leaving him very nearly isolated and friendless. The matter is in many respects public property already, at least in its outward features. It may here be described with an amount of circumstance and detail which would have not been permissible if death had not removed all the chief actors in the story. It is only one more example of that which must have come within the sphere of everyone's experience, that it is one of the misfortunes of this mortal state that thoroughly excellent men, can, with the purest and best

intentions, so differ from one another in their judgments, that personal misunderstandings cannot fail to arise by which the oldest friendships can be broken up, and a painful state of disunion come into existence and last till death puts an end to it all.

Early in 1855, Cardinal Wiseman applied to the Holy See for a Coadjutor. By a special permission he was allowed to bring the matter before the Chapter, precisely as if the See of Westminster were vacant. An election was consequently held with the usual formalities, and three names in alphabetical order were presented to the Propaganda. The name of George Errington, Bishop of Plymouth, was one of those sent up. This was the result of some friendly pressure brought to bear upon the members of the Chapter, and not precisely because, apart from Cardinal Wiseman's wishes, he was the man whom they would otherwise have chosen to reign over them. They felt, however, that they were sending up a *terna*, not for a vacant see, but for a Coadjutorship with right of succession ; and as Cardinal Wiseman, at that time in his fifty-second year, might long continue to be Archbishop, it was wise, if he was to have a Coadjutor, to provide him with the man of his own choice, that there might be every prospect of concord between the two prelates and of mutual assistance. Bishop Errington was consequently transferred by the Pope from the see of Plymouth to the archiepiscopal see of Trebizond, *in partibus infidelium*, as it was then called, a titular archbishopric, as it is now designated. This was in April 1855.

It is said, and with great probability, that Archbishop Errington left Plymouth with great reluctance. As bishop of that diocese he had established himself in Plymouth itself, as its head missioner, in very Apostolic poverty and labour. But there he was independent, and he could conduct his work as his knowledge and experience dictated. The prospect of being in the long run Archbishop of Westminster must have been entirely distasteful to him, and meanwhile he was to be, as Coadjutor, in a dependent position. He may well have been reluctant to assume it, for of all men he was the one who had the best means of judging of its difficulty. He knew Cardinal Wiseman intimately. It was not only that they had always been on terms of an unusually close friendliness, but when Dr.

Wiseman was Rector of the English College at Rome, Dr. Errington had been his Vice-Rector, and when one was President of Oscott, the other was Prefect of Studies. They must have known one another very thoroughly. It has been said that Cardinal Wiseman ought to have known better than to ask for Bishop Errington as his Coadjutor. But it must be acknowledged of Cardinal Wiseman that he had very little insight into character, and that he hardly looked into a man deeper than he saw at first. But Bishop Errington had more insight into the heart and nature of another man, and he must have foreseen the divergencies of judgment that were certain to arise. He probably did foresee them, and with some knowledge of his own pertinacity, he must have looked forward to more than one contest and have intended beforehand to win the victory. If it were said that in that case he had no business to have accepted a Coadjutorship where all the jurisdiction and all the authority would be in Cardinal Wiseman's hands and not in his, he probably would have answered that the appointment as Coadjutor was no choice of his, and that when transferred to Westminster independently of his own will, he was free to resolve to act according to the best of his own judgment.

The appointment was, then, made. Errington, before accepting his nomination, reminded Wiseman of their former differences, and the Cardinal replied that their spheres of action would now be so different as to prevent collision.[1] Errington obeyed the summons with misgivings, which even a few months' experience amply confirmed. A strict and exact disciplinarian, ready at all points to apply canon law without allowance for circumstances, an absolutely punctual man of business, and, as Father Morris says, entering on his appointment with the view that in whatever

[1] I have made liberal use in this chapter of the written narrative of events left by Dr. Errington, and submitted by him to the Holy See and Cardinals in 1860. I have cited in Appendix D such extracts as are required as *pièces justificatives* for the account here given.

sphere he was to work he must be allowed to act upon his own judgment, he was the last man to be in such relations to Wiseman—who tended ever to follow the wider and sympathetic promptings of his nature rather than the letter of any law ; whose unpunctuality in business matters was an ingrained habit, and yet who in the matter of final decisions was little disposed to abate his claims to authority.

The very friendliness between the two [Father Morris continues] was against the Cardinal in the matter. When the Bishop of Plymouth from time to time had come up to London to attend meetings of the Bishops, or for any other reason, the Cardinal's house was his home, and 'George' found a bed prepared for him in the Cardinal's dressing-room. In the morning the door between them was thrown open, and the conversation of the day began when they were dressing. Such intimacy would not be productive of the sense of authority, and it is perhaps not to be wondered at that Archbishop Errington, when Coadjutor, seems to have acted with the Cardinal rather than under him, and to have felt himself his *alter ego* with co-ordinate authority.

Thus when Cardinal Wiseman asked him to undertake a canonical visitation of the diocese, the answer of the Archbishop of Trebizond was, 'Yes, on one condition ; your Eminence must entertain no appeals from my decisions.' The first place His Grace went to, he settled something that the priest did not like. The priest brought it to the Cardinal, who said, 'Oh, that will never do !' and reversed it. Archbishop Errington brought all the papers together relating to that mission, and placing them before the Cardinal, said to him, 'There, you must finish the visitation of that place yourself. You promised you would hear no appeals from me, and you have done so.'

Such was the state of feeling existing between them, though each one was probably only half conscious of it. The one knew that it was no partnership on equal terms, but that he was the source of all the authority held by his Coadjutor, who could represent him only when specially charged to do so ; the other, looking to his clearer and more accurate knowledge of the

canon law, and stern in the exercise of a will which marshalled and ruled himself in the same iron way in which he brought it to bear upon others, despised the motives for a gentle decision or for patience or toleration, that he saw in operation in his chief. 'You were hewn out of a rock, Dr. Errington, and I am sure you never had a mother,' was the home-thrust of Mother Mary Hallahan, the holy foundress of the English Dominican Nuns. In private life Archbishop Errington was gentle and affectionate, and his friends were warmly attached to him; but in his official relations he was stern and inflexible.[1] The iron rigidity of an Act of Parliament is met by the ingenuity of human nature, which succeeds in driving a coach and four through it. The law of the Church was never meant to have any such rigidity. It is a κανών, a rule to govern by; but it is not automatic. There is the Bishop who governs, with the canon law for his guide, and the Church, like a tender mother, intends him to have an eye to the working of her rule, and to suspend or modify its operation, with the leave, if necessary, of the Holy See, when under the circumstances the strict enforcing of the law would do more harm than good. This Wiseman understood, and was perhaps in consequence inclined sometimes a little too much to regard himself as above the law; Errington, on the other hand, saw the law clearly and looked on it as a conscientious duty to press for its observance at any cost.

A saying of Dr. Errington's, often commented upon, brings out this aspect of his character. His strict application of certain regulations on the subject of the visits of the priests to the dying was objected to, on the ground that many would die without the Sacraments. Dr. Errington's only reply was, 'If they lose the Sacraments according to canon law, canon law is to blame and not I.'

The first serious collision between the Coadjutor and his chief was in the matter of Mr. W. G. Ward's position, as Professor of Dogmatic Theology at St.

[1] This sentence was written by Father Morris in the margin of his manuscript.

Edmund's. Dr. Errington sternly objected to a layman's holding such a post. Moreover the theology of a convert at once aroused his suspicion. He styled Mr. Ward's lectures 'a new system,' and when visiting St. Edmund's officially, in the spring of 1855, imposed such restrictions on the Professor, that they were tantamount to enforcing his resignation. Mr. Ward resigned, at the same time intimating to the Cardinal that he had every wish to do what was possible to meet the Archbishop's views, and to continue in his post, if he were allowed the discretion as to his method of lecturing and the conduct of the examinations, which a Professor might fairly claim.

Mr. Ward's appointment had been the Cardinal's own doing. When the Cardinal sent Errington to the College he had fully hoped that he would appreciate the work Mr. Ward was doing, and strengthen his hands.[1] The Cardinal entirely disagreed with Errington's action, and ultimately accepted the conditions Mr. Ward laid down. After the Long Vacation of 1855, instead of the lay Professor having left St. Edmund's, Errington found Mr. Ward reinstated and the chief opponent of the 'new system,' the Vice-President, removed. A new Vice-President was appointed—Father Herbert Vaughan.

The dispute had been much canvassed in the diocese. Errington regarded it as a test case, and forthwith wrote the following letter to Monsignor Talbot at Rome, intimating his dissatisfaction and expressing his willingness to be removed from the office of Coadjutor:

[1] So Dr. Errington himself afterwards learnt (see Appendix D).

2 Victoria Terrace, Kingston, August 23, 1855.

My dear Monsignor, From what has happened since the Synod, I feel pretty sure of what I was then beginning to be apprehensive, namely, that my coadjutorship will not work well, and like so many others probably be the source of much more evil than good.

I am satisfied that I do not possess that influence with the Cardinal, nor his confidence to that degree which would be necessary for effectual working under him in my position. The Ward affair was in reality, as the public I find has considered it, a trial of strength between my influence and one opposed to it, and in the contest that influence prevailed, though at the time I was not acting in the name of the Cardinal, and consequently should not have expected the Cardinal to allow anyone to set aside my jurisdiction by removing the case from my hands into the Cardinal's own.

Independently even of the mutual diffidence that this affair has created, I could not on a future occasion act with the decision necessary for success, nor could the priests and others have the confidence equally necessary in the stability of my decisions or arrangements.

Again on talking with the Cardinal about the difficulty I should have on making the Visitation he wishes of the Diocese, and the facility with which an awkward case like Ward's would arise in visitation, I found by his answers, that his practical view of my functions in visitation was simply that of reporter and counsellor to him. This would be fraught with interminable sources of misunderstanding, jealousies, &c., besides being irregular, and a position which I doubt whether I could take.

Altogether I do not think that we can now get into satisfactory working relations, and hence I see more chance of my interfering with the great good in so many respects he could and would do by himself, than of my doing good; on the other hand the report of our being at variance having become common from Ward's affairs, will certainly lead to great scandal, and there will be always plenty of persons ready to increase and make use of the division.

Hence I have serious thoughts of begging the Holy See to remove me from my present position to any occupation, place,

or country the Holy Father may think fit, where I might do good, instead of harm; but I am delaying for the purpose of taking more time and counsel before adopting this step.

In the meantime it has struck me, that as a temporary administrator has to be appointed to Clifton Diocese, and my name has naturally been proposed amongst others, this appointment might present a good *mezzo termine* to gain time and make further calculation, removing at the same time the danger of scandal, by removing the cause of talk. I told the Cardinal I thought this would be a good plan; he objected that it would delay the Visitation, and appear as if he wished to shelve me. I think the first argument null, because under the circumstances the Visitation could be done much better by a Vicar-General than by me. The second argument I do not think much of because the proposal of my name came from others, not from the Cardinal, and because it is very natural that a Coadjutor should be appointed for this special temporary duty.

Pray reflect on the matter, and if you agree with my view, and are consulted as probably you will be, being fresh from England, recommend accordingly. Or *if you think it still better, you can offer at once to the Holy Father my resignation, and readiness for such other work as may seem to him more proper.*

With best wishes, &c., I remain, yours sincerely

GEO. ERRINGTON.

Very Revd. Monsgr. Talbot.

Monsignor Talbot wrote to Wiseman, begging him to endeavour to work in harmony with the Coadjutor—whose prompt resignation would give a very bad impression.

Errington consented to remain, but accepted the position of temporary administrator to the diocese of Clifton. In June, 1856, the Cardinal wished him to return to London. Dr. Ward had, he said, resigned, and thus the old source of difference was past. Errington was not eager to come, and wished to be

transferred to the archbishopric of Trinidad, which Monsignor Talbot, then in England, had offered him. However, he returned as Coadjutor at Wiseman's request, and began the canonical visitation of the diocese. Some kind of *modus vivendi* was arrived at. The Cardinal, little prone to quarrel, left many things entirely in the hands of his Coadjutor. Occasionally he asserted himself but, as far as might be, in such a way as not to cause a rupture. When he did interfere, he shrank from arguing with the inflexible Archbishop. After the events of June 1856, at the Cardinal's own petition, Mr. Ward withdrew his resignation; but the Cardinal (it was related) did not venture to talk the matter out with Dr. Errington, or to inform him of the correspondence which was passing between himself and Mr. Ward. When the Coadjutor was about to revisit St. Edmund's under the impression that Mr. Ward had finally resigned, the Cardinal went with him to the train which was to convey him to St. Edmund's, bade him good-bye, and then, when the train was actually in motion and retort was impossible, added as an *appendix* to the conversation, 'By-the-bye, I have arranged with Mr. Ward that he is to continue in the Chair of Dogma.'

Canon Morris thus proceeds with his narrative:

> Fortunately, they both lived and ruled amongst a clergy that was filled with a hearty desire to live in accordance with the law of the Church. Occasions were not frequent when the diversity of character between the two Archbishops, if it were not a diversity of principle between them, would be called into play. But one at last arose which swept away all unconsciousness of their personal incompatibility, and though it was of no

very great consequence in itself, it deeply affected the after life of both prelates. To tell it, it is necessary to go back a little.

Henry Edward Manning, formerly Archdeacon of Chichester, had been received into the Catholic Church by Father Brownbill, S J., at Farm Street in 1851. Cardinal Wiseman had been remarkable all his life for his sympathy with the Oxford Movement. The converts produced by it had his warmest welcome, and such of them as were unmarried and desired to be ordained were pushed forward to the priesthood with a rapidity that was hardly wise or prudent. Mr. Manning was ordained priest by Cardinal Wiseman within the first year of his Catholic life, and a sarcastic paragraph in a Catholic paper stated that 'the Reverend H. E. Manning, having lately been ordained priest, was about to proceed to Rome to begin his ecclesiastical studies.' He went to Rome and wisely took up his abode at the *Accademia Ecclesiastica*, where he became well known to Pope Pius IX., who formed a most favourable judgment of him. It was, however, remarked that every year, on his taking leave of the Pope in order to spend the summer in England, his Holiness always said to him, 'Come back again next winter.' By this it was that Dr. Manning was really prepared for the great post he was ultimately to hold.

Cardinal Wiseman rapidly formed the highest opinion of the zeal and ability of Henry Edward Manning, who spent much time in the Cardinal's company on occasion of his visits to England. A staunch alliance grew up between them, in spite of a marked difference of temperament.

They were cast in very different moulds [writes Father Morris], and that not only in their personal appearances, which were the extremes of contrast, but in every fibre of their minds. Cardinal Wiseman was never altogether at home with Dr. Manning ; and it is one of the best proofs that the Cardinal was not simply under the guidance of his sympathies, that he should have set himself in every way to promote and to support Dr. Manning and all his plans. Each of these really great men had an admiration for the other, but in neither case was it an unqualified admiration. The admiration on each side was wisely and nobly put forward, and

the qualifications were understood by those who intimately knew the men and their relations with one another. The outer world, that merely saw their points of dissimilarity, was not far wrong in its conjecture that a certain coldness beneath the surface modified the evident confidence that existed between them. That confidence was the result of their common interests, which never clashed, as much as of their appreciation of each other's powers and personal gifts.

The marked character of the two men who enjoyed the Cardinal's confidence, was visible even in their outer appearance. The slim and graceful figure of Dr. Manning, his dignified and stately bearing, the pale, delicately chiselled features, eloquent of an ascetic life, the penetrating glance of the eye which spoke of fixed ideas and of firm determination, are still recent memories to us. Far less distinguished, but no less betokening a strong man, was the appearance of Dr. Errington. Somewhat short and thick-set, 'with a hawklike expression of face as he looked at you through his dark blue spectacles,' iron determination and persistency were stamped on face and figure. Not less ascetic in life than Manning, he had no sympathy with the mystical cast of Manning's mind, nor with his unqualified admiration for the foreign Seminary system. He had a suspicion, it was said, of 'fancy' prayers and meditations, and believed in the sufficiency of the old system of Challoner, if it were only acted upon. 'The best form of meditation is to look at a dead body; and it is a very old form,' was his abrupt criticism of some new suggestion in this department.

He was in one sense a reformer, equally with Manning. But he believed in reformation by the

strict and unbending enforcement of existing rules and the existing system, and not by the undue multiplication of new schemes.

In Wiseman's early days, when his chief practical endeavour had been to infuse apostolic zeal into a somewhat indifferent clergy, he and Errington had worked together on common ground. But since the events of 1845 had opened a new *vista* of future possibilities, it had been inevitable that Errington should not keep pace with his friend. And now it became evident that while Manning's views were on the side of development and expansion, Errington's slower pace, the result not of apathy but of fixed opinions, must lead to direct opposition, as it had already done in the case of Mr. Ward.

As early as October 1852, Wiseman had formed the idea of enlisting Manning's services as founder of a community specially devoted to carrying out the Cardinal's designs in reference to the London poor.

In 1853 Manning received a communication from Dr. Whitty, Wiseman's Vicar-General, with a definite proposal that he should return to England from Rome and take part in founding the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles—a community similar to that founded by St. Charles Borromeo, the great Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, in the sixteenth century. The Pope, however, expressed a wish that Manning should continue to reside in Rome.

In 1856, the year succeeding Errington's appointment, the plan was matured. Manning revisited Rome, took counsel with Monsignor Cardoni and other eminent authorities on the adaptation of the

Rule of St. Charles to the circumstances of England, and laid the results before Propaganda, who submitted them to the Pope for approval. Dr. Errington was in Rome at the time. Manning confided to him, early in 1857, his whole plan, and asked for his co-operation. Errington, who had so much disliked the influence of the convert Professor at St. Edmund's, and his schemes for introducing a new spirit among the clergy, looked from the very beginning with suspicion on Manning's plan. He refused to commit himself to any kind of approval. Indeed, he formed the opinion that Manning, instead of carrying out the Cardinal's wish for a body of priests at his own disposal, was introducing into England a Congregation, which would recruit itself from the secular clergy (thus diminishing the Cardinal's direct subjects), but would nevertheless be as completely under Manning as the Oratories were under Newman or Faber. Manning explained that the Oblates would have the care of certain missions ; would have a share in directing the Seminary of St. Edmund's, for one of the promised members of the Congregation was the Vice-President of St. Edmund's —Father (now Cardinal) Vaughan. And, at the same time, Errington was informed that the Pope, without consulting anyone in England, had appointed Manning Provost of Westminster. The news appears to have developed an alarm in Errington at the prospective growth of Manning's influence, which became a kind of fixed idea. Manning had always been a somewhat inscrutable personage to the old Catholics. But, residing so long abroad, he had not hitherto come prominently before their notice. Now he was coming

to England, having just been placed by the Pope in authority over the whole Cathedral Chapter of Westminster; and having, on the plea of collecting priests to serve the Cardinal, organised a Congregation, of which he was absolute superior, and which was to possess parishes and guide the Seminary. Who was to tell where all this would end? As the new Congregation developed they might receive parish after parish, and in Errington's imagination they were at once to assume the direction of the Seminary.[1] This scheme, so vitally affecting the welfare of the diocese, was being carried out without consulting the Chapter or Vicar-General; the Rules were printed in Rome; the whole diocese would be handed over into the hands of the inscrutable 'convert parson,' whom Monsignor Searle regarded as a Machiavelli; while the Cardinal was under the impression that his own desire was being carried out—that, like St. Charles Borromeo, Cardinal Archbishop of Milan, he was gaining the services of a number of Oblates—priests who 'offered' themselves to carry out his own special plans.

Against this danger Errington set himself, as a conscientious duty, to work might and main. Before leaving Rome he intimated to Manning his opinion that he was not carrying out the Cardinal's wish, but forming a Congregation under his own and not the Cardinal's jurisdiction. He said the same thing to the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda, to Monsignor Talbot, to the Rector of the English College. Returned home

[1] The Cardinal expressly denied this; but how firmly fixed it was in Errington's mind appears in his defence before the Roman Commission, cited in the Appendix.

in April, he communicated his fears to the Cardinal. The Cardinal replied that he had already heard what Errington had said on the subject in Rome, and that his fears were causeless and based only on his prejudice against Manning. Anyhow, the Rules of the new Congregation, before being fixed, could be tried, and, if necessary, altered.

Errington evidently showed in his conversation the animus which made him so untiring an opponent of Manning's scheme, and he records that the Cardinal gave him to understand by his manner and tone that he did not wish the complaints renewed.

The Coadjutor, however, later in the year, secured a copy of the Rules of the new Congregation, and occupied his Christmas holidays in making an elaborate comparison and contrast between the original Oblates of St. Charles and Manning's Oblates. The elaboration of this comparison bears witness to the gigantic proportions the matter had assumed in the Coadjutor's mind. Undoubtedly, the Rule empowering the Superior to call (or retain) any Oblate to live in community, and to determine his destination on the mission, in conjunction with the Ordinary, was a point of difference between the London Oblates and their prototypes. The rest of the most lengthy contrast seems to have little practical importance.

The Oblates were formally installed at the Church of St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater, on Whit Monday 1857. The Rules of the new Congregation were approved by the Cardinal only provisionally, 'until experience shows whether some change or modification should be made in them.' Among the members

enrolled who did not live with the community, were Father Herbert Vaughan, Vice-President of St. Edmund's, and two other inhabitants of the College.

Early in 1858 Errington again approached the Cardinal, and put before him his comparison between the rules of St. Charles and of Dr. Manning. The Cardinal once more told him that he was prejudiced against Manning, in whom he (the Cardinal) had absolute confidence. However in May a modification was made in the Rules, in the direction indicated by Errington's criticisms. It was to the effect that all Oblates who had taken the missionary oath should be as directly under the Bishop as any other secular priest, and that the Superior should not be at liberty to call them to live in community.

It might have been thought that this concession would have made peace. It was entirely concurred in by Manning himself. But Errington remained implacable. He urged the possibility that men might join the Oblates to avoid taking the missionary oath ; and instead of waiting until events showed whether this was a practical danger, he communicated his sentiments to members of the Chapter, and found among them others who were ready to look with no favourable eye on Manning's Congregation.

In fact, there was, even apart from this special question of the Rule, a strong prejudice against the class of ideas which the Oblates were designed to propagate among the clergy.

One avowed aim of the Congregation of the Oblates was to introduce some of the customs of a Roman Seminary into England. This was supposed

to mean a system of *espionage* and tale-bearing, and a wholesale introduction of Italian habits and devotions. Many of the clergy were most strongly opposed to such a prospect. They held that what had been good enough for their ancestors was good enough for them. St. Edmund's College—which was (they thought) to be handed over to Manning—had been formed by Dr. Griffiths. And it was Dr. Griffiths, as we have seen, who solemnly warned Newman, on his conversion, against Italian prayers. Each country had its own way of expressing religious feeling, and the Italian was not the English. St. Edmund's was proud of its traditions, as a descendant of Douay, and proud of the 'Edmundian' spirit, which its *alumni* believed to be at once manly, English, and Catholic. Moreover they held that the language often heard among converts as to the low standard of the 'old Catholics' was false to fact; that young men were being encouraged to teach their elders and their betters, without understanding the merits of those whom they criticised. An Italian priest came to St. Edmund's and held up his hands in horror at the loud English voices raised in the *ambulacrum*, at times when Italian custom prescribed silence. He took it as a symbol of the general lack of the spirit of order and obedience which was said to prevail in the College. Hoping to do some good to the ungodly youths, he preached a sermon earnestly exhorting them not to miss their Sunday Mass in vacation time. This was the most he dared urge with hope of success. The authorities of the College remarked afterwards with some satisfaction and to the amaze-

ment of the Italian, that hardly a boy ever missed his *daily* Mass in vacation time. And this instance was regarded by the priests of the old school as typical. Manning himself was especially emphatic and unqualified in his denunciations of the spirit at St. Edmund's – as those familiar with his letters know. His sentiments on the subject were not concealed, and they had already caused deep irritation among the clergy.

When, therefore, they found the Rector of the new Congregation—a convert, unacquainted with traditionary English Catholic ways—indulging in supercilliousness, as they thought, in his attitude towards the sterling qualities of his fellow-priests, and encouraging his young followers to 'pose' as models of a new spirit in the priesthood, and to preach the spirit of obedience to the very College superiors whom they ought to have obeyed and not criticised; when at the same time it was evident that the abilities of this 'convert parson' had secured for him an ever-growing influence with the Cardinal; when he was placed by the Pope over the Chapter as its Provost; when the Cardinal's action in critical matters was found to be in harmony with the Provost's views, and he gave special exemptions to the Oblates themselves and treated them (it was thought) as favourites, a number of deep feelings and prejudices in human nature were aroused. The kind of 'caste feeling' which made the old Catholic mistrust the 'convert' came to the front. Manning's reserved nature and ungenial demeanour encouraged it. His ceaseless activity, his wide schemes, were unin-

telligible to men whose traditions were those of a persecuted minority which had courted only tolerance and obscurity. His pertinacity became in their eyes intriguing; his activity and enterprise *pro Deo et Ecclesia* were ambition; his motives were outside the sphere which such men could understand or believe in. He was constantly seen going to the Cardinal at York Place or at Leyton. The ordinary hours for audience were set aside for the Provost, who was admitted at all times. Old friends, like Errington and Searle, found it useless to say a word in opposition to the views of this new-comer. He had 'got round' the Cardinal; and loyalty to Wiseman as well as the welfare of the diocese called upon them to open the Cardinal's eyes, and, if possible, to curb the ever-growing power of the Provost.

This very deep feeling found expression in 1858, when the Congregation of the Oblates was less than a year old. Dr. Errington's views were fully shared, as we have seen, by Monsignor Searle, the Cardinal's old friend and secretary, and by Dr. Maguire, the Vicar-General, and by most of the Chapter. A favourite nephew of the Cardinal's had joined the Oblates He came to reside at the Cardinal's house, and was warned by Errington against mixing himself up with Manning's scheme. He withdrew from the Congregation early in the summer of 1858. Wiseman found the inmates of his own house—Coadjutor, secretary and nephew—united in this matter against him. In July, the Chapter took the matter up, and Father Morris describes their action as follows:

In order to promote the welfare of the rising Congregation of

the Oblates, Cardinal Wiseman had given Mgr. Manning a written promise, in his own name and in that of his successors, that no one should be removed by the Archbishop from St. Mary of the Angels to any other London mission without the consent of their Superior for the time being. In the eyes of the Canons of the Chapter this constituted a sort of exemption from episcopal jurisdiction of which they felt themselves bound to take notice.

The matter, in their opinion, came under their official cognisance from the fact that the Rev. Herbert Vaughan, the Vice-President of St. Edmund's College, the Rev. Robert Butler, one of the professors of the College, and some few others of its inmates, had become Oblates of St. Charles. The Canons argued that each one who so became an Oblate might be called from the College to St. Mary's, Bayswater, and there his services practically be no longer at the free disposal of the Archbishop of the diocese. The Chapter therefore discussed the matter at one of their meetings, and called upon Mgr. Manning, who as Provost was presiding over them, to bring before them the Rules of the Oblates at their next meeting.

When the time came, Mgr. Manning, who had taken counsel with Cardinal Wiseman, refused to [submit the Rules to the Chapter in their official capacity]. The Cardinal was indignant at the interference of the Canons, who, he said, were acting beyond their powers. The Canons retorted that they would leave the investigation to the *Canonici deputati pro Seminario*, within whose competence it certainly lay. They produced the diplomas addressed to two of their body by the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster on the occasion of the erection of the Chapter. The fact was that, in characteristic manner, Cardinal Wiseman without particular reference to canon law books, or much consideration of the effect of what he was doing, but acting simply on a reminiscence of the text of the Council of Trent, which enacted the appointment of certain Canons to look after the Diocesan Seminary, did what it delighted him to do—drew up the diplomas which gave these functionaries certain specified powers. These were now produced against him when he had forgotten their very existence. Every inch of him a special pleader, he replied that St. Edmund's College was not a Diocesan Seminary, but a College for the mixed education of lay boys and clerics.

The action of the Chapter is described in further detail in the notes of a letter from Manning to the Pope written in the following year, when the questions in dispute had been referred to Rome.

In the capitular session of July, two of the Canons, Dr. Maguire and Mgr. Searle, introduced a series of interrogations, with the intention of showing :

1. That I, or members of the Congregation were endeavouring to supplant the President of the Seminary, and to assume its direction.

2. That the Congregation aimed at a power in the diocese dangerous to its welfare, and inconsistent with the episcopal jurisdiction.

After I had answered the questions above referred to, I was asked whether I would produce the Rule of the Congregation. I answered, 'Most willingly.' Accordingly at the next capitular meeting I brought a number of copies. But before I gave them I stated that I could not give them to the Chapter as such, nor for any capitular examination or discussion, on the ground that such a way of proceeding was beyond their competence, and an invasion of the episcopal administration, but that either before or after the capitular session, I should be most happy to give the fullest information in my power on any question they might desire to ask. The Chapter not consenting to this course, and insisting on proceeding capitularly, after a long resistance I entered a protest in the Capitular Book, and was silent.

The Chapter then proceeded to examine the Rule and Constitutions capitularly ; and one of the Canons, Mgr. Searle, called on me to leave the hall of the Chapter, on the ground that the subject in discussion touched my 'commodum.' I declined to do so. An adjournment having been carried, the whole Chapter withdrew, and in an hour returned with a petition to the Cardinal Archbishop, naming the Congregation of St. Charles by name, with a comparison of its Rule with that drawn up by St. Charles, and praying for its exclusion from the College.

During several capitular sessions I was questioned and re-questioned. I felt that if I had declined to answer, it would have been ascribed to no good motive. I therefore waived my

right, and not only answered in full, but suffered my answers to be taken down in writing ; and that not only by the Secretary, for the Book of the Chapter, but by Mgr. Searle, who conducted the interrogations, for his own use. The design of these appeared to be (1) to show that the Congregation was independent of episcopal jurisdiction, (2) to involve the Cardinal Archbishop and myself in contradictions.

The Cardinal, after consulting the best authorities on the subject, finally decided that the Chapter was acting outside its province, and on December 1 he annulled its proceedings in connexion with the Oblates.

Dr. Errington, whose sympathy with the Chapter had throughout been an open secret, came forward at this juncture in avowed opposition to the Cardinal and his Provost. In the next move of the Chapter he directly took part.

The Chapter answered [writes Father Morris] by an appeal to Rome on the point of law, whether the *Canonici deputati* had or had not the right to interfere with St. Edmund's College in virtue of the decree of the Council of Trent.

A clear point of disputed canon law had been found, and Archbishop Errington entered into the discussion with his usual vigour. In his view of the law he took the side of the Chapter, and when asked to draw up their appeal to Rome, he did so. The breach between himself and the Cardinal was thus complete. 'My Coadjutor has been acting as solicitor against me in a law suit,' was the view that his Eminence took of it, and it produced the final severance between the two old friends.

On December 3, two petitions to the Holy See on the disputed competence of the Chapter were placed by the Chapter before Manning to sign as its Provost. Manning refused, on the ground that they were 'in derogation . . . from the decree of his Eminence

whereby the acts of the Chapter had been cancelled on December 1.'

He was called upon to leave the Chapter-room, but declined, and the petitions were sent up to Rome signed by the senior Canon with the words 'renitente præposito' added.

Manning treated these words as a delation to the Holy See, and wrote to Rome begging that judgment might be suspended until he had been heard in self-defence. Wiseman was incensed beyond measure at the action of his Coadjutor. He deputed Mr. Patterson (now Bishop of Emmaus) to go to Rome on his behalf to deal with it, and to explain the state of affairs. And it was understood that he was to ascertain privately from the Pope what prospect there might be of removing Errington from his office of Coadjutor.

Manning followed Mr. Patterson to Rome a few weeks later, Wiseman having, however, stipulated that he should in no sense act on his (the Cardinal's) behalf. His position as one of the Chapter would have made this impossible. Manning was to defend his own conduct, which had been impugned by the rest of the Chapter, both as Provost and as Rector of the Oblates.

Such was the first act of the Errington drama. Of the sequel we must speak in another chapter. Rome moves proverbially slowly. The central *gravamen*—the Coadjutor question—was not dealt with for more than a year; and the petitions of the Chapter were, as we shall see, referred back to England, to the next provincial Synod.

Meanwhile the Cardinal's sensitive nature was intensely tried.

The Chapter, of course, as a body, went against Cardinal Wiseman in Archbishop Errington's behalf [writes Father Morris]. Amongst the Canons was Dr. Maguire, the Cardinal's Vicar-General, who notified his opposition so distinctly that he was called upon to resign that office. This Dr. Maguire refused to do; and the Cardinal, considering his Vicar's tribunal as one with his own, proceeded to deprive him of it. It was very unfortunate that he should have considered it necessary to proceed to such an extremity. The priest whom the Cardinal chose as his new Vicar-General was an amiable man, whose noble head and face, crowned with splendid white hair, misled you to expect interior abilities that were wanting. He had neither the learning nor the judicial capacity to bring him within measurable distance of Dr. Maguire. It was also an unfortunate coincidence that a friend of Dr. Maguire's, taking for granted that his tenure of the office of Vicar-General would be for life, had left 100*l.* a year as an endowment for the Vicar-General of Westminster. When Dr. Maguire lost the Vicar-Generalship, he lost the allowance which was intended for him. There were, besides, few other places and little other work that could be entrusted to him. Dr. Maguire had never been famous as a missioner or a preacher, but the routine duties of an office in which he was required to recur to his books, and in which he could make use of the treasures of learning he had gathered from his books, were excellently suited to him. He ceased to be Vicar-General, and there was nothing left for him to do.

Now to show the sort of stuff of which these men were made, and to lead us to the conclusion that if Dr. Maguire refused to resign his office when called upon, he did so from conscientious motives and as a protest against what he thought wrong done, it may be well to recall his end. His last illness was taken in the long function of Cardinal Manning's consecration. Dr. Manning was necessarily identified with Cardinal Wiseman by those who were now uniting themselves against him. Dr. Maguire can have met Dr. Manning very seldom excepting on official occasions. Each no doubt thought the other a ringleader on the wrong side in an important dispute that had

spread far and wide. Yet as soon as the Pope had settled the grave questions that had been raised, though the views taken by Dr. Maguire himself were rejected, and the living representative of what he had opposed had been placed in power over him, Dr. Maguire's heart opened to his new Archbishop, whose visits to the sick man's bedside became so regular and so acceptable to him, that Dr. Maguire said to Archbishop Manning, 'Your footstep on the stair is like music to my ear.'

To Cardinal Wiseman's Coadjutor and Chapter and Vicar-General, as siding against him, must be added his private secretary, Mgr. Searle. They had been the closest friends for years. The friendship that had begun in the English College at Rome was continued at Oscott, and Searle had become a necessity to the Cardinal. The Cardinal could no more 'serve tables' than the Apostles could, and Mgr. Searle was his deacon—not merely because, like the Apostles, he had other things to attend to, but from a sort of childlike incapability of understanding the value of money. Cardinal Wiseman would have been lost without Mgr. Searle. To him he owed the entire charge of his household. To him he owed it that he was not over head and ears in debt. It was laughable to see the childish glee with which he would take the purse into his own hands when Mgr. Searle was away, and sally forth prepared to spend, and how he would return, like a child with a new toy, with some purchase or other on the merits of which he would expatiate that evening, though the whole thing would be swept away and be forgotten on the following morning. In all temporal affairs Mgr. Searle was his guardian angel, and spared him a multitude of petty cares and protected him from serious dangers. Mgr. Searle was not an intellectual man, but he was shrewd, and from time to time took strong and decided views. The Cardinal had put him into the Metropolitan Chapter, and Mgr. Searle strongly sided with Archbishop Errington. It produced a division in the Cardinal's house. The old simple familiarity between them disappeared, but they could not do without one another, and they agreed to differ. When the Cardinal was sick of his last illness, Mgr. Searle, who necessarily was constantly by his bedside, was the only one of those from whom he had been separated to whom he made any overtures. Cardinal Wiseman

sent for him one day and entered into his views of past events. Mgr. Searle could not look at them in the same light, and the Cardinal was absolutely destitute of the power of putting himself in such things into another man's point of view. Mgr. Searle, whose feelings were deeply touched by the conversation, ended by saying, 'We all know that your Eminence's intention has always been strictly in keeping with the words of your motto, "Omnia pro Christo."'

The painful situation of Wiseman during the struggle of which the first stages have been described in this chapter, and his relations with the persons chiefly concerned, are graphically given in Bishop Patterson's reminiscences. The Bishop's account, moreover, of the various peculiarities in the Cardinal's character, which the course of events illustrated or revealed, has an interest of its own from the intimate friendship which subsisted between the two men:

It was a misfortune rather than a fault that Cardinal Wiseman was not able to separate his own personal feelings from any great cause to which he devoted himself, and, as a consequence, he was often distressed and wounded beyond measure when friends were not able to see things in the same light as himself. An instance of this, which is now, one may say, a matter of history, was the division between him and his Coadjutor, Dr. Errington, Archbishop of Trebizond. He was often blamed because, though he had experienced a difficulty in carrying on official relations with the Archbishop in former times, he still pressed upon him the acceptance of the coadjutorship with right of succession to the archbishopric. The Cardinal's own explanation to me of this was that whereas he and Dr. Errington had been friends from boyhood and yet had had many disagreements, but had always renewed their intimacy, he was led to hope for more cordial and continuous relations in the future by the fact that when Dr. Errington was Bishop of Plymouth, and again when he was made administrator of Clifton, he had repeatedly come up to London to consult the Cardinal in affairs of importance, and had always followed his advice. Moreover the Cardinal

knew, and showed me proofs of the fact, that Dr. Errington had quite a genius for the transaction of the arduous and wearisomely minute routine business of the diocese, in which he, truly and most modestly, believed himself to be deficient ; so that he could fairly hope that, each having a different part to play in the government of the diocese, they might unite without collision in the task of administration. It, however, very soon became evident that they could not act in concert. Dr. Errington was an excellent man, a strict disciplinarian, but radically differing from the Cardinal in his idea of the diocese and of its government. Cardinal Wiseman had the widest concept of his office as metropolitan. He considered that in that capacity it was his duty to take up a position in the public life of the country which no Catholic had ventured to assume for the last three centuries. I am far from thinking that his action in obtaining the erection of the Hierarchy by Pope Pius IX., in 1850, was a conscious challenge of public opinion on his part. Nor do I believe that the substance and the form of his Pastoral Letter,[1] in which he announced this act, were in his mind at all likely to produce the commotion which ensued ; but nevertheless it is certain that when that result followed, he was quite prepared to grapple with the whole body politic in the full fury of its exasperation. From

[1] 'The Cardinal's style in English was rather Johnsonian and inflated. But, besides this, his Pastoral Letter on the creation of the Hierarchy contained two specific points on which the popular fury seized with avidity. After announcing in magniloquent phrases the restoration of England to its ancient place in the ecclesiastical orbit, the Pastoral wound up with the statement that "We govern and shall continue to govern the counties of Middlesex, Hertfordshire, and Essex," &c., &c. I believe the Cardinal never for one moment supposed that this could be taken to convey a claim to the civil government of the land, but it must be confessed that the phrase was, to say the least, not well chosen—nay, pretty sure to be misunderstood. The other point was the form of the date, which was "from without the Flaminian Gate": which was the merest formality, common to all countries, I believe, whereby it is provided that no official document of any kind can be dated from the residence of the Sovereign. When Macaulay dated an electioneering address to his constituents from "Windsor Castle," everyone smiled at his ignorance of ordinary usage ; but when Wiseman used the Roman form, "from without the gate," everyone was furious and scornful.'

the moment when his 'Appeal to the English People' appeared, and for forty-eight hours absolutely and literally *silenced* the whole press of the country, he had acquired, and ceased not during the remaining fifteen years of his life to wield, a most powerful hold on public attention ; and this power he used with a tact and sagacity all the more remarkable because of his antecedents as an Englishman indeed by blood, but one of a religion still esteemed foreign, born abroad and educated abroad, in Catholic Spain and Papal Rome. It was his largeness of heart which made him from the first hold out the hand to the firstfruits of the Oxford Movement ; and he told me with what an amount of opposition he met on the part of good and excellent men, such as were Bishop Walsh and Dr. Rock, and others, who mistrusted the Oxford early converts, to that degree that he was fain to consult the Pope (Gregory XVI.) himself on his line of action in that matter, wherein the Holy Father warmly encouraged him ; and this same large sympathy was always at work in him whenever and wherever it could find play. He had no anti-Irish, or anti-foreign, or anti-Jesuit, or anti-regular, or anti-convert, or anti-old-Catholic feelings. It sufficed for him to be satisfied that anyone, or any body of people, or any cause, had a *bona fide* intention or tendency to do good, to obtain from him sanction, or support, or co-operation, as the case might be. Of this and such like qualities he may have had the concomitant defects : he was perhaps too merciful, too forgiving, too indulgent in the exercise of his high functions as an ecclesiastical superior. Dr. Errington, on the other hand, had excellent qualities. He was most conscientious in all that concerned the discharge of his duties, as he conceived them, but he was by nature not expansive, and his mind and feelings ran in narrower channels, out of which his education had not tended effectually to divert them. He had considerable power, great learning in ecclesiastical lore, and a fund of interest in knowledge of physical science and mental philosophy ; but he had little imagination and no pliability of will. He was a man whom everyone could not but respect, but comparatively few could love. In his dealings with men under his official control as Coadjutor he was absolutely just, no doubt, but justice occasionally was severity, and it was owing to this that the conviction grew more and more in the Cardinal's mind

that the alliance could not continue. An instance occurred in which the Coadjutor had put a priest of high character and standing into an *impasse*, from which there was no escape. He came to the Cardinal and said in effect, 'Now So-and-so is fairly in a corner; you must suspend him.' This the Cardinal declined to do, owing to the unblemished record of the delinquent. Into the details of the long and painful contest which ensued I need not enter. The Cardinal sent me to Rome as his agent and representative in the first stage of the conflict . . . I had no commission to the S. Congregation of Propaganda: my mission was to the Pope himself, to whom I was known, and to whom alone I spoke on the subject.

Already in 1859 he had made up his mind to secure, if possible, that Manning should be his successor. I think this intention was entirely owing to his vivid perception of the great powers and the extrinsic as well as personal qualifications of the future Archbishop, which lifted him far above other possible competitors; for certainly Wiseman was not drawn by personal sympathy to Manning, who at that time was still very markedly what he said of himself (with that quiet humour which was peculiarly his own) at a later period, 'a parson from the crown of his head to the soles of his feet.' In truth, few people could be more unlike than were Wiseman and Manning. The former was richly endowed by nature, but was a self-educated man to a great extent, and by the side of his scholarly formation and learning he had a very marked, almost boyish, simplicity, and a keen enjoyment of the convivial and jovial elements of life, which was totally absent in his future successor[1] (Faber expressed this trait of character by calling it the 'lobster salad

[1] 'Many ill-natured comments were current as to the Cardinal's love of good eating and drinking. The truth was that the complaint from which he suffered was such as at the same time to cause a continual craving and thirst, and to make it very difficult for him to eat plain food such as a healthy appetite asks for and can digest. In the use of wine he was very sparing, and never took spirits, but he drank largely of milk and soda water, and similar compounds. He had, no doubt, an appreciation of good cookery, but it was partly, so to speak, academic; it irritated him to see good food badly or stupidly cooked, and he knew what wine and food ought to taste like, and would sometimes discourse on such topics, as he did upon most things, with a certain

side' of the Cardinal); and it was to me sometimes a pain and sometimes a source of amusement to observe the effects of the good Cardinal's entirely artless manifestation of his enjoyment of good things and of the simplest pleasures in the presence of one so entirely remote from all sympathy with such satisfactions as was Manning. Cardinal Wiseman had not the least idea that he was 'condescending' to other people when he accepted their hospitality or invited them to his table. He never, so far as I knew, posed as a learned or an accomplished or an 'edifying' man; he loved the society of simple unaffected good people, and of children, for whom he had at his country house a sufficient provision of battledores and shuttlecocks, croquet, and similar apparatus. His points of mental and moral contact with Manning lay almost exclusively in the higher regions of the great interests to which they were both devoted: the interests of the Church, of their country, of its moral and religious development, and (in a transcendent sense) of politics. Literature, science and art also were tastes which they had in common, and Cardinal Manning had too much good feeling and tact to allow any conscious evidence of a divergence in other matters ever to escape him by word or sign.

Wiseman's table talk was marked by certain features which are not so common as one might wish. He had a natural aversion to topics which depress and lower, and in general to gossip about other people; but, besides this, he had a more than natural dislike to uncharitable and depreciatory remarks. I never remember him saying, or listening with pleasure to others saying, bitter or malicious things, and, so far as one could discern, he never bore malice, and was easily placable when people had given him just cause of offence, which was not infrequently the

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interest and knowledge which in others would have implied greater attention than he himself gave to them. He had a present of some wonderful Madeira from the late Duke of Norfolk (kindest and most generous of men), which was produced only on great occasions or for his intimates. One day he was very low and tired after a hard Sunday's work, and I persuaded him to order some of the Madeira for dinner. Unluckily I quite forgot all about it, and when he called my attention to it I said it was "very fine sherry." "Sherry! my dear fellow, what *are* you thinking of? Why, it's the Duke's Madeira!"'

case. In this trait of character he was very like his successor, in whom one could not but admire a very singular generosity in the forgiveness of injuries, and in requiting good for evil. In fact, both had a certain gift of magnanimity, and they understood each other so far very perfectly.

They also had in common a sense of humour ; but Wiseman had, perhaps, a more keen relish for witty sayings than Manning. Some of his stories were very funny, though, like so many of the kind, they often lost their point with their *à propos*, so that they do not bear repetition.

Cardinal Wiseman liked to hear and to tell amusing stories, I think, partly because they diverted conversation from ill-natured or uncharitable personalities.

Mgr. Searle was his most faithful and devoted servant, and had been with him for a quarter of a century when the Cardinal died. He was a shrewd man of business and accountant, and a man of almost exaggerated straightforwardness in his methods. In fact, he was of the order of 'rough diamonds,' and seemed to regard any smoother person as a suspect, to say the least. But he was as narrow as he was honest, and, though so attached to his chief, he had but little power of appreciating him, and was persuaded that, if it were not for his watchful care, the Cardinal would certainly get into scrapes in the way of business, or fall a victim to designing persons, lay or clerical, as the case might be. After so many years of faithful service he approached the ideal of the 'treasure,' who is described by someone as 'for the first ten years a faithful servant, for the next ten a valued friend, and for the third ten an intolerable tyrant.' He held the purse strings and held them very tight, and, though no doubt his administration of the exchequer was most useful, it was also not seldom galling to the person chiefly concerned. He was also a man of fixed ideas, and when he took a dislike or mistrust of anyone he held on to it for the rest of his days. Unluckily for the Cardinal, Mgr. Searle's antipathies found an object as adequate as the most perfect hater could have desired in the person of the Right Rev. Mgr. H. E. Manning, Provost of the Cathedral Chapter and head of the Oblates of St. Charles, Bayswater. If the results had not been so sad, the spectacle of these two brought into daily contact by their relations with the Cardinal, and having in

common absolutely nothing beyond the Creed and the Ten Commandments (if, indeed, Searle would have gone so far as to credit the Provost with an exact observance of these last), would have been quite ludicrous. Of all things in the world which it was absolutely impossible (even for a biographer) to impute to Manning, the imputation of the greed of money, and of unscrupulous methods in obtaining it—not, indeed, for himself, but for his Oblates at Bayswater—was the most transparently absurd and unthinkable, and yet it was precisely this accusation which poor Mgr. Searle brought against him, not only in his own mind but to the Cardinal himself, with a sustained persistence which led to painful scenes and strained relations between them. As for Manning, his self-command and his patience, dictated by his friendship and devotion to the Cardinal, were quite admirable ; but they also became fresh occasions for the manifestation of increased wrath and antipathy by Mgr. Searle, who had long become as necessary to the Cardinal in his domestic and financial concerns as Manning was in the wider sphere to which his talents and position were leading him.

The sensitive nature of Wiseman, and his health, already greatly impaired by the cruel disorder which brought him prematurely to the grave, made this condition of things well-nigh unendurable. And yet I fully believe that Mgr. Searle acted in perfect good faith, and the unshaken confidence that he was faithfully serving the Cardinal when, in point of fact, he was worrying him to death, purely (as he thought) in the Cardinal's own interest, and with no other intention. During the last six or seven years of the Cardinal's life the relations between him and his secretary, Mgr. Searle, became more and more strained. Searle embraced the cause of the Coadjutor and his right of succession and the cause of the Chapter, of which he was a member, in their opposition to the Cardinal and the Provost in the matter of placing the Seminary (St. Edmund's College) under the direction of the Oblates of St. Charles. The Vicar-General, Canon Maguire, was also of that party, and the Cardinal was thus in a position of complete isolation in his own household, and had the mortification of knowing that the scheme of opposition was actually in process of elaboration by these three officials under his own roof. The

consequence was that the Cardinal and his secretary saw as little of each other as possible : when the chief was in London the secretary was at Leyton, and *vice versa*. Towards the end of the Cardinal's life, after the Coadjutor had been removed by a Papal decree, without canonical process, he was repeatedly urged to name a Coadjutor in the succession. My own impression is that the reason of his hesitation in so doing, was not any doubt of the fitness of Mgr. Manning, but some fear of the possible consequences, which was based upon the very strong language used by those in opposition, and also a growing indisposition to decide any matter of importance one way or the other, which was the result of his ill-health and mental worry.

If, however, the violent opposition of not a few was to be regretted, it is only fair to say that they gave the best proof possible that they acted on conviction and not from passion, when, after the Cardinal's death without a Coadjutor *cum jure successionis*, and when their plea for the restoration of Archbishop Errington to his rights had been disallowed by the Holy See, one and all accepted Archbishop Manning as soon as his nomination to the metropolitan See was announced, and thenceforward became his obedient sons in Christ. He, on his part, shone greatly in the use that he made of his new power. It is hardly an exaggeration to say that he seemed only to remember those who had been most vehement in their opposition in order to make them the objects of special favour and generosity. A biographer might insinuate that this was a specimen of the diplomatic skill of Archbishop Manning : for my part, I can see no evidence whatever of the truth of such an hypothesis. I saw a great deal first and last of Cardinal Manning, though I was never what may be termed a follower or disciple of his, and I can say with sincerity that I see no adequate reason for his conduct towards those who differed from and opposed him, other than that he had a generous and placable spirit which rejoiced in returning good for evil.

Of his great predecessor I can say what his devoted friend Mgr. George Talbot used to say, that he had an unswerving faith, a perfect and almost excessive fund of hope, and, above all, a wide and unfailing charity. It was these

eminent traits of Christian character that recommended him to Pope Pius IX., not only as a great ecclesiastic, but as a friend very sympathetic and beloved, and procured him loyal and attached friends, such as were and are the present Cardinal Archbishop and the late Mgr. Gilbert, Vicar-General of Wiseman's two successors, Cardinals Manning and Vaughan, and many living and departed.

CHAPTER XXVI

THE TOUR IN IRELAND

1858

WHILE his Chapter was in course of its investigations into the Oblate Rule, in the summer of 1858, Cardinal Wiseman paid a visit to Ireland, which proved a noteworthy event. The Bishop of Clonfert had invited him to preach at the opening of a new church at Ballinasloe. To accept the invitation appeared no more than to undertake a duty the like of which might come to Cardinal Wiseman ten times in the year. In the event, the visit, from the first the signal for an enthusiastic reception, ultimately became a kind of triumphal progress. The visit of a Cardinal, a representative of the Papal Court, who was likewise connected by race with the Irish people; of one, moreover, whose claim to public distinction, irrespective of his ecclesiastical *status*, was universally acknowledged, seized upon the imagination and religious enthusiasm of the country. The Catholic population treated the visit as a kind of royal progress, in which they were proud to claim the kinship of blood and religion with an illustrious guest. It was an occasion for the Irish Catholics, so long downtrodden by legal and social proscription, to raise their heads and to give vent at once to their Catholic

loyalty and their pride in their Church. And ultimately the strong religious antipathies of Irishmen appeared to give way, and many Protestants united with their Catholic countrymen in the acclaim of welcome to the Roman Cardinal.

That Wiseman showed extraordinary power of rising to the occasion, may be gathered from the contemporary reports—republished in one volume—of his addresses. Speeches, sermons, and lectures had to be supplied without any previous preparation ; and sympathy had to be shown towards a Catholic demonstration which in Ireland might easily have become dangerously political. The Cardinal had something to say on each occasion, was full of sympathy, and yet never once uttered a word which could offend either Catholic or Protestant, or indeed allowed political questions to come upon the *tapis*. His readiness and tact aroused something like enthusiasm in one little prone to speak in hyperbole, the late Cardinal Newman. Writing in the 'Rambler' a few months after the visit, Newman thus briefly summarises its main features, as presented in the volume in which the speeches of the Cardinal were collected :

> The facts of the case are these : the Cardinal, complying with the invitation of an Irish Prelate, who requested his presence at the opening of a new church, went at the appointed time, without expectation of any call upon him for more than such ordinary exertion of mind and body as the ostensible purpose involved ; but, to his great astonishment, he found that his coming had struck a chord in the heart of a Catholic people, whose feelings are the more keen and delicate, because they are seldom brought into play. A Cardinal of Holy Church was to them the representative of the Vicar of Christ, and nothing else ; his coming was all but the advent of the Holy

Father ; and he suddenly found that he must meet, out of the resources of his individual mind, the enthusiastic feelings and the acts of homage of the millions who were welcoming him. It was an expression of trust and loyalty manifested towards him, similar in its critical character, though most dissimilar in its origin, to the panic fear which, from time to time spreading through the multitude, causes them to make a sudden run on some great banking establishment which is reported to be in difficulties ; and, however gratifying, both officially and personally, to the high dignitary who called it forth, it would have been to most men the occasion of no ordinary embarrassment.

We venture to affirm that there is no other public man in England who could have answered to the demand thus made upon his stores of mind with the spirit and the intellectual power which the Cardinal displayed on the occasion. He was carried about, at the will of others, from one part of the island to another ; he found himself surrounded in turn by high and low, educated and illiterate ; by boys at school, or by the youth of towns ; by religious communities, or by official and dignified persons. He was called to address each class or description of men in matter and manner suitable to its own standard of taste and thought ; he had to appear in pulpits, in lecture rooms, at dinner tables, on railroad stations, and always to say something new, apposite, and effective. How he met these unexpected and multifarious calls on him, this volume, we repeat, is the record ; and though nothing remained of Cardinal Wiseman for the admiration of posterity of all that he has spoken and written but what is therein contained, there is enough to justify the estimation in which his contemporaries have held the talents and the attainments of the first Archbishop of Westminster.

It will be impossible, in Cardinal Wiseman's biography, to print at length speeches, sermons, and addresses which fill a volume of four hundred pages. But an attempt must be made to give such extracts from these contemporary reports as will convey an idea both of the Celtic enthusiasm of the hour, and of the Cardinal's bearing on the occasion.

Additional interest was given to the visit by the presence of the Pope's intimate friend, Mgr. Talbot, who accompanied the Cardinal in its earlier stages. So marked an exhibition of national feeling made its impression at the Vatican.

The morning of Monday, August 23, was the date of Cardinal Wiseman's arrival at Kingstown. His reception and its immediate sequel are thus chronicled :

He was received on landing by Captain Bellew, Mr. Burke of Loughrea, and the Rev. William Derry (P.P., Eyrecourt), while the passage leading from the steamer to the railway station was occupied by crowds, who had assembled in anticipation of the arrival of his Eminence. At the station he was met by his Grace the Archbishop of Dublin. The Hon. and Right Rev. Mgr. Talbot, one of his Holiness's principal chamberlains and a domestic prelate, accompanied him to town. On arriving at the Westland Row terminus, the Cardinal, the Archbishop of Dublin, and the other dignitaries and clergy, proceeded to the residence of his Grace in Eccles Street, to breakfast. Shortly after twelve o'clock his Eminence drove to the Imperial Hotel, where he was joined by the Archbishop, the Very Rev. Mgr. Yore, the Very Rev. Mgr. Meagher, and the Hon. and Rev. Mgrs. Talbot and Clifford, with whom he proceeded to visit the principal religious and charitable institutions of the city.

On Tuesday morning his Eminence left the Broadstone terminus by the half-past ten o'clock train for Ballinasloe. He was accompanied by the Right Rev. Dr. MacNally, Bishop of Clogher, the Bishop of Elphin, the Bishop of Cloyne, the Rev. E. L. Clifford, the Hon. and Right Rev. Mgr. Talbot, Mr. Wiseman, the Rev. William Derry (P.P., Eyrecourt), the Rev. Mr. Bannon, Captain Bellew, and several other clergymen and gentlemen, who intended to be present at the ceremonial in Ballinasloe. Long before his arrival, however, a large number of clergy and laity, including several ladies, had assembled on the platform to pay their respects to his Eminence, and to ask his blessing. His Eminence was received at the terminus with

the most marked respect by the officers of the company, and upon his departure expressed his sense of the courtesy and attention which had been shown him. Although anxious preparation had been made by the Bishop of Clonfert, and by the Town Commissioners of Ballinasloe, to do honour to his Eminence on his coming to assist at the consecration of their church, yet the most remarkable feature in the welcome accorded to the Cardinal was the enthusiasm of the people. It would be a mistake to measure by any ordinary standard the strength and duration of Irish enthusiasm in matters of religion. Probably no political question or political emergency is of sufficient interest, in their present apathy and disappointment, to draw five thousand Irishmen together, though with solicitation and under pressure ; whereas the poorest peasant, recognising in the Cardinal not only the champion of his religion, but a man nearer in place and function to the Pope than he had ever seen, or might ever hope to see again, leaves his house and his work for no heavier bribe than the Cardinal's blessing, which, coming from the Cardinal, he values as a direct emanation of virtue from the Roman See. The peculiar significance of this enthusiasm was not lost upon the Cardinal. His coming was looked forward to with the deepest interest, and on its being known that he might be expected by the train arriving at two o'clock, the Town Commissioners, and the inhabitants generally, proceeded in a vast concourse to the railway station, considerably before that time, to bid him welcome, and to receive his benediction. Meanwhile, at almost every station along the line, crowds of people gathered, who cheered loudly and evinced the utmost happiness at seeing the Cardinal. The display of public feeling which took place at Mullingar, where the train stopped for about twenty minutes, was such as took him altogether by surprise. . . . Along the platforms, and at every point from which a view could be obtained, clergy, gentry, and people gathered, and on his Eminence appearing, hailed him with continued cheering. He was conducted to a waiting room, in which he assumed some of his cardinalitial costume, consisting of the scarlet cassock, mantelletta, and mozzetta, with the rochet, head dress, and pectoral cross. The bishops and clergy in attendance also put on their robes. When they reappeared, the multitude prostrated themselves in the most reverential

manner, and received the Cardinal's and the Bishop's blessing. There was a demonstration at Athlone, where the train made a brief stay. On its approach to Ballinasloe the interposition of the clergy became necessary to moderate the enthusiasm of the people, who pressed forward, not without danger to their lives, and as the train rolled slowly alongside the platform the cheering was vehement.[1]

Outside the station of Ballinasloe a similar demonstration awaited him as he drove with Mr. Bellew, the Bishop of Clonfert, and Mgr. Talbot to Gill's Hotel.

The carriage went at a slow pace in the direction of the town, preceded by the multitude, carrying flags and green boughs, and followed by a long line of carriages and vehicles of various descriptions. The windows of almost every house in the line of route were occupied by ladies, who waved handkerchiefs and banners as [the Cardinal] passed. When the procession had reached about half way into the town, the horses were removed from the carriage in which his Eminence sat, and he was drawn in triumph through the streets. At various points large poles were elevated, from which floated banners and ribbons ; and across the streets in which Gill's Hotel is situated garlands of green boughs were suspended, intertwined with flowers, from a central point of which hung a banner bearing the inscription, 'Welcome, Cardinal Wiseman, to Ballinasloe.' Soon after entering the hotel he presented himself at the balcony, when the vast multitude went on their knees, as one man, and received his benediction.

[Cardinal Wiseman] frequently expressed his surprise at the enthusiasm of the demonstration with which he had been welcomed, and on his arrival at the hotel, when surrounded by the prelates, clergy, and laity, who were present to offer their congratulations and respects, he stated that he was deeply impressed with the reception which had been given him, and would ever remember it with gratitude.

[1] *Cardinal Wiseman's Tour in Ireland*, Dublin. The subsequent extracts are taken from the same volume. James Duffy. 1859.

Irish party feeling on matters of religion naturally led to some counter-demonstrations on the part of extreme Protestants.

Walking through the town, the attention of a stranger was attracted by observing here and there on the walls, large placards setting forth in imposing type that a Protestant Society would give the sum of 40,000*l.* to any person or persons who would prove the Catholic rule of faith, and specially inviting his Eminence to claim that sum by complying with this request. Members of the Society, well known for their controversial harangues in Townsend Street, hurried to Ballinasloe for the occasion. A letter, signed by sixteen Protestant clergymen, challenging him to a public discussion, was forwarded to him.

The majority, however, of the Protestants welcomed their visitor to the town, and eventually the Cardinal received marks of attention from Irishmen of all classes and creeds.

The consecration of St. Michael's Church at Ballinasloe took place on Wednesday, August 25. The enthusiasm of the people saw no abatement.

In the course of Tuesday evening [we read in the contemporary account] hundreds came into town from distant parts of the country for the purpose of witnessing the ceremonial of consecration, and on that night the entire accommodation for visitors was exhausted. The next morning, from an early hour, the roads leading into Ballinasloe were thronged by carriages and by foot passengers proceeding to the centre of interest. The streets were so crowded that it was with difficulty a man could make his way from one point to another, especially in the neighbourhood of the new church or of the hotel at which Cardinal Wiseman was staying, and in front of which large groups of persons were constantly assembled. The shops were closed,

and all business was suspended. In order to meet the anxiety of the clergy and laity, in various places far beyond the bounds of the county, to have an opportunity of attending, special trains were run upon the Midland Railway, and numbers availed themselves of this facility.

The handsome church—designed in part by Augustus Welby Pugin—was the scene on Wednesday of an elaborate function at which nine Bishops were present, besides the Cardinal and the Archbishop of Tuam. The clergy mustered some four hundred.

The Cardinal, overcome with the enthusiasm of the hour, preached a sermon in which he struck the welcome note of exultation at the vigorous and tenacious faith of the Irish people, which still lived after three hundred years of the most determined efforts to kill it. The text and opening words of his discourse give the spirit by which it was animated :

Our heart is open to you, O ye Corinthians! Our heart is enlarged.—2 Cor. vi. 11.

Such, my brethren, are the words which naturally came to my lips on reflecting how, for the first time, they should open before you, after many years' silence, in this island. They refused to address you in words that could savour even remotely of controversy, for I felt that I had to speak to a congregation of faithful people, in whom the true, sound, and orthodox faith was so deeply implanted as to require no words of encouragement from me. I felt that it must be presumption to address you in words of instruction in the presence of an assembly of venerable Bishops, each of whom is more worthy to teach than I, and who yet form a portion of those whom I am bound to address. No, my brethren, I felt it was only in words of congratulation, words of joy, words of exultation I could speak to you ; that I might associate myself with those deep, earnest, and most holy feelings which must pervade you on a day like this ; and that it was only because my heart would expand in the midst of you that I would even presume to speak to you. All I have seen around

me, all that at this moment I see, serves but to expand and widen still more my heart, and to deepen within it those feelings which are common to us all, and which in their exuberance must needs overflow ; and thus, the heart being enlarged, the mouth must needs open to become, as it were, the floodgate through which these feelings may be poured out, so as to mingle with yours. And then this, our common joy, like the waters which the prophet Ezechiel saw first collected in the temple and then issue through its gates overflowing, will go forth from these more sacred precincts, a swelling flood, to mingle with the exultation of the multitudes outside.

Therefore, my brethren, you will excuse me if in my address I say that which has been said to you a thousand times—if I repeat to you what your own feelings probably have already suggested. For when I see myself here, in the centre of this splendid edifice, it is not the beauty of its architecture, nor the solidity of its construction, nor the amplitude of its dimensions which strikes and moves me. I can consider it but in one light : not merely as a magnificent temple, not merely as an evidence of the skill, or the taste, or the generosity with which it has been raised ; but it is to me only another monument of your faith—of that undying faith which is the portion of your country. It is upon this alone I can speak to you to-day. Whatever I may say, suggested by circumstances, will be simply to tell you how I feel, and, therefore, how I must express my thoughts upon that which forms the great glory of this land—its prerogative, its privilege from God, that unalterable and unfailing faith which has endured for ages, which is prouder now than it has been at any previous period, and which will, I trust, go on for ever, manifesting itself even with greater magnificence than it has done in our days.

The Cardinal touched on the old penal laws, sketched graphically the utter destitution which Ireland had suffered in all those external aids to faith which the Church supplies where it can ; the confiscation of churches and church property, the enforced secrecy of worship. He hailed the present occasion as a sign of the approach of better days. But whether

this were so or not, their faith, if it lived in the future as in the past, must assure them the triumph which is truest and most lasting.

If our calculations prove false—if God is pleased to allow you to be more severely tried than your fathers, fear not ; stand the test of whatever earth can do in order to put to a further trial that faith which is in you. Your pastors will lead you ; these holy Bishops will be ever in the van, and they will conduct you certainly to victory, as they have done before. When this morning that procession of holy prelates entered here ; when they passed within this arch of the sanctuary, what else was it but a triumphal arch which spoke to you of victory : of victory without anger and without pride ; of victory won by meekness and perseverance of faith—a victory which only shows they have learned the lessons taught by the Apostle, which they, in like manner, will hand down to their disciples ? 'Thou,' says the Apostle to Timothy, 'hast fully known my doctrine, my faith, long-suffering, love, and patience' (2 Tim. iii. 10). Aye, these are the conquerors : faith, long-suffering, love, and patience. It was once, and only once, in history, that the gate of Jerusalem became an arch of triumph. Multitudes passed through it to mount the neighbouring hill on which to sacrifice in honour of a victory. There were Roman centurions at the head of their troops ; there were horsemen with their banners, and infantry with their eagles ; there were magistrates and lictors, and civil officers ; then there were priests and scribes, Pharisees and Sadducees, and a vast multitude of men, Jews and Gentiles, and strangers from every country under the sun. But who was the triumphant conqueror who closed that procession as He passed beneath the arch ? It was the smitten, and not the smiter—the reviled, and not the reviler—who in meekness, patience, and humility, ascended the Capitol of the world, the Calvary on which He offered the most precious of all victims to achieve as well as commemorate the great victory over death and hell. A likeness of this is the victory to which we must aspire—one which we must gain by our endurance in and for the faith—by our constant perseverance in it, in spite of what the powers of earth or hell may do against it. Let us prove that we are followers of that meek but mighty God, and as we

imitate Him in His lowliness, His mildness, and gentleness, we may be assured we shall resemble Him in His conquest and glory.

The function was followed by the presentation of addresses. First came that of the Bishop of Clonfert and his clergy. The High Sheriff of the county followed with an address from the Catholic laity. On Wednesday evening a large gathering in the Cardinal's honour, at a commemorative dinner, gave the Cardinal the opportunity of expressing his gratitude and surprise at the auspicious omens. The health of the Pope was proposed, and Mgr. Talbot in his reply spoke of the unusual nature of the demonstrations he had just witnessed :

For himself he could say, that the events of the day would never be effaced from his memory ; that the earnest, glowing piety of the Catholics of Ballinasloe, and of the countless multitudes that thronged into it to share in the religious joys and get the blessing of the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster—that their fervour, and their sincerity, their orderly conduct, and their affectionate attachment to their pastors had opened to him new views of Catholic society.

Cardinal Wiseman himself was quite overcome, and addressed the assembly in words which corresponded fully to the enthusiasm of his audience :

Living in another country, where such scenes as had cheered and delighted them all these days past could not take place, he had formed no idea of the glowing warmth and of the enthusiasm of the piety of those mighty masses of Irish Catholics whose cheers had scarce yet ceased. Looking back to the demonstrations of popular devotion to the Church, which so happily marked that festive day, he could scarcely think of them as realities ; he needed an effort to satisfy himself that what he saw was not a dream. . . .

It is indeed consoling and hopeful [he proceeded] to see

in the course of last year, how the Catholics of both countries worked together—to see the Irish members of Parliament and the Catholic peers of England united in demanding for their religion what, as citizens, Catholics are entitled to. It will be amongst the most pleasing of the impressions left by my visit to Ballinasloe, if it conduce to foster that spirit of union between the Catholics of both nations, subjects of the same sovereign, but still more closely allied as members of the same Church. The day now nearly spent is one to be 'marked with a white stone'; indeed, I shall never forget it. The incidents of it will continue on my memory fresh as at this moment, and for ever shall I be grateful for the reception I have met with from my Most Reverend and Right Reverend brethren; from priests to whose deserts it is not necessary I should bear witness, for their power in word and work is to be seen in the virtues of their flocks; and from the vast multitudes whose welcome still rings in my ears; and, my Lord Bishop of Clonfert, I shall surely not forget my obligations to your lordship for having given me the opportunity for so much enjoyment. I was happy to have it in my power to oblige your lordship, whom I so much respect . . . but you, my lord, have reversed the obligation.

After a short visit to Sir T. Redington of Kilcornan, Monday, August 30, saw the Cardinal at Athlone. Here again addresses were read from the townspeople. The Cardinal went on to Ballinahoun, the house of Mr. J. Ennis.

His return to Dublin is thus described in the contemporary report:

As it had been ascertained here on Wednesday morning that the Cardinal would start for Dublin, from the Moate station of the Midland Great Western Railway, crowds from all the surrounding districts poured in, for the purpose of showing him every mark of respect and veneration, and to do him honour as a prince of the Church and a representative of the Holy See. One can scarcely convey a notion of the joy and enthusiasm of the people, who were dressed in their holiday attire; and all work was suspended to enable them to pay their

tribute of respect to the Cardinal. For five miles of road, along which his Eminence had to drive from Ballinahoun House to the railway, people were assembled in thousands, and as the carriages occupied by his Eminence and friends came up, the cheering was loud and general. In the town three triumphal arches . . . were erected. As his Eminence approached, the cheering of the people became deafening, and as his carriage proceeded through the dense mass, men and women pressed round the vehicle, all appearing overjoyed at having an opportunity of testifying their love and veneration for a prince of the faith for which they, as well as their forefathers, had suffered so much. It was a most exciting scene as his Eminence approached the terminus. Not less than twenty thousand persons had assembled. . . . On arriving at the platform he was met by a number of clergymen and other gentlemen, who presented him with [an] address.

The character of the visit now changed somewhat. Hitherto it had been entirely a Catholic demonstration, though on the largest possible scale. On arriving in Dublin, however, the Cardinal was invited to dine at the Mansion House, with an assemblage of persons of all creeds, to meet Thomas Bright, the engineer of the Atlantic Cable. He appeared in the undress costume of a Cardinal, and no reference was made to his Roman dignity.

To the Cardinal it fell to propose the health of the Lord Mayor as well as to reply to the toast in his own honour. A pleasing reminiscence of a former meeting with his host at Monte Porzio, here came to his assistance.

I am glad to find since I entered this room [the Cardinal said], that our acquaintance is not merely of this evening. Though he has entertained me in common with many others with so much splendour, it appears that many years ago I had the advantage of being his host. Among the Tusculan hills, in a sweet and lovely recess, which many who are near me have

often enjoyed, he was good enough to be as one of our own little community — a youth himself, mingling among the youth of that day (I am sorry to say that we are no longer such), and he reminds me that he was then associated within our humble collegiate walls with two men that I consider it a pride to have been at any time connected with — the two illustrious Cardinals, Pacca and De Gregorio. I therefore feel that I have this evening renewed that loving bond of hospitality, and that familiar tie, which in ancient times was indissoluble, and which, once enjoyed, was expected to continue through life. I think myself happy in having the opportunity of renewing those early relations of friendship.

To Mr. Bright's great scheme of the Atlantic Cable the Cardinal thus referred :

And what is the result of this mighty work? Why, the Greek used to boast of his fire, which would burn under the sea, and which, attached to the keel of a ship, would destroy it in the midst of the sea ; and we know how the power of electricity has been similarly employed to explode mines high into the air and cause the sacrifice of hundreds of human lives. But this little spark which we are now sending under the ocean—this flash of lightning which passes from shore to shore —this fire which burns inextinguishable below the depths of the mighty waters, may truly be considered, if it were not too sacred an expression to use, to be the flame of that love and of that charity between the two nations of which the sacred text says, that 'many waters shall not extinguish it, and floods shall not overwhelm it.' Yes ; I have no hesitation in saying, that it is time now for the American eagle to let go those lightnings which it is represented as grasping in its talons, and let them drop into the ocean, and they will cross it safely and come to us, not accompanied with any roar of thunder, but murmuring the words of softest peace.

But while this graver aspect of things comes naturally to the mind, there is one which presents itself to me that I cannot forbear to linger on with more of tenderness and love. I can imagine a poor mother in the west of Ireland, a poor Galway or Mayo peasant, who had sent her stalwart sons, the promise of her old age, far away as emigrants to those distant regions

to gather their gold—not that which nature has sown broadcast on the surface of the land, but that which honest industry reaps from it. I can imagine her, when perhaps the days of her widowhood have come, sitting on the farthest crag that juts into the Atlantic, contemplating that waste of waters no longer as a desolate wilderness which separates her from those she loves, but as a means of instant communication with them, as a way of making known to them her joys and her distresses, and of receiving back in a few hours words of consolation and of promise. It will unite the hearts of many now estranged; and though it may look rather chimerical to consider instances of this individual reciprocal communication as of frequent or of common every-day occurrence, yet it will sweeten the bitterness of separation, and make emigration no longer an exile.

The Cardinal's health was proposed by the Lord Mayor as 'a distinguished guest whose name is inscribed upon the roll of illustrious literary celebrities of this age, and whose exertions in the cause of science have met with grateful recognition from men of all creeds in the country of his adoption.'

It would be endless to speak in detail of the frequent repetition of the enthusiastic welcomes already described. Of his visit to Dundalk the contemporary press spoke as 'a scene of enthusiastic rejoicing, which has no parallel in the history of the town.' When he returned thither from a visit to Lord Bellew's residence, the crowd dragged his carriage to the Church of St. Patrick. Here he preached on the victory of faith and the power claimed by the Church—'the little flock,' which, nevertheless claimed to inherit and administer 'a kingdom.' [1]

The High Mass finished, a luncheon followed for the Primate, the High Sheriff, Lord Bellew, and the

[1] Some extracts from this sermon are given in an Appendix to this chapter.

Bishops of the province. Then came a visit to the neighbouring convent of St. Malachi and its schools, and a public banquet in the evening at the Court House.

Returned to Dublin, the Cardinal delivered a lecture in the Rotunda on the 'Ornamental Glass found in the Catacombs.' Some of the designs on the glass were described very fully from memory, and their symbolism explained.

The life of the Christian craftsmen in the Catacombs was occasionally touched upon, as in the following extract :

Imagine what days and nights of horrors there must have been during all this time. Then imagine not one, but many a Christian craftsman, with death thus hanging over him, seated at his little furnace, blowing his glass, and quietly cutting, with more or less skill, the symbolic subjects which were to adorn it ; and so, perhaps, continuing till he heard at the end of the corridor or the door of his own home the persecutors that were making their way towards him ; and then he had to lay down his unfinished work and prepare to be himself one day represented upon it. This tranquillity with which works of art were produced in the midst of the agony of death, or with it impending all the time, forms a most tender and beautiful picture, by means of which we can figure to ourselves that Christian serenity, that Christian peace, that beautiful peace they loved to record on all their monuments, the peace of Christ, the peace of the Saints, that peace which seemed to be to them the brightest and the most consoling legacy which their departing Master had left them. This is what we cannot but admire.

It was not only on these glasses, but upon all other utensils, particularly their lamps found in the cemeteries, that you will see how the early Christians brought out their ideas. Those lamps can be easily procured to almost any extent. There are hundreds in the possession of private persons in every country. They are picked up in every part of the Catacombs. Every one of the lamps made for those retreats has its cross, or the

monogram of Christ, or some other emblem which shows that it was not bought at a heathen shop in the city, but was made especially for and by Christians, who liked to have everything appropriate and exclusively their own. They moulded their clay, and shaped and baked it with beautiful art, in order that whatever was around them might remind them that they were Christians ; and the same feelings, as we have seen, were carried out with the manufacture of their very drinking cups. They would have nothing that did not always remind them how they belonged to Christ, and that they should be ready to suffer for Him.

While in Dublin the Cardinal was the guest of the Archbishop. He inspected various places of interest, Protestant as well as Catholic. On Tuesday, September 7, in response to an invitation conveyed through the Lord Mayor, he paid visits to the Royal Irish Academy, and the Library of Trinity College. The cordiality of his reception in this stronghold of Protestantism evidently impressed the Irish Catholics. The following is from the contemporary report :

His Eminence left the residence of his Grace the Lord Archbishop, Eccles Street, at a quarter to twelve o'clock, in the state chariot of the Lord Mayor, which was in waiting to receive him. His Eminence was accompanied by the Rev. E. L. Clifford, the Rev. Mr. Burke, and the Right Hon. the Lord Mayor. His Eminence first proceeded to the Royal Irish Academy, where he was received by the Rev. Dr. Todd (president), Mr. Cibborn (secretary), and Professor Curry. His Eminence, after expressing his acknowledgments to the Rev. President for his courtesy and kind attention, was conducted through the library and museum of the institution. The rare old books and manuscripts were shown to him, and the lucid details of their character and history given by the accomplished archæologist, the Rev. Dr. Todd, which seemed to afford his Eminence the deepest gratification. He examined the collection of antiquities in the museum, and expressed himself highly pleased at their classification and arrangement by Dr. Wilde. . . . After re-

maining for nearly an hour, his Eminence took his leave, and proceeded to Trinity College.

On entering the College Square, a large number of the students who had assembled saluted his Eminence most respectfully as the carriage drove up to the entrance of the library. On leaving the carriage, in company with the same gentlemen and the Lord Mayor, his Eminence was received by the Rev. Dr. Todd, as librarian of the University, and the assistant librarian. . . . The rich and varied treasures, in the shape of manuscripts, illuminated missals, and other religious books of the monastic period, which the College is so fortunate as to possess, were all shown to him. He closely examined the celebrated Salisbury Missal, and the not less celebrated 'Book of Kells' and 'Book of Armagh,' and he paid particular care in looking over the four Gospels said to have been written by St. Columba ; the missal of the diocese of Killaloe, known as 'The Gospels of Domiah,' by whom it was transcribed ; the 'Book of St. Alban's,' and a Lollard Commentary on the Psalms, in Latin and English, with a commentary attributed to Wycliffe. A gorgeously illuminated missal of the year 1456 attracted [his] particular attention. . . . Having remained for nearly an hour in the library, his Eminence and party were conducted to the new Museum building, and, as he proceeded through the grounds, he was received with all the external evidences of respect by crowds of students and gentlemen not belonging to the College, who had assembled for the purpose of seeing his Eminence. . . . He was conducted through the lecture-rooms, and on taking his leave of the Rev. Dr. Todd he expressed his acknowledgments, and spoke of the gratification which he was afforded by his visit. As [the Cardinal] drove through the outer gate into College Green he was loudly cheered by a large crowd who had waited for his return from the College.

A visit to Maynooth followed. Friday, Sept. 10, saw him once more at Dublin, where he delivered to the Young Men's Catholic Society an address which attracted wide attention—the subject being the relation of moral and scientific progress. Parts of the lecture are very good specimens of the Cardinal's

powers as a populariser of scientific facts and principles.

I am not going [he remarked at the outset] to take any part of science, and pretend to place it before you either more clearly or more perfectly than many of you, probably, already know it; while, certainly, many who surround me could do all this infinitely better than I could pretend to do it. I will content myself with making use of well-known scientific facts and of modern discoveries by way of illustration and better explanation of the simple theme which I have chosen, that 'Moral improvement should always keep pace with scientific attainments or scientific progress.' . . .

After referring to the great scientific discoveries of modern times, he continued:

The world had gone on, and, in many respects, had gone on happily, before these periods. Every virtue has been always practised in no ordinary degree; heroic actions have been performed in every age, which have ennobled mankind; prodigies of genius, in art especially, have been brought forth, such as we cannot pretend to rival, and which probably will never again be equalled; and there has been happiness diffused abundantly through the family, through society, although during all these times, as I have said, the great scientific truths which now seem so clear and simple to us, and which appear almost necessary for our welfare, were totally unknown.

But at no period has there been real happiness, in no time have there been those greater and higher virtues to which I have alluded, and never have there been those qualities that give stability to society, and happiness to its members, without a moral code, without moral laws, without the supremacy of that code and the practice of what those laws command. And therefore, it would be clearly an inversion of the order which Providence has established were we to regard science and its progress as the essential basis of man's happiness and of society's, and the moral duties as merely secondary and subsidiary, instead of asserting that great and salutary principle which we must always keep inviolate, that the true

and real basis of all human happiness is the observance of the moral law; while science, literature and art, everything, indeed, that ennobles, everything that engentles, everything that makes more graceful, or touches with higher perfection human nature in the individual or in any form of society, may be made, and ought to be made, subservient to its progress, and thereby to its perfection. . . .

In pursuance of this general idea, he insisted that physical science, as well as ethics, should, if viewed in a comprehensive manner, lead the mind back to the Author at once of physical and moral law. One form in which science opposes itself to religion is by so narrowing the horizon as to represent scientific causes as sufficient in themselves to explain the world.

The second form in which science becomes anti-theistic, is by representing new discoveries in physics as the successful efforts of mankind to overcome nature; as though nature and science were antagonistic forces. The Cardinal insists that man has no power whatever to overcome nature. It is only by obeying and using her laws that he can achieve anything. The Cardinal here touches very closely and suggestively on the processes recently described by Huxley, as the *cosmic* process and the *ethical* process.

You have in Ireland one of the most magnificent optical instruments that the world has ever seen; indeed, without exception, the grandest in every respect. Of course, you understand that I allude to Lord Rosse's telescope; or it may perhaps with greater propriety be called the microscope of the heavens. For it brings into small detail that which is but vague under the action of any other astronomical instrument, and enables us to read that clearly which before was but a bright blot upon their surface. Now, in order to make this valuable instrument what it is, there has, of course, been an

immense reflector necessarily prepared for it with great skill, and even genius, by months of toil. Yet, by an inflexible law of nature, if the surface is exposed to damp, it becomes clouded in a very short time, and is rendered comparatively useless. You cannot, by any power of man, prevent that law from acting. What can you do? Bring nature into obedience to another of her own laws; win her, as it were, through one of her own necessary maxims, to suspend this disparaging influence. What would you do, for example, supposing that you had choice flowers in your garden, and that for some reason or other you did not wish the bees of your hive to be moving among them, in order to drive them away? It would be in vain that you spent the whole day in chasing them. Put near their hive something which they like better, something from which they can more readily stock their storehouse: place, for example, sugar near them, and they may be allured by it from your parterres. In the same way moisture loves something better than the hard surface of the reflector; it loves lime more; place it near the metallic disk, and it will absorb the moisture of the adjacent atmosphere. Thus nature will obey her own law of election, and her hurtful action is by this obedience prevented. If we cannot bring nature to act according to one of her laws rather than another, we have no remedy but to submit. It is useless to struggle. We may strive unceasingly to prevent the effects of that law, but we can make no compact with nature by which she will give up to us even the smallest of her rights. She has never surrendered one to all the science of the world put together.

Let me now, in order to put this view more strikingly before you, imagine a conversation, such as has often, I dare say, taken place, especially at the commencement of steam locomotion, in almost every part of the world. We will suppose a person, by way of introducing the conversation, say of the steam engine, 'What a wonderful invention! How marvellous! To what a pitch has science been brought; how completely has she mastered nature and her laws! We have destroyed space, we have cheated time, we have invented a piece of mechanism which we have endowed with almost vital power, to which we have given all but intelligence; and how proudly it goes on its way! You hear it snorting and panting in its first efforts to

dash forward, until it has gained a course as smooth, as regular, and as certain almost as the very orbits of the planets. We ride thus secure in the pride of that power - nature resists us in vain. We cut through her mountain ridges, though they be made of the hardest granite ; we pass over her yawning valleys by magnificent viaducts. We drain away whole regions of bog or marsh, if they come in our way with a superabundant moisture ; or we fill up almost unfathomable chasms. Thus we go on, over-riding everything, and anticipating no obstacle that will not be mastered, if it oppose us, by the skill and power of man.' 'Hold!' says one who has been listening to this boastful speech ; 'hold ! look at yon cloud ; it is heavy with thunder. See those flashes, which already break through it, those bright lances, each tipped with fire destructive beyond all the power of man ; see their direction towards us. Suppose that, by a law of nature which you have not repealed, one of those, strikes and makes a wreck of that proud monster. In an instant his brazen skin would be stripped off and cast aside ; his iron frame and burning viscera would be strewn around with the violence of a volcano, and we should leave it lying upon the road, a ruin, a mutilated carcase, from one single touch of the power of nature, defied by man.'

'Nay,' says a third, 'I will not consent to a trial like that. I do not think it is necessary to invoke the power of nature in its most gigantic and at the same time its most instantaneous action, to prove what it can do. It is not thus, in a vengeful form, that I will put into contrast that great production of man's ingenuity and the power of nature. No ; I will take the most harmless, the most gentle the most tender thing in her, and I will put that against the other. What is there softer, more beautiful, and more innocent than the dew-drop, which does not even discolour the leaf upon which it lies at morning ; what more graceful, when, multiplied, it makes its chalice of the rose, adds sweetness to its fragrance, and jewels to its enamel? Could anything be less likely to hurt than this ? You shake with your hand the flower-cup in which it sparkles, and at once it vanishes. Expose the steam-engine but to the action of this little and insignificant agent ; let it fall upon the strong monster for a short time, and continue to cover it. It does not come as an enemy ; it comes in a gentle and wooing form. It

loves that iron ; it is ready to deprive itself of a portion of its own substance, of that which is one of the most brilliant things in nature, the little oxygen which it contains, and to bestow it on the iron. And the metal, although you made a compact with it that it should be bright and polished and be your iron slave for ever, cares more for the refreshment from those drops of dew than it does for you, and it absorbs them willingly. And so, by degrees, it allows its whole surface to be usurped and occupied by them, and the result of this conspiracy against you soon begins to appear. Every polished rod, so beautiful and fair, is blotched and gangrened, every joint is anchylosed and solidified, every limb becomes decrepid, and you have soon a worthless piece of mechanism, lumber that must be thrown aside. A few drops of heaven have conquered the proudest work of man's ingenuity and skill.'

We come to this simple conclusion, that the more we study the laws of nature the more we see how powerful it is, how superior to man, how it is the exponent and exhibitor of magnificent wisdom, of might with which we cannot cope. We must not pretend to too much ; but in spite of boasts that nature has been overcome by man, let us ever keep this in mind, that she will always in the end, if it should come to a conflict, vanquish ; and that her laws and power, illimitable and irresistible, represent to us a higher Power than that of man, that being likewise the same Power that gives us our own moral strength and lays down our moral laws. We shall, indeed, sadly depart from the first and simplest conclusions of science, if we permit ourselves to be led to anything but the deepest admiration and most earnest love of nature, which is so wonderful and beautiful simply because it displays to us the work of God. We shall thus find that man can not only rise above nature, but make her subserve his ends, by employing those laws which have been imposed on her by Him. . . .

It is curious to note an incidental passage in this lecture—which was delivered before Darwin's 'Origin of Species' had appeared—showing that evolution was at that time, in the eyes of some persons, an antiquated scientific hypothesis.

It is certain that man is but a recent being on this earth, that it is only some thousands of years since he appeared upon it. How did he come here? A few years ago persons having a superficial knowledge of some branches of science used confidently to say that man was but a development of a lower class of beings: that the earth had undergone successive revolutions, being first inhabited by inferior animals, which, by some secret law or some unknown combinations, advanced in the scale of organisation, until at length, in the course of countless centuries, man came forth as a certain evolution and product of previous existences.

The totally uncontroversial character of the Cardinal's lectures, as usual, increased the general good will. The Mechanics' Institute—an institution comprising members of all creeds—sent a deputation inviting Wiseman to give them a scientific lecture: an invitation which the Cardinal expressed his hope of accepting on occasion of his next visit to Ireland.

Carlow, Waterford and Bagnalstown were the final stages of the Cardinal's progress. His reception at Waterford on September 14, the native city of his family, is thus described:

Placards had been posted on Monday evening, announcing that his Eminence would enter the city at two o'clock from Aylwardstown, the residence of Mr. Strange, and long before that hour the streets through which he was expected to pass were thronged with people of all classes. Large numbers proceeded on cars and on foot along the road to Aylwardstown, for the purpose of conducting [the Cardinal] into the city. He was met by them a couple of miles outside Waterford, when, after greeting him with hearty cheers, they formed a procession, composed of members of the several trades of the city, bearing banners, and of the people generally, carrying quite a forest of green boughs, and preceded by a band of music. Although, as has been stated, it was announced that his Eminence would arrive at two o'clock, it was twenty minutes to five before the cheers of those who accompanied him had announced to those

who had been waiting for hours on the bridge and on the quays that he was coming. His Eminence was seated in the carriage of the Mayor, and was accompanied by that gentleman and the Very Rev. Dean Burke. The Cardinal was met near the city by a considerable number of the clergy of the district and by the leading citizens. The procession proceeded slowly across the bridge, amidst the cheers of the large concourse of people there assembled. All the ships in the river had their flags flying, and as the procession moved along, gathering additional numbers at every street, the scene, especially along the quay, was very animated. All Waterford, it might be said, took part in giving to his Eminence the welcome which was to be expected from the inhabitants of a city claiming to be the birthplace of his parents.

Waterford touched a chord of early memories. Speaking there in response to the toast in his honour, which he treated as honour done to the sacred purple, he said :

I yield most willingly to every colleague of mine in the Sacred College in everything entitling him to respect. There are men amongst that august body to whom I look up with more than reverence - with positive veneration : and I know not one of them who has not the highest title to the love and regard of all who know them. But there is one claim which I can yield to none. There is no other in that venerable and eminent assembly—however distinguished for great qualities—who can stand amongst you claiming the sympathy of a fellow-citizen. On that ground I feel I stand alone. In addition, it is still more gratifying, remembering how many ages have passed over, since one placed in my position in the Church has visited this island, to think that it is one connected with this city. The tie between myself and Waterford is not one of yesterday ; for when I look around the room, I can find few countenances which lead me back to the period when I first knew it, or recall the circumstances under which I came. I should not think the mere fact of my family being united by proximity to the city a subject worth while entering on ; all I know is, that from her to whom I owe my education (as I had

the misfortune to lose my father in infancy, from her whose warmest recollections and most affectionate feelings were connected with this city, and with the neighbouring place where she was born, I remember to have heard histories which remain engraved on my memory, that tell me what my ancestors had to endure to preserve the faith—how they shared in the confiscations and spoliations of property which were the heirlooms of every Catholic in those days. Friends of mine since then have thought it kindness to find in the Record Office in Dublin the original decrees of confiscation and spoliation of the property my ancestors possessed here; but all this has been nothing compared to the tales she told me of the secret, unseen sacrifices, by which some of her ancestors preserved the faith to themselves and their children.

But there is another tie which I must not forget, because it more immediately connected me with this city. It has been remarked that there are two compound words which speak most feelingly to the affections. One we have endeavoured to introduce from a kindred tongue, but it has too much of foreign composition to take root in our language. This is the word 'fatherland,' the word which speaks to the patriotic hearts of the natives of Germany. There is a word, however, nearly allied to it in form, which is purely English, and which nothing will eradicate from our language, and it is our 'mother-tongue.' Next to receiving breath, the gift of speech is of the utmost importance to our well-being . . . and every language carries with it the forms of thought, and even the cast of character, which belong to the people that speak it. When we make the tongue of any country our own, it becomes the 'mother' of our whole future life. It may not be uninteresting to you who have received me so much as a friend, to know that Waterford was the first city in the British Empire with which I became intimately acquainted in the earliest portion of my life.

I arrived in England at the age of from six to seven years, I was put into a boarding-school in Waterford, and it was there I learned for the first time, as completely as a child could learn it, the language in which I am now speaking.

A sermon at St. Andrew's Church, Westland Row, Dublin, was the Cardinal's last public utterance. On

September 17th he left Ireland. The contemporary chronicler shall once more speak as to details :

His Eminence Cardinal Wiseman left Kingstown at nine o'clock, by the mail steamer 'Cambria,' for London. The intended departure of his Eminence could have been but very imperfectly known in the city ; nevertheless, the eight o'clock train from Westland Row took to Kingstown a considerable number of persons who were anxious to obtain a last glimpse of his Eminence, and receive final benediction ere he quitted Ireland. At half-past eight o'clock his Eminence left Sans Souci, near Booterstown . . . and proceeded by the Rock Road to Kingstown. . . . As the carriage proceeded along the road groups of people assembled at various points, cheering his Eminence with great enthusiasm, and some followed the equipage a considerable distance, with the view of getting his blessing, which he bestowed on them to their great gratification. Shortly before nine o'clock the carriage drew up at the departure pier, outside which the 'Cambria' lay moored. . . . The Most Rev. Dr. Cullen came down by the half-past eight o'clock train, and went on board to bid farewell to his Eminence. The Right Rev. the Bishop of Clonfert and the Very Rev. Dr. Derry, with several other clergymen . . . were also present to bid his Eminence a respectful adieu. The crowd surrounding his Eminence on deck while the steamer was preparing to sail increased considerably every moment, and the most intense eagerness was manifested by all to touch his hand, and have bestowed on them the gift of his blessing. At length the last bell rang, the Most Rev. Dr. Cullen quitted the steamer, followed by Surgeon O'Reilly and the clergymen present at the scene, and then, with visible reluctance and sincere regret, the large number of persons who had paid their final respects to his Eminence passed along the gangway to the pier, which they lined from end to end. Before the ropes were cast off his Eminence came forward to the side of the steamer. As he did so, groups of ladies and gentlemen facing him knelt down, and then his Eminence, who seemed to be considerably affected by the warm feeling displayed by the assemblage, gave them his benediction. A moment afterwards the 'Cambria' moved away from the pier, and steamed slowly towards the sea.

APPENDIX TO CHAPTER XXVI

The following are extracts from Cardinal Wiseman's sermon at Dundalk :—

This is the victory which overcometh the world – our Faith.—1 John v. 4.

When we contemplate the Apostles undertaking their ministry, we cannot fail to be struck with one singular feature of their characters : the calm and undoubting manner in which they assumed command over the whole world. The world of their day was the world of power, of wisdom, and of glory. Never had the Roman Empire extended its arms so wide asunder, nor held the extremities of its dominions with so firm a grasp. Never had learning, philosophy in particular, been more cultivated and favoured in Rome itself. Never had such magnificent monuments been raised, such luxury displayed, such spectacles witnessed, as in the Gospel era, from Augustus to Nero. It was looking down immediately on a world like this that John, already enriched by the experience of sixty years since our Lord's ascension, confidently writes the words of my text. He describes, indeed, what had already been done.

Yes, the Apostles had already mastered the world. They began by dividing the Roman Empire, and the nations beyond its pale, into ecclesiastical provinces ; shared them out among themselves for conversion, without calculating difficulties, or forecasting consequences ; and, what is most wonderful still, they soon reduced them into full subjection. Each president soon saw, seated by his side, a bishop who ruled the hearts and wills of thousands ; and every proconsul found enthroned in his metropolis a primate or patriarch, who governed an ecclesiastical province more peacefully than he did a civil one. And this new distribution of the empire long survived, and survives yet, the imperial adjustment of administration. Thus did the weak confound the things of this world—confound the strong.

And so the Apostles grappled with the world of wisdom. They pronounced its philosophy folly, its learning ignorance, its principles false. They set up a new knowledge, new maxims, an unknown truth. They spoke with certainty, not experimentally; not to meet the present want, or suggest an expedient. Every disposition which they made was a perpetual law; every admonition an eternal precept. Their declarations were not to be matured by experience, or modified by time. The entire system was cast at once, and came perfect from its mould; with a confident assurance that as it began, so it would continue to the end of time. And thus did the foolish things of the world confound the wise.

With the glorious world of their day, the Apostles simply closed by contempt: they raised nothing against it but the cross; in aught else God forbade that they should glory. They trod barefoot upon its gold and jewels, its pageants and triumphs. One may imagine the scorn with which Peter or Paul looked on any gorgeous pomp that passed them, thinking in his heart, 'One day a far more noble array shall bear my crucified Lord across this very spot, so proudly adorned by the persecuting Emperor.' And it has been so. Every year the successor of St. Peter carries the adorable Mystery of Love across the site of Nero's Circus.[1] And thus did the contemptible things of this world confound the glorious.

But then, this victory was not thus to end. So long as the *world* lasts, it has to be overcome by faith. There is a sublimity in the very simplicity of the prophecy; for what less than a prophecy is that which has to be fulfilled in every age? When victory is mentioned, conflict is presupposed; and when we speak of perpetual victory, we speak also of perpetual conflict between that which conquers and that which has to be repeatedly subdued.

Nor does St. John speak of faith as the result or the crown of such victories, but only as the means whereby they are to be obtained. Most distinct is the character of the two—of faith and of the world. The first is simple and definite; unvarying with time and country—our faith; the other vague and general; different in every region; changeable, so that no one could then foresee its possible phases—the world.

[1] The Square of St. Peter's.

Our faith, what was it? It was not our learning, our skill, or our science. It was not what was to be the possession of the wise, or the inheritance of the opulent, or the spoil of the valiant, or the badge of the great and noble. No. It might be possessed by anyone who had not the least eloquence to propagate it, nor the genius to defend it, nor courage to be its apostle. This faith was to be easy of access, to be light of burthen, and to adapt itself to the smallest amount of ability. Then, it was not to be the faith of one, or of another, it was to be 'our faith'; the faith of each and everyone who belongs to the true Church, and is in communion of her Sacraments. Such was the faith that had to conquer the world.

Let us suppose that at the time when St. John wrote these words, there existed in the Roman Empire a chieftain who had obtained many triumphs; who had conquered provinces; had enriched his legionaries; had added the title of the 'Gallic' or the 'Parthic' to his name; and that towards the end of his long life, he should concentrate the skill gained by long experience to the devising of a means whereby the empire should be rendered for ever invincible. Let us imagine him producing a weapon, be it sword or lance, so light that it could be wielded by any stripling conscript, and declaring solemnly to those who trusted him, that by its single power all possible foes should be effectually subdued. Were someone standing by who possessed the gift of prophecy—an Apostle, for instance—we might conceive him glancing into futurity, and thus addressing him:

'In a few years hence all the power of Rome will be required on her eastern and north-eastern frontier, to beat off the flying squadrons of Parthians and Scythians. They rush like a flight of locusts round your legions, discharge their fatal arrows in a cloud into the midst of them, and sweep into the desert on their fleet steeds, defying all pursuit, and never come within reach of your new weapon. How will you cope with them?

'Then, later, will appear a race, clad, man and horse, in steel of finest temper, dashing like a whirlwind into the enemy's ranks; men wielding huge maces of studded iron which crush the helmet deep into the brain, or ponderous swords which cleave the cuirassed knight to his saddle-bow. Have you calculated how your new arm will meet *their* assaults?

'In fine, the whole face of war will change; strength of arm

or temper of metal will little avail. From iron mouths will issue clouds of smoke, amidst a roar as of thunder, hurling missiles that bear a certain though unseen death, and able by one blow to mow down entire ranks of enemies. Will your youths, armed with your light weapons, be able to rush against the jaws of these monsters and silence them or overthrow them?'

Now, something to human ear as rash and as unwise, as would have been, to a foreseeing mind, such a promise of victory to an unvarying feeble weapon, might have sounded, to a thoughtful one, the assurance of the Apostle of unfailing success to a weak principle, against an infinitely varying antagonistic power. For the changes in civilisation could easily be, and have been, as great as those in warfare. Yet faith has sufficed for all. . . .

A couple of centuries more and that empire of paganism is extinct, and the Christian one of the West is fast declining. Italy is become the prey of barbarous hordes, who in their ferocity spare nothing, and in their rapid succession leave no intervals for restoration, or even for breath. One of these tribes, the most terrible of the invaders, has crossed the Alps, spreading desolation around, and sending forward to Rome notice of its anticipated glut amidst the remains of ancient riches. So successful, so haughty is the career of this irresistible band, that its leader, Attila, takes the name, which all accord to him, of 'the Scourge of God.' But on the Chair of Peter sits a Pontiff of noblest Roman spirit, national and ecclesiastical, learned, saintly, eloquent, and fearless; one who knows it to be among the highest prerogatives of the shepherds of his fold to meet the wolf that would attack it, beat it back, or give their lives for their sheep. He goes forth, therefore, from his capital, attended by his unarmed clergy, travels to the boundaries of middle Italy, and confronts the barbarian chieftain at the head of his savage host.

He speaks to him with authority and gentleness combined; the proud Northern listens like a docile child to the paternal admonition, replies with deep respect, submits, and commands his impatient followers to banish from their thoughts all golden visions of the South, breaks up his camp, and turns back. What a victory over that new world of stern and warlike mould,

which was about, not so much to absorb existing races as to stamp them all with its own image, and mingle intimately its iron with their crumbling clay. And by what means was it wrought? What conquered here? Faith. The perfect trust of Leo so well called the Great in the authority and perpetuity of his See, in the promises made to Peter, in its rock-like power to beat back the waves of earthly might, was the form taken by that faith, which, through him, overcame the Huns, and in them and Genseric, soon after, with his Vandals, the new world of rude prowess and unsapped vigour. This is the victory—your faith. . . .

Then, if you wish to make and see this country happy, look first of all to the preservation of its people's faith. Everything else that is good will flourish and prosper if engrafted on this, while its venerable Episcopate, so noble a portion of which I have the happiness of being associated with here, under its learned and saintly primate, and the zealous clergy, of whom so many have come to grace our solemnity, will never slacken their hands in defending and cultivating this precious inheritance of Ireland. Let no one be led away by the idea that in endeavouring to promote material progress, religious considerations may be kept out of view. There never can or will be any real good where this separation of interests is contemplated; for there is no real good but what is moral, and no solid moral good which is not religious. Keep a watchful eye on every system of education which tends to lessen, still more to exclude, religious influence in its teaching. However tempting the scheme, however liberal the promises, however plausible the motives, listen not to the proposal. By whatever names the institutions may be called, keep jealously aloof from them; but in the education of the poor, more especially, prevent, by every possible means, any encroachment on the purely Catholic principles of training the child in the knowledge and practice of religion; give him faith, strong and lively, solid and pure, and he may go forth into the world with the assurance that he will conquer.

CHAPTER XXVII

ROMAN LITIGATION

THE Cardinal returned from Ireland refreshed in mind and body. On November 3rd he delivered before an audience of between two and three thousand persons, in the Hanover Square Rooms, a lecture on the tour in Ireland. His 'Recollections of the Last Four Popes'—originally delivered as lectures—were revised and completed, and involved him in considerable correspondence. A course of lectures on modern infidelity was begun. It was at this time that the liberalistic tendency of some of the writers in the 'Rambler' was laid before the Bishops; and the education question once more pressed for consideration.

But such subjects of interest were not allowed to monopolise his mind. The painful divergence from his Coadjutor and Chapter, the first stages of which have been described, continued. This contest was, in England, the turning point in the controversy between the conservative policy and that of the new Ultramontanism. The personal divergences it involved are such as I should not, in ordinary circumstances, have dwelt upon further. But, as they have been publicly spoken of at some length by a writer

who apparently had not access to the contemporary documents in which the case is recorded, and as his account has been seriously inaccurate, I have thought it best to print in full what is necessary to place the outline of the case beyond dispute.[1] And I the less regret this necessity as the letters and other documents illustrate vividly the personality of Cardinal Wiseman himself. Moreover, if they show that his judgment had been seriously at fault in choosing for Coadjutor a man whose views were in some respects so incompatible with his own, they appear to me also to show that Dr. Errington himself was actuated, in his opposition to Provost Manning and to the Cardinal, by no other motives than a sense of duty and a desire for the welfare of the diocese.

The resolution of the Chapter (already referred to) was presented to Cardinal Wiseman immediately on his return from Ireland, together with a congratulatory address. The Cardinal's answer, annulling its proceedings, was given on December 1. As we have already seen, Mr. Patterson forthwith went to Rome, as Wiseman's agent, to state the case to the authorities. He was directed to lay before the Pope privately the impossibility of working in harmony with Dr. Errington, who directly espoused the cause of the Chapter. To Mgr. Talbot Wiseman also wrote, making no mention of the Coadjutor; but Talbot knew enough of the facts to guess who was at the

[1] In Appendix F I have pointed out in detail the most important particulars in which the writer of *The Life of Cardinal Manning* has apparently been misled. It will be seen that he has entirely misconceived Manning's position in the controversy.

root of the determined opposition to the Cardinal, in the matter of his support of Manning and of the Oblates.[1]

[1] 'The following correspondence, shortly before the departure of Mr. Patterson for Rome, shows the very different views held respectively by the Cardinal and Dr. Errington on the action of Chapter and Coadjutor:

'Leyton: Dec. 9, 1858.

'MY DEAR ARCHBISHOP, -I am sorry to disturb you in your labour, but I am obliged to do so by asking for a short reply on one or two important questions. In truth, one single word will suffice.

'It is of great importance for me to know if you have assisted my Chapter (by means of any of its members) with your advice in the course which that body has maintained with regard to me.

'But more specially, if you have in any way advised or assisted in preparing any document whatsoever to be sent by them to the Holy See in matters pending between them and me.

'You will readily understand how important it is for me, in treating such matters both at Rome and here, to be assured of this point on the best authority.

'1st. I shall be able immediately to silence rumours and conjectures which are becoming most unpleasant, and which may lead to animosity and harshness, if I fail to deny them authoritatively.

'2nd. In drawing up my reply, and the other documents for the Holy See, I should treat the matter very differently, according to my certainty on this point. The Chapter has appointed an Agent at Rome to advance its petitions, and it would be a base stroke against me if he came to insinuate that you had taken part, in whatsoever way, in preparing them.

'3rd. If the matter should be protracted, or become complicated, I should naturally turn to you for assistance in vindicating my episcopal rights, which I regard as invaded, and for vigorous and hearty co-operation in defending my cause.

'But if you have already embraced an opposite view, and still more if you have conscientiously aided in presenting it before the Holy See, I must then perforce abandon all idea of any such active assistance from you, and rest content with your neutrality in any further dispute.

'I need not tell you that I would not trouble you to give yourself the labour of contradicting reports, fleeting and vague rumours, but the question is of relations and observations which are *prima facie* capable

The Cardinal urged that the whole movement of the Chapter was hostile to himself and anti-Roman.

of causing me anxiety and uneasiness. I should be glad of a prompt reply, since I am engaged on my work for Rome.

'I hope that you are always in the best of health, &c.

'Yours, &c.

'(Signed) N. CARD. WISEMAN.'

Reply of the Archbishop of Trebizond.

Liverpool: December 14, 1858.

DEAR CARDINAL, I have received your letter of December 9. While I am sorry that by its form and tone I am prevented from giving a formal reply, I will only say a few words on two points, about which, I conclude, it is your desire that I should speak.

First. It seems to me that there must be some misunderstanding in your mind as to the proceedings of the Chapter. Since I am convinced that there has been no intentional want of respect towards you, or of deference, or of anything that the best of Chapters could feel towards its own Bishop.

The personal composition of the Chapter, and its uniform past and present relations with you, are a sufficient guarantee of this.

Nor is there anything in their latest acts, so far as I know, to give the lie to, or throw any material doubt on, such an opinion. It certainly shows no contempt towards a Bishop, for a Chapter to address petitions to him asking for rights given them, apparently at least, by law; and, in case their Bishop does not agree with them as to the interpretation of such rights or as to the expediency of granting them, for the Chapter to have recourse, and refer the controversy, to Rome. If this were disrespect, the same would be said if the question were one of property, instead of rights.

The addition, which they make to the same petition, of the reasons which induce them to present it now, is by no means an assumption on their part of the right to decide the question as entrusted with the matters there referred, but simply the expression of their opinion, with desire that the subject may be treated with the diligence prescribed by the Council of Trent, which gives them the right to intervene, by means of deputies, in the relative deliberations.

Nor, again, can there be opposition, in the bad sense of the word, for a Chapter to ask of the Holy See an interpretation of the capitular statutes, or of other regulations establishing their procedure, when it happens that their own Bishop thinks differently from them on

If, as Errington professed, only an adjustment of the respective rights of Archbishop and Chapter was asked for, why could not a friendly and joint petition have been sent to Rome? The whole movement had been throughout kept secret from the Cardinal in its details. Opposition to the Oblates was at the root of it: and this meant opposition to the Roman spirit which he and Manning were endeavouring to instil into the secular clergy. The triumph of the Chapter would be the death-blow—so Wiseman maintained and his agent was to urge -to all hope of a thoroughly loyal priesthood, Roman in spirit and devotion.

such interpretation. On the contrary, we go far indeed when in the Synod we bid the Canons study their own rights and obligations.

If the views of the Chapter are wrong, or if it should not be expedient to give effect to them at present, the Holy See will not grant their request, nor reply to them in the sense which they expect; but it seems to me a very hard measure to accuse them, either here or in Rome, of a spirit of opposition in the course which they have taken.

Secondly, I should have no difficulty in advising the Canons, or others, not officially, with regard to what I supposed to be their respective rights, so long as I believed that they sought only the truth, and to know their legitimate rights.

If some ecclesiastics had actually to contend against some opinion of mine at Rome, I should certainly see no reason for not assisting them to set forth their ideas in a convenient form, if ever they should trust me to do this, since I think that this would tend to the elucidation of the truth, which it is to be supposed we are all seeking. Nor should I desire in any way to have on my side any equivocal advantage of knowing the forms of procedure better, or of being better able to use them so as to sway the balance of the decision.

Wishing that all may be finally settled to your satisfaction, and trusting that you will appreciate rightly the motives of my reply to your letter,

I am,

Your Eminence's most humble and devoted

G. E.

To his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman.

Manning followed Patterson to Rome, as we have seen: but his journey proved in the event almost superfluous, as on the very night of his arrival he received the news that the whole dispute between Cardinal and Chapter would be referred to an English Synod, which must settle its own local affairs.

This meant, however, for all parties further delay; and to Wiseman delay was trying in the extreme.

We see traces of the over-strain of the Cardinal's mind, and of its acute sensitiveness, in the letters which I subjoin, written to Mr. Patterson while he was at Rome carrying out the Cardinal's instructions. The slightest coldness or even negativeness on the part of the representatives of Rome, wounded Wiseman instantly; and a kind word or message gave lively gratification—either feeling being shown with transparent simplicity.

The following letter, written the day after Patterson's arrival in Rome, shows that his Lectures were still continued, although health and spirits were suffering severely:

London: December 21, 1858, 4 A.M.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—Here I am at my usual matutinal work, this being about the eighth or tenth night, with few exceptions, that I am obliged to pass several hours up from a sleepless bed. On Sunday morning I was so weak and giddy that I just saved myself from falling after the Communion at Mass, and I continued so unwell that I feared for my Lecture—had to lie down for the morning, and send for Tegart, who propped me up by ammonia, &c. for the evening, and D.G. I got through two hours of it. The congregation was *somewhat* less (the *standing* room not being quite full), owing to the terrible night it was, of pouring rain. But never was I listened to with such intense

attention. . . . Dr. Munk and others consider it the most telling of the series. One third was about the Pope as the head of the household the *paterfamilias* of all *times*, and, I think, was all new, and taken in with an eagerness and breathless depth of devotion I never before saw. . . . What I feel, of course, is the perfect solitude of my position. I literally have not a soul to speak to. Eddy Stonor is the only one who comes daily to offer to do me any service, and to express most affectionately his sympathy. Searle is no longer *my* secretary, for he seems the secretary of the Chapter; and instead of that confidence which has existed between us for twenty years, he has his own secrets and I mine, and we hardly speak. Is it not strange that almost all the plotting and the drawing up of the documents against me should have taken place under my own roof, and that by my three *familiarissimi* my Coadjutor, my Vicar-General, and my Secretary? . . .

Yesterday I received a letter from Mgr. Talbot, telling me drily that he had received my letters and documents and given them to Barnabò; that the Pope had referred the whole matter to the General Congregation, so that I must send my papers quickly; that he considered it an important matter; and that the Chapter's petitions were respectfully worded. *Voilà tout.*' There was not a word of interest, not a drop of comfort; I cannot judge from it that he, the Pope, or Barnabò felt an atom on the subject. Yet I had prepared him for a crisis.

A week later he writes again to Mr. Patterson—Manning had just left England for Rome:

Thank Mgr. Talbot most affectionately for his comforting letter of the 18th. I consider it one of the most striking instances of sagacity I have ever known, and [it] is entirely his own. For I had not hinted at the Archbishop's interference to him. . . . Thank Monsignor most cordially, for his letter has given me the only glimpse of light as yet on my affairs. The dry business tone of Cardinal Barnabò was anything but a relief.

What I have to fear [in Rome] is just the dry bureaucratic view of the thing, that certain *quæsita* have been sent by the Chapter, couched in very respectful terms, to which they have to give an answer *affirmativè* or *negativè*, without considering

the origin, conduct, or nature of the affair; that the *quæsita* are artfully framed, so as to meet not *one single point* of our real dispute.

Dr. Manning has started for Rome. He went yesterday, and may get there before this letter. He goes for his own affairs the implied charges against him in the Chapter petition, and the necessity of meeting incidental questions. In fact, a letter from Barnabò, as well as Talbot's to me, tells him to forward any papers. So he takes all. I have told him distinctly that *you alone* are agent for my affairs. There would be an impropriety in *his* acting against *the Chapter*, which would include him, but he acts against the *capitulars* who have accused him. And there would only be confusion otherwise. I told him he must give me an account of his own affairs (which interest me deeply), and you would of mine. But being on the spot he will be a useful personal witness in all capitular transactions. You can, of course, communicate freely with him.

God bless you.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

New Year's Day brought a cheering letter from Patterson, conveying the Pope's sympathy with Wiseman in his trials, and—as is evident from Wiseman's reply—holding out every prospect of a satisfactory termination of the differences between Wiseman and his Coadjutor and Chapter:

London: New Year's Day, 1859.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—Thanks for your most welcome letter received *this* morning. I found nothing on my table last evening, after two days' absence at St. Bernard's abbey, and this morning nothing at breakfast, when a *tap tap* came at the door, bringing a second delivery, and in it your letter.

Most welcome indeed it came with the first fog of 1859, to brighten a very dull day. The Holy Father's kindness is everything to me, and your account of what has taken place is all I could desire. You have acted wisely in not pushing or boring.

I think I ought to mention that Dr. Roskell told me that

when he was lately in London, the Archbishop, talking with him and a Northern priest, said about me *à propos* of the Oblates: 'It will take a great deal to rouse the lion, but we must press him on every side, and in the end he will be roused, and then he will put his paw on them, and crush them' (or the thing). This shows deliberate action in the pressure used, and a combination between the Chapter, &c. I am in a great hurry. Gilbert has just been here to say that we must not think about them at St. Mary's, as they are able to get on. So you had better stay quietly and enjoy Rome. God bless you. Many thanks for what you have done.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

On January 5th he writes:

As to the Oblates . . . there is no doubt that it was the Archbishop's enmity to them which led to the whole. The story I told you in my last proves that he put on pressure to force me to crush them.

But I have never expressed to anyone any intention of giving up the College to the Oblates, but on the contrary *before* the address was drawn up *I assured Dr. Weathers*[1] that there was no such idea. The Chapter, therefore, had no right to address me, still less to deliberate, on the ground of a mere *rumour*, after I had denied it.

Mr. Patterson's next letter definitely announced the decision of Rome to refer the dispute between Cardinal and Chapter to a Synod.

Wiseman made up his mind to the prospect of a year of miserable litigation. The Cathedral liturgy, at which he and Mr. Patterson had for years worked with so much zest, could no longer be enjoyed in peace. For his Master of Ceremonies was now likewise his 'counsel.' He writes to Mr. Patterson again, on January 15th:

[1] The President of St. Edmund's College.

London: Jan. 15, 1859.

My dear Patterson, — Yesterday I received your letter of the 7th, and at the same time one from Barnabò (none from the Pope) announcing the reference of our affairs to a Synod, without any intimation of when it has to be held. I have answered Barnabò directly.

Now, I suppose, all is at an end, and therefore it is no use sending any more instructions or suggestions. And any mere ideas are not worth writing. I must not, however, omit thanking you for all your kindness and activity in treating this sad affair. You have, I know, acted the part of a friend, rather than that of an agent, in it. Thank Mgr. Talbot also most affectionately for his great sympathy and kindness through it, and for all that he has done for me in it, and on all occasions. I shall always rely with perfect confidence on his goodness, and reckon unhesitatingly on his support.

There is much more at stake than anyone not on the spot can well imagine, in all that is going on. However, one can only do one's best. As to the copes, do as you please, only I have just bought Dr. F.'s vestments, and to-day finish paying for them, which rather clears me out. To tell the truth, I feel so sick at heart and in body, that I have no feeling about such things. The year before me is only full of clouds and dismalness, especially with a Synod coming suddenly upon me, with a contest in it among the Bishops. Instead of getting better, I am much weaker, and I am wasting in flesh as in vigour. But that is nothing 'sive vivimus, sive morimur, Domini sumus.' I cannot see my way to get on except to shut myself up in the nutshell of duty, and avoid all extra work. I may thus avoid excitement, and gain or keep peace.

Please to tell Branchini in addition to my commissions per Dr. Manning, to send a dozen of the *fiocchetti*, *little frizzled gold knobs*, to put at the end of alb or rochet strings, &c.

I shall hope to see you soon again at our old work.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. Card. Wiseman.

Mr. Patterson returned to England in January. It was clear, from the report which he brought, that steps would be taken to relieve Wiseman from his Coad-

jutor. The sentiments of the Holy Father are probably represented in the following letter, written to Wiseman two months later by Mgr. Talbot:

Vatican: March 29, 1859.

My dear Cardinal Wiseman, —I write a line to say that I have just received your last note. I congratulate you on having had the moral courage to dismiss Dr. Maguire, who *from principle* is opposed to the Roman Movement in England, which was set agoing by your Eminence, and has always been supported by you until now, against every kind of opposition.

I can say that you have been the instrument under God to *Romanise* England. It is almost incredible the good you have done in England during the last twenty years, but I am afraid that it will only be your posterity that will truly appreciate it. You have been able to change the whole feeling of the rising clergy, and to instil into the laity what Roman principles they possess, although there remains still a great deal to be done. I cannot conceive a greater misfortune than your being followed by Dr. Errington, who, I feel certain, if he ever becomes Archbishop of Westminster, will do all he can to undo what has been done, and will be a constant source of annoyance to the Holy See.

I never heard of a greater act of audacity than his daring to set himself at the head of a party against his own Bishop. I can hardly believe it possible that a Coadjutor, who ought to be an *alter ego* of the Bishop, can dare openly to oppose him.

. . . Nevertheless, I have, a week ago, written a kind letter to Dr. Errington, in which I took occasion from a wish he expressed to me three years ago to offer him Trinidad. I prefer Trinidad to Calcutta for him, as I am afraid that the latter place would not suit him, for many reasons, whereas I sincerely believe that he is just cut out for Trinidad and the West Indies.

Monsignor Talbot's somewhat garrulous letters to the Coadjutor (which I print in an Appendix[1]) appear to have produced an unfortunate result. He plainly told both Dr. Errington and his friend Mon-

[1] See Appendix D.

signor Searle that the main charge against the Coadjutor was that he was anti-Roman in sympathies, and bent on undoing the work done by Wiseman during his episcopate. Errington resented the charges deeply. To identify his opposition to the innovations which Manning in Wiseman's name was bent on introducing, with opposition to the Roman spirit, appeared to him the height of injustice. 'These most grave accusations,' he wrote to Talbot,—'calumnies if they are false, are contradicted by the tendencies of my education, by the practical testimony of my life, and by my express declaration of their falsity.'

Talbot wrote apologetically, professing his constant admiration for Errington as an 'apostolic and saintly man,' explaining that he had not meant to charge him with theoretical Gallicanism, but with antagonism to the views of Wiseman, who was the model of a Roman Bishop. Errington remained, however, deeply hurt, and did not reply to Talbot's communication. Talbot wrote again, urging him to accept the Archbishopric of Trinidad, and Errington replied, taking no notice whatever of the proposal and requesting that their correspondence should cease. The accusation that he was anti-Roman, even in a modified sense, he resented, as based simply on the rumours and representations of party men. Monsignor Talbot, hurt at Errington's extreme resentment, wrote on April 13th, repeating his assurances of personal esteem, and renewing the offer of Trinidad. He added that Cardinal Wiseman had written to the Holy Father praying for his removal.

This letter was followed four days later by a 'semi-official' letter, written at Cardinal Barnabò's request, stating that Cardinal Wiseman found it 'impossible to continue to administer the diocese as long as you remain his Coadjutor,' and had 'begged the Holy Father to transfer you to some other Archiepiscopal See,' and asking if Trinidad would be acceptable. 'The Holy Father,' Monsignor Talbot added, 'who has full confidence in your goodness and ecclesiastical spirit, desires to arrange this affair as quietly as possible, and to prevent the scandal of having recourse to more rigorous measures.'

Whether or no a more tactful treatment of the business would have induced Errington to resign a position to which he had never been attached, and from which he had more than once endeavoured to free himself, Monsignor Talbot's action aroused in him every motive for resistance, supplied by an iron will, strong character, and deep convictions. He stood accused of 'anti-Roman' ideas; and yet he believed himself to be as loyal to the Holy See as Wiseman himself. Moreover, however widespread might be the opposition to his rigorism, he knew that in his own opposition to the Oblates—which was called anti-Romanism—he had with him the bulk of the clergy. He owed it to the cause he represented to explain his case in Rome, and clear the reputation of himself and his friends. If he resigned, he would have no opportunity for doing so; and, after the reference to 'more rigorous measures,' he might even appear to be plainly guilty of some real offence. He would obey the Holy Father, but he would not resign *proprio*

motu. This resolution, to which he adhered with the utmost tenacity, he expressed in a letter to Rome, dated May 7th. He declined to answer any of the numerous letters, showered upon him by Monsignor Talbot,[1] but wrote directly to Cardinal Barnabò:

8, York Place, Portman Square, London, May 7, 1859.

MOST EMINENT LORD,—Not long ago I received a letter from Monsig. Talbot, dated April 19, which he tells me he wrote in accordance with instructions received from your Eminence.

In this letter he says that his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman has applied to the Holy See for my removal from this Coadjutorship 'cum futura successione,' as he considers he cannot continue the administration of the diocese while I remain here; and that he has proposed for me the vacant see of Porto di Spagna. He adds that the Holy Father has expressed his readiness to meet the wishes of the Cardinal, who is doing such good work for the Church in this country, but that the Sovereign Pontiff does not desire in any way to imply any censure against myself, or to permit a public scandal to arise.

Therefore, continues the letter, he wishes your Eminence to know whether I find any difficulty in accepting the proposed Archbishopric.

This communication having been made to me in the name of your Eminence, I felt myself bound to reply directly to your Eminence, and to express my sentiments with all frankness, in order that your Eminence with your accustomed kindness might the more easily give me such further instructions as may seem to you suitable.

I beg, first of all, that your Eminence will lay at the feet of the Holy Father my thanks for the regard which his Holiness has condescended, in his benevolence, to show towards me, while he believes it necessary to provide in an exceptional manner for the welfare of this diocese. I also beg your Emin-

[1] Monsignor Talbot, nothing daunted, wrote again four times, complaining that he could get no answer, and at last drew the curtest of replies from Errington, declining personal intercourse on the debated question, which would be treated, he said, in his *Scritture*.

ence to express to the Holy Father with what readiness I am prepared to receive and follow the commands of the Holy See, whatsoever they may be, whether to give back into the hands of the Sovereign Pontiff the responsibilities and dignities which the Holy See has kindly conferred on me, notwithstanding my unworthiness, or to undertake other responsibilities and labours in the Church of God, or to withdraw myself entirely into private life.

Permit me, in the second place, to express briefly to your Eminence the reasons which seem to me to render it scarcely desirable that I should withdraw myself from the Coadjutorship 'proprio motu,' instead of awaiting the commands of the Holy Father, if his Holiness wishes that it should be so.

Four years ago, fearing the difficulties and perils which menaced the welfare of the diocese—notwithstanding the agreements we had come to, and the measures determined upon, when I accepted the Coadjutorship—in order to remove the differences between his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman and myself, I myself sought to be employed temporarily elsewhere, in order that the difficulties which had then begun might cease, or that there might be found another more permanent way of avoiding those perils.

But now, as I have been accused by Monsig. Talbot (and others, who think as he does, repeat it here) of anti-Romanism, Anglo-Gallicanism and other failings, which, if they really existed, would be incompatible with the faithful fulfilment of the episcopal duties, and as these accusations are given as reasons why I should not remain here, it does not seem to me that I can of myself take any step for my own removal, since such a step would confirm these erroneous assertions and accusations, and hence would bring much damage not only on myself and my future work, if God gives me the grace to continue it, but also on the credit of those (not a few) who are said expressly, or supposed by the same accusers, to think as I think, instead of viewing our affairs with the same eyes with which Monsig. Talbot and others see them.

Also I have been erroneously accused here [in England] of conduct incompatible with my position, and hence there comes again from that consideration a similar argument.

To this may be added that, notwithstanding the way in

which, according to Monsig. Talbot, the authorities in Rome praise me in various respects, he writes both in the letter written in the name of your Eminence, and in other letters written in his own name, that it is better for me to retire, because if I do not retire I must expect more severe measures to be taken. Hence I cannot but believe that in consequence of the erroneous representations made to the Holy See against me, the existence of an offence is supposed, which would render such severity necessary.

In the third place, for these same reasons, I take the liberty of begging your Eminence to procure for me an opportunity of defending myself against the different accusations which have been made against me at Rome, by summoning me 'ad urbem,' and giving me permission to report myself there, or in any other way that may seem to your Eminence more opportune. And this favour I beg your Eminence to obtain for me, even in case the Holy Father thinks it better that my removal from here should be accomplished without the delay which might be required to hear my reasons before deciding. As I have said above, what the Pope wishes shall be law to me whatever the sacrifice it demands, but I hope that it will not be found incompatible with the defence which I desire to make—before the decision if it is possible, if not, after.

In the fourth place, as to the Archbishopric of Porto di Spagna which the Holy Father proposes to me, with so much benevolence, it is necessary that I explain to your Eminence that the state of my health will not permit me to undertake anything new for another six months. More than six months ago my doctor told me that I ought to rest for some months if I did not wish to incapacitate myself altogether. For this reason I have been away from London for two months, with the exception of this week, when the meeting of the Bishops has taken place ; and after to-morrow I must go back to rest, because the doctors say I shall need at least six months with very little work to secure an effective and permanent cure. Hence I had proposed to myself not to work any more till the winter, except during the time in which the Synod will be held in July (if I am then in England), and during that time which would be required before the Synod, to make my defence in Rome, if your Eminence thinks it well to procure me this favour.

When time shall have verified the predictions of the doctors, I shall be ready to serve in the vineyard of the Lord either here or elsewhere, if I may not remain here, at the disposal of the Vicar of Christ.

Recommending myself to the goodness of your Eminence and kissing the sacred purple,

I am your Eminence's most obedient humble servant,

GEORGE ERRINGTON, Archbishop of Trebizond.

It was at this time that the last flicker of the old friendship between Wiseman and Errington appeared. Errington had wished to state his case fully before any adverse impressions had found their way to the Pope. When the Coadjutor learnt from Talbot that Wiseman had already spoken without giving him previous warning, he was indignant, and dining with him one night *tête-à-tête* he used strong expressions. Wiseman refused to discuss the matter. They were both leaving London next day, one for Cowes, the other for Ireland. Wiseman wrote demanding an explanation, and Dr. Errington replied from Dublin on May 22nd by a full expression of regret. His feelings, he said, had been deeply hurt. What he had said was said, he added, 'on the impulse of the moment, and from the habit acquired, through an intimacy of the space of forty years, of speaking, when we are perfectly alone, . . . with more attention to the frank communication of my ideas than to conventionality of language.' The feeling of old friendship came upon the Cardinal in his reply, in which he fully accepted Errington's *amende*. The letter is signed 'your most affectionate brother in Christ,' and he concludes it thus:

I hope that in all circumstances the good feelings of long years will not change. Differences of principle in matters of

high duty may be irreconcilable, but I hope that passing misunderstandings, where feeling is chiefly concerned, will not be thus irreconcilable.

However, the main difficulties remained, and the renewal of intimacy proved impossible. Many points in debate were to be decided at the Synod. The Cardinal dreaded the Coadjutor's inflexible opposition. He wrote on July 3rd reminding him that at the Synod a Coadjutor should be the Bishop's *alter ego*, and asking for his assistance in compiling the *Elenchus*. Dr. Errington replied that he was 'studying his rights,' and the Cardinal knew that he must fear the worst. The Synod met at Oscott in the course of the month, and Errington spoke against the Cardinal on nearly every point. His defence was that he attended not as Coadjutor, but as an independent Bishop.[1] He and Bishop Grant formulated a decree on the question of the government of the Colleges, which was opposed to the *Elenchus* drawn out by the Cardinal for synodical sanction. And their decree was carried in spite of the Cardinal's opposition.

The right of the deputed Canons of the Chapter, however, to interfere in the management of the existing Colleges—the main subject of the petitions of the Westminster Chapter to Rome—was disallowed on the ground that they were not *Seminaries* in the sense contemplated by the Council of Trent. The petitions of the Westminster Chapter were not directly entertained, as the decision that the existing Colleges were not Seminaries covered them by implication; they were, however, duly presented. Canon

[1] See Appendix D.

Morris thus writes of the decrees of the Synod, in reference to the government of the existing Colleges of St. Edmund's, Ushaw, and Oscott:

The Cardinal had maintained throughout that the Colleges were not Seminaries, and that the provisions of the Council of Trent did not refer to them. On this point there was really little, if any, difference of opinion amongst the Bishops, but, when difference did arise, the Cardinal was on the side of the minority. The Bishops in whose dioceses the Colleges existed regarded it as part of their ordinary jurisdiction that the management of the Colleges should rest solely with them, while at the same time they were prepared to educate students for the other Bishops interested, in numbers proportionate to their share of the funds. But the Bishops thus interested were not content without a share in the management being also allotted to them. The Colleges were in fact to be governed by a Board of Bishops, and the decree to this effect was carried by the majority and [ultimately] approved by the Holy See.

It was a curious sight to see Dr. Maguire enter the Synod when none were present with the Bishops in the church, except the officials of the Synod. Proclamation was made at the door of the church that anyone having anything to propose to the Synod should enter and do so. Dr. Maguire came in and was brought up to the table where the Cardinal Archbishop was sitting; and as he came up the church between two Masters of Ceremonies, it looked for all the world as if he were coming up to be tried. He stated that an appeal of the Chapter he represented had been referred to the Synod by the Holy See, and having deposited his document on the table, he was led forth with the same ceremony. The appeal, as has been already said, was not directly entertained, as the decrees of the Synod practically gave it against the Westminster Chapter.

The Chapter, if it had been tenacious of its supposed rights, was prompt in its obedience. Dr. Maguire made a formal submission and apology on the spot, and it was unanimously endorsed by his colleagues.

The impression produced in Rome by Errington's action at the Synod, was evidently very unfavourable. Mgr. Talbot writes as follows from the Vatican to Mr. Patterson, who had been in attendance on Wiseman at the Synod, on August 20, 1859:

I can delay no longer writing to thank you for the letters you wrote to me from Oscott during the Synod.

I think, as matters have turned out, that it was very fortunate that Dr. Errington went to the Synod, as whilst he was there it appears that he acted in such a factious manner that he set against him some Bishops who before were inclined to support him, and besides he incurred a serious canonical irregularity in opposing his 'Coadjuted,' even after the Cardinal had read the letter from Cardinal Barnabò, and the opinion given by Mgr. Tommassetti, one of the best canonists in Rome, which declared that he could not vote or even speak against his Coadjuted Archbishop. . . .

I cannot see how Cardinal Wiseman can avoid coming to Rome to defend himself. Although he will have both the Archbishop and the Bishop of Southwark to fight against, he will have no difficulty to carry everything before him. . . .

I look upon this moment as a great crisis. The future of the Church in England for the next twenty years depends upon it, and it is for this reason that I have mixed myself with this affair, instead of remaining neutral, as it would have been more pleasant for me to have done.

Vatican: August 20, 1859.

The Cardinal arranged to go to Rome in the autumn. The Errington case, and his differences with the Bishops, could not be satisfactorily settled without his presence. Though greatly hurt by the opposition of his brother Bishops in the Synod, and grievously out of health, he was much cheered by the affectionate messages which post after post brought from Pius IX., and by the Pope's assurances that all should be done in Rome to help him in his difficulties.

'He will be received by the Pope as soon as he arrives, with open arms,' wrote Mgr. Talbot to Mr. Patterson.

Wiseman was prepared, therefore, to enjoy 'dear Rome' as much as ever, after tiresome business matters were adjusted. He asked his old friend Canon Walker to join him there, and the letter of invitation shows the mingled feelings with which he looked forward to the journey:

Sept. 11, 1859.

MY DEAR WALKER,—I am waiting to learn if, and when, there is to be a meeting of St. Cuthbert's Society, &c. at Ushaw; because if I can attend it, that will spare another journey to the North. But nothing seems settled. I start for Rome after the middle of next month—first for business, and then for rest. Is this a contradiction? No. For to *me* Rome is rest as it can be to no else in England—priest or bishop. I look forward with delight to the repose of sinking or dropping into a lower position, that of my equals. At meetings, in Synods, in taking any general measures, I am placed, and cannot avoid it, at the head, the top, what you like to call it. I hate it, I feel as the apex of a pinnacle might be supposed to do, cold and bare in the open air, with nothing round it to sustain or warm it. I long to be one in the midst of many, all equal, myself the eighth or tenth, if at all looked up to, not on account of casual position, but from kind and friendly respect; speaking my mind freely, with those who do the same. That is the *rest* which I fancy a man has who gets down from the stilts on which he has been exhibiting, or Blondin when he has jumped off the rope. I have a strong impression that several Bishops came to Synod with a feeling (and perhaps a just one) *got up* that too much pressure or influence has been exercised, and that the time was come to throw it off. The signs of this were manifold, and I have since heard much to strengthen it. There have been many active agencies at work to produce and propagate this feeling. . . .

The thing itself matters nothing; but it makes me feel a comfort in getting away for a while, to get the rest which only

a distance can give. It will be a relief to others at home; they will act more freely, and I shall return after some months of a break in the feelings which my presence has lately caused. I have received three kind messages from the Pope, willing and perhaps wishing that I should go. I have arranged to lodge in the English College, in my own rooms, and this will be very soothing. This brings me to the main purport of my letter. Mr. Hawkins, my surgeon, intends to run to Rome while I am there, only perhaps for eight or ten days. But the journey now from London is only three days. Dr. Cruikshank left Rome on Sunday morning and was in London at 6 A.M. on Wednesday. It cost him first class about 8*l*. Why could you not come for a few weeks while I am there? You should be my guest at the College, and I would engage that you should see more in those few weeks than others do in months. One month would do much. . . .

If you could be in Rome for Christmas, it would be glorious; but if not, it would be easy for the Epiphany. I am sure the Bishop would not refuse such a gratification, on my invitation. Do not give an off-hand No, on some abstract principle; but think, and write again, before deciding. I have much to say.

Yours affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Canon Walker accepted the invitation, and followed the Cardinal to Rome in the winter.

The business matters imminent made it necessary that Mgr. Searle should accompany the Cardinal, and it was arranged that Dr. Roskell should go with them. Eventually he and Wiseman's old friend Mr. Thompson of Eshe started with the Cardinal.

Before the time fixed for starting, however, came a serious break-down in health. Wiseman alludes to it in the following letter:

London: Friday, October 7, 1859.

MY DEAR WALKER,—For a fortnight I have been struggling against one of the most serious of complaints—my first heart-attack. Angina has been threatening, and I am far from re-

covered, though better. I have not said office or Mass (except last Sunday) for twelve days : a consultation every other day, a physician every day.

If I go to Ushaw, it will be accompanied by him as an experimental trip. So pray for me, at least that I may be fully resigned to God's will.

Yours affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

This attack delayed the Cardinal's journey by more than a month. It was known to his friends that worry of mind had been the main cause of his illness, and expressions of sympathy came from Rome, and from the Pope himself, which greatly gratified him. Mgr. Talbot wrote the following letter :

Vatican : St. Charles's Day, 1859.

MY DEAR CARDINAL, —Your Eminence cannot conceive how much I have felt grieved at the news of your late illness. I was at Naples when Patterson's letters arrived, and as the last announced that you were better, and would start for Rome on the 17th ult., I did not write to you at once, expecting to see you before this.

As, however, Patterson has since written to me to say that you will not leave London for a fortnight, I write now to send you the condolence of the Holy Father himself, and his special blessing, which yesterday he desired me to convey to you.

You need not be anxious about the result of your visit to Rome. You may be certain that the Pope will grant you all you want, and that he will desire your Coadjutor, who has been the cause of all your sufferings during the last year, to retire.

He ought to have been in Rome before this, but no doubt he has been advised by his party to remain passive, so as to throw all the odium of his dismissal on the Holy See.

I do not wish to annoy you at this moment of debility after your illness by alluding to the odious subject. Depend upon it, that the Holy Father will take the matter into his own hands, and you will come out of the affair triumphant ; but it is necessary that you should come to Rome as soon as your health will allow you.

I think I must now bring this letter to an abrupt conclusion, as the Holy Father has kindly chosen to send you his blessing and consolation with his own autograph.

Here follow, in Pius IX.'s own hand, the words:

Col vivo desiderio del suo pieno ristabilimento nella salute del corpo e nella tranquillità dello spirito, Le comparto di cuore l' apostolica Benedizione.[1]

PIUS P.P. IX.[1]

The Cardinal, accompanied by Mgr. Searle, reached Rome in December 1859. Two days later Archbishop Errington, Bishop Roskell, and Mr. Thompson arrived. The Pope received the Cardinal with warm cordiality, and, so far as Dr. Errington's removal from the Coadjutorship went, everything appeared from the first to promise well. Cardinal Barnabò was, in most of the matters in dispute, less clear that Wiseman was entirely in the right than was the Pope himself, and ultimately (owing greatly to his views) the College question was decided against Wiseman. This, however, was three years later.

Cardinal Barnabò appears to have agreed with Wiseman as to the indefensible course pursued by Dr Errington at the Synod, and the necessity of his resignation. That Barnabò's views were, however, not entirely satisfactory to Wiseman, appears in the following letter written by Wiseman to Patterson within a week of his arrival in Rome.

Rome: December 17, 1859.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—I have received your letter, and am glad to find all going on so well.

[1] 'With a lively desire for your full restoration to health of body and peace of mind, I impart to you from my heart the Apostolic Benediction.'

1. I arrived safe here on Monday evening. The weather had been heavenly, and we expected a most beautiful passage. But scarcely were we on board than the wind veered right ahead, the sea became very rough, and the day dismal. Everybody was sick, except S. and myself. But he never got up all the voyage, and I braved all on deck, without getting ill. I was the only one above. . . . We kept most exactly to our *feuille de route*, all the way. Dr Roskell and Mr. Thompson arrived here two days after us.

2. The weather has been very unfavourable. Searle has been two days confined with a cold. On Wednesday morning the Vatican staircase fairly upset me ; next morning no end of visits, &c., to me ; so last night I had a bad bout of dyspnœa.

3. On Wednesday evening I had my audience of his Holiness. It was long and most kind. The Pope embraced me most affectionately, and at once went into the most urgent of my affairs. He knew that the Archbishop had just arrived with Dr. Roskell. He assured me that everything should be done as I could wish, and that he would settle everything himself. I need not now say more. We talked about many things, and at the end he ordered me to rest, and not have any anxiety, and that all would be settled.

4. Yesterday evening Barnabò came to me, as I could hardly climb to his Attic dwelling, but he brought some of its salt with him. He had seen the Archbishop the evening before, and he gave me a full account of the interview. What has completely decided matters has been the Synod. Several Bishops have written that they could not have conceived such conduct, and have intimated their feelings of the impossibility of his being ever allowed to rule supreme. This puts the question beyond that of mere Coadjutorship, to which he wishes to confine it. He did not yield a point—defended his refusal to obey Tommassetti's [opinion], as he had much to oppose [*word torn off*], and he was not at Synod as Coadjutor ; defended the Chapter, denied that they left the Provost alone, and said he took quite different views of many things from me ; and seems to have satisfied Barnabò that all resolved itself into opposition to the Oblates, rooted too deeply for eradication. He has not gained by this line. The Pope is to see him, and I hope all will be well.

Communicate this to Dr. Hearn and Dr. Manning, but let nothing get out, if possible, till something is *decided*. There will be plenty of rumours no doubt. I must close for post.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Affairs did not, in the event, run as smoothly or rapidly as Wiseman had hoped. In the financial dispute with Bishop Grant of Southwark the Cardinal was in the wrong, and if Errington had alienated much sympathy by his conduct at the Synod, still, both in his opposition to Manning and the Oblates, and in his views on the College question, he had the majority with him.

In January 1860, it was announced that Archbishop Errington was writing a full statement of his case, and in the meantime further proceedings were necessarily arrested. The financial differences with Bishop Grant were now brought before Propaganda, and the case was given against Cardinal Wiseman.

Then came the divergence among the Bishops regarding the Synodical decrees. Here the decision appeared for the moment to be entirely in the Cardinal's favour. The Cardinal's *Elenchus* was declared by Roman canonists to be a masterpiece. The decree on the Colleges, drawn up by Grant and Errington, was, for the time, set aside ; and the Bishops were directed to write their alternative suggestions to the Holy See, following the order of the Cardinal's *Elenchus* point by point.

This decision was early in April. There still remained the Errington case.

From the correspondence which survives, the Cardinal appears, on the whole, to have kept up his

spirits in the early stages, and to have enjoyed the familiar society of Rome and its beloved associations. Even amid the press of business, his boyish delight in the thousand interesting sights and events incident to Roman life remained, and interfered with the progress of business. 'The chief cause of delay,' writes Mgr. Talbot in May, 'is Cardinal Wiseman himself. He is writing a most voluminous *Scrittura*, and he is like a child. Every amusement interferes with it.'

The Cardinal wrote as follows to Dr. Russell on January 7th:

I find Rome so far acting favourably on my health. Though the weather has been far from favourable, it is mild compared with England; indeed, when the sky is clear we have the temperature of spring.

I should enjoy myself, and get more rapidly well, if I were clear of business. But unfortunately I have much on my hands, and most of it of a trying character, connected with the causes of my late illness. Otherwise I have nothing to complain of. I am in my old quarters, in the English College, where I have passed so many happy days and years, seated now at the very desk which I occupied many years ago, and wrote so much, at least for my own improvement. The reception of me by the Holy Father has been most paternal and affectionate, that of my colleagues kind and brotherly. Indeed, at Rome I feel quite at home, and all around me seems congenial and *freundlich*, which is untranslatable. I am attacked on all sides for the Church of the Basilicas, and I fear I must try to do something.

Oremus pro invicem.

Your affectionate friend,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

The following letters were written by the Cardinal to Mr. Patterson—the first before any of the matters had been determined, the second after the satisfactory decision of Propaganda on the Synod. We see in the

first, the relief with which he turned from business to the topics connected with persons and places in Rome:

Rome, January 3, 1860.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—I have no business news for you. The Archbishop is writing, so all is suspended; though the Holy Father sends me kindest messages. But do not speak about these matters till the issue is certain. As to myself, I have sent a full report to Mr. Tegart, which I hope Dr. Munk will see, and advise upon. There is not much going on; there are scarcely any strangers or 'foresters' [*forestieri*] here, so there is little sport. I have one good bit for you, of your friend Prince A. B. [naming the head of a rich and very new family] who inquires very kindly after you. He spoke very eulogistically about 'Fabiola' (of which I am sure I ought to be tired by this), and added, that he and his family had taken a particular interest in it, because they considered themselves descended from *Fabius Maximus*, and consequently Fabiola as one of the family; though I had not represented her father as a very worthy personage. To this I replied that in such a long series of ancestors, it could not be wondered at, if there was one occasionally unworthy of his name. This was said with all gravity—and I hope there will grow out of the family tree an additional branch to this effect.' [Here follows a sketch.]

I wish you could get A. B. to give the [cost] of our pulpit. Leonardi has just finished the most magnificent altar of modern times for him for Bologna Cathedral. It has cost 15,000 scudi, is double, having equal fronts and sides, is almost made of precious stones, with four splendid mosaic figures on each front. Besides this, he is clothing the whole of the Gesù in marble from cornice to floor, leaving no stucco, and then, as he thinks the sanctuary looks cold, he is going to enrich the marbles, which cost 120,000 scudi with gilt metals. He is enlarging &c. the organ at Aracœli. He has just built and established a large orphanage, and rebuilt the Teatro Alibert, and is draining the Lago di Ticino, which, if done, will double his income. There is a noble *parvenu* (!) for you. I wish there were more of them.

Dr. Wayte asked after you, also the Principessa, who has two

Puseyite relatives with her, who follow her to vespers, &c., and yet get no further. I have a riddle for you, but dare scarcely send it, being too absurd. I have been to St. Paul's and to St. Agnese's &c., and am delighted with both.

I send this by Dr. Ullathorne ; also the liturgical cases for the year . . .

I address this to Campden ; if correctly, please give my New Year's felicitations to all the family.

Your affectionate friend in Xt,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Private. Rome : April 19, 1860.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—When I wrote to you the other day I had not been made acquainted with the result of the previous day's Gen. Cong. of Propaganda on the Synod.

It is all that could be expected or desired—they consider it *un trionfo completo per il Cardinale*. The whole of what I wrote is approved. The Decree XV. *De Regim. Collegiorum* is disapproved (the joint labour of the Bench and the Congregation for a fortnight.) Each Bishop has separately to write an answer to every question in our *Elenchus*. In the meantime the Colleges to go on as they have till now.

I went to the Congregation, and after other matters had been disposed of, [when] ours was coming on, I asked leave to retire, to leave a clear stage and no favour in the Cardinals' discussion. They all expressed their sense of this delicacy on my part, assuring me that I was under no obligation whatever to do so. A letter was ordered to be written to Dr. Goss, in answer to his, stating this to be the case. I am glad I acted so : things were said and done which my presence would have possibly made more difficult. For the opinions expressed were very strong, and to me most kind.

April 20.—I have been to a reading by Cardinal Reisach of a paper on the Mormons, and there have met four or five Propaganda Cardinals. All congratulated me on the issue of the affair, and said it could not have been possibly better. Indeed, had I been present at the Congregation I never should have presumed to ask for such a decision. . .

Thus all the plan for joint government by Bishops, deputies, &c., is blown away, and thirteen independently concocted (or rather not *con*cocted) plans of government must be sent to

Propaganda before the matter can be resumed. I asked Barnabò if he intended to urge the answers, or let them run on indefinitely - he answered, '*Alle calende greche!*' All is changed at Propaganda. Bedini has called, all congratulations and compliments, and hopes the next case will end as happily. Reisach is one of the three Cardinals. Bedini told me and Patrizi that the Archbishop was *furibondo* about the decision. The Pope is pleased with the decision, and has asked, 'E contento Wiseman?'

Meanwhile, Dr. Errington's representations in the month of January had made it more than ever plain that the case of Dr. Manning and the Oblates must inevitably be the principal issue on which the battle between Cardinal and Coadjutor was to be fought out. Manning had written a letter to Cardinal Wiseman, to be shown in Rome, giving a full account of the foundation of the Oblates, pointing out that the Rule, against which Errington had directed his attack, had been 'compiled in Rome with the assistance of Father Passaglia, Mgr. Cardoni, Bishop of Caristo, and others . . ., taken *verbatim* from the rule of St. Charles, except where by the direction of Roman experts it was modified. It was then laid by me,' he writes, 'before Propaganda, and by the Cardinal Prefect before the Holy Father, who graciously bestowed on it in writing, through the Sacred Congregation, the Apostolic Benediction.' That a Congregation thus approved, and conducted under the direction of Cardinal Wiseman himself, should be the object of such hostility ; that a Rule thus approved should be examined and criticised by the Chapter at the suggestion of the Archbishop-Coadjutor, were acts of aggression against which Manning protested in strong terms.

He then proceeded with dignified eloquence, after a passing allusion to the more preposterous charges against him for which gossip was responsible, to refer to the more definite accusation of love of power :

Lastly, I am accused of a love of power. I would ask to know what there is in my past or present acts to show that I have enriched myself or acted in rivalry with anyone, or crossed any man's path, or deprived him of any due, or sought honours, titles, or promotions, or indulged in the arts of ambition, or made the elevation of myself the end of my actions. At least they who know my past trials will hardly think this of me. If by love of power any of those things are meant, then I leave myself in your Eminence's hands, and in the judgment of the Holy See, and of Him who I hope will give to my actions a better name, and in my life will read a better intention. But I will make a free and frank confession. There is a power I earnestly desire, strive, and pray for. It is the power to make a reparation for years spent in ignorance, which I trust I can say before God was not voluntary ; to spread in England the knowledge of the one only faith ; to make others partake of the grace I have myself received ; to win back as many souls as I can to the unity of the Church, and to promote in every way, with greater devotion of life and efficacy of labour, the salvation of souls and the submission of England to the Holy See.

In any other sense I must treat the accusation as an ungenerous and unkind interpretation of my life, faulty and unprofitable as I know it to be.

I have reason to believe that in Rome my name has been breathed upon at least by the evil spirit which has been abroad in England. It was enough to be evil spoken of here ; but it is hard to be evil spoken of there ; for since I lost all that can be called home in England the Holy See has been my home and consolation. But this I must leave to Him who will clear all those who have neither done nor thought wrong, in His own good time.

The sum of the case, my Lord Cardinal, is this :

I never lifted hand nor spoke word against the Archbishop of Trebizond ; I never willingly or knowingly displeased him. But I found myself the object of his—I will believe, conscien-

tious—opposition. He began the contest. He aimed at destroying the whole work I have endeavoured to do. He alienated one of my friends, and withdrew him from the Congregation. He pursued this object for months. He directed the Chapter in their protracted and harassing conduct to myself. He guided them when I was delated to the Holy See. His friends have simply maligned me here in England, as I know. How much has been written to Rome I know not. If I am accused or suspected, I ask to know specifically what the accusation is, where justice demands it. I am sincerely ignorant of what it may be. 'Nihil enim mihi conscius sum, sed non in hoc justificatus sum.' I ask, therefore, to hear in the presence of the Holy See in what I am accused. Vague and dark insinuations are not truthful or just. 'Res surda et inexorabilis accusatio.' Of one thing I am indeed conscious, viz. that the work in which I am engaged in obedience to your Eminence is directly opposed to a certain traditionary practice and spirit among ecclesiastics in England, many of whom in other respects I regard with deference, but others not so.

Until such specific accusations are made, I must take leave to say that I am not the cause of these painful contentions; and to all the accusations enumerated above I am prepared to give at any time a direct refutation.

God knows that if the Archbishop of Trebizond had left me in peace in the work your Eminence has laid upon me, whatever my thoughts and feelings may be on matters of the diocese, I should, I trust, have been silent.

But I feel that a greater issue has been raised. It is no longer a question of a Congregation of Oblates only. It has become a question of episcopal jurisdiction and of capitular submission. It has thrown out into light and prominence the whole matter of Seminaries, their direction and their rule; of the secular priesthood, their spirit and manner of life; of all that makes up the free, generous, and benign action of ecclesiastical government; or, in a word, the question whether England shall be organised and assimilated to the living devotions and spirit of Rome, or perpetuate itself upon its own insular centre; and under this question comes another, on which I will not venture to speak, viz. whether or no the Church in England shall content and confine itself to a better administration of Sacraments

to the small communion of Catholic sojourners in England, or shall mingle itself in the life of the English people, act upon its intelligence by a mature Catholic culture, upon its will by a larger and more vigorous exercise of the powers which are set in motion by the restoration of the Hierarchy.

And now, my Lord Cardinal, I ask your forgiveness for the length and for the freedom of this letter. To you at least I can turn with the feeling that my words will be interpreted fairly, and my faults looked upon with equity.

If I am right in what I have said, then I trust I shall have the command of the Holy See and of your Eminence to go onward in this work. If I am not right, I know not how I am worthy to retain the office which the Holy Father was pleased to bestow on me, and it will be my consolation and the refreshment of a life no longer young and not a little wearied to ask of the Holy Father to place in my room someone who will better appreciate and more effectually accomplish what is for the good of the archdiocese of Westminster, and give me leave to seek once more the release from labour and responsibility which I so earnestly desire for my last years. I have no will of my own in this matter except on one point, and that I submit humbly to the Holy Father and to you. I could not go on at variance with a superior, and I feel it impossible to judge, or to serve the diocese in the sense and spirit of those who forced upon me a contest in which I have stood, I trust, within the limits of an *inculpata tutela*, in simple self-defence.

I am, my Lord Cardinal, your humble, affectionate servant and son,

H. E. MANNING.

This letter was written in November 1859, and taken by Wiseman to Rome in December. When he learnt that Dr. Errington was placing his charges against the Oblates before the Roman tribunals,[1] Wiseman considered that Manning's own presence was required in Rome. He summoned him in February,

[1] The case against the Oblates is stated at great length in a document printed by Errington in Rome, to which Lord Clifford has kindly given me access.

and wrote a letter to Cardinal Barnabò, which, while purporting primarily to express his confidence in Manning, gave likewise a sketch of the contest of the past year. Even supposing that *some* blame attached to the Oblates, he compared the Archbishop's method of remedying the evil, by sowing dissensions throughout the diocese, to the fabled gardener's device for getting rid of a hare who injured his garden. The gardener summoned the huntsmen and hounds, who killed the hare indeed, but did more harm to the garden in an hour than the hare could have done in a year.

This letter is so characteristic and important that it must, in spite of its length, be given in full :[1]

Rome : February 22, 1860.

At my special request Dr. Manning is coming to Rome to be ready to answer any questions and to give any explanations respecting the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles, founded by him in London.

Having heard on trustworthy information that the Archbishop of Trebizond throws the blame upon him as the cause of many evils and disturbances in my diocese, and having reason to believe that for a considerable time various means have been taken to discredit him, no less than his work, with persons of influence in Rome, I feel myself obliged, before his arrival, to make known the real merits of this most worthy ecclesiastic, and this not only as an answer to the things laid to his charge, but also that it may be known how much my diocese and the Catholic religion throughout England is indebted to him.

I. Dr. Manning, after his conversion, was employing himself with much success in London in good works, when I communicated to him a plan I had conceived in 1837, and which was approved by Gregory XVI., but frustrated by the opposition of the Vicar Apostolic in London, viz. the forming a body of

[1] The original is in Italian.

secular priests, who should employ themselves in many good works which require community life and a spirit of piety, and which a Bishop does not always find religious orders ready or disposed to undertake under his direction. Dr. Manning no sooner heard of this plan than he showed himself ready to undertake its execution. This was in 1853 ; and he submitted this idea to the Holy Father, who replied that he should still remain in Rome. In 1855 he went to Rome with letters from me recommending the work to the Holy See and the Cardinal Prefect of Propaganda. At the suggestion of the Holy Father himself the Rule of St. Charles was taken as a model, and during the winter of 1855 56 Dr. Manning was occupied in drawing up the Rule, with the assistance and counsel of Mgr. Cardoni, Bishop of Caristo, Fr. Passaglia, and other theologians of name. This Rule was submitted by the Card. Prefect of Propaganda to the Holy Father, who deigned by a rescript to bless it.

Thus supported I did not hesitate to commence the foundation of the Congregation on Whit Monday, 1856, entrusting to it the church at Bayswater, which consisted of four walls and a roof, without altars, furniture or other necessaries, and burdened with a debt of some thousands of pounds.

Let us now see the results of this foundation.

1. In two years the church was finished, and furnished with six complete altars (the High Altar being very rich), a pulpit, well-carved stalls, an organ, confessionals, and sufficient furniture, which was made in Rome of costly materials.

2. To this there was added a large house built from its foundations, having rooms for twenty priests, an ample refectory, a community room, and a fine library enriched by the collection of Dr. Manning. The whole has been made with the greatest solidity and simplicity, and is of a majestic style of architecture. There is a perfect enclosure ; and a life of exactness and befitting strictness is led therein.

3. Before this church was assigned to the Oblates, it was arranged that they should begin their work in the poorest part of Westminster, where I had long wished to have a mission or a church, &c. Dr. Manning would not abandon this poor mission in favour of the richer one. He bought some land there, and a little church, which is served by one or two

Oblates has been built from its foundations. It is dedicated to St. Edward the Confessor

4 As the district assigned to the new church in Bayswater is very extensive and is a new quarter where houses, places, &c., spring up every day as if by magic, it was thought well to establish in a most populous part of it, at some distance from the mother church, another church of smaller dimensions. This has been built entirely at the expense of Fr. Rawes, an Oblate, who has spent all his fortune upon it. On February 2 in the present year it was opened to the public

5. And as a like assistance was needed at another extremity of the same district, *i.e.* at Kensal Green, Father Kirk, another member of the Congregation, has been for some time looking out for a free site to build another little church there at his own cost.

6. Lastly, Father Vaughan, the Vice-Rector of the Seminary, has opened a mission which has been needed for many years, in the neighbouring town of Hertford, the capital of the county, and has built an elegant church, schools, &c., all of which, though not belonging to the Congregation of St. Charles, are still the work of one of Dr. Manning's disciples in it, and are the fruits of its spirit. The same ecclesiastic is also occupying himself with another mission, at Enfield, the place where the new rifles are made.

7. In the extensive mission of Bayswater, there were no Religious who could occupy themselves in the education of poor girls, as is done elsewhere. Dr. Manning introduced a community of most edifying nuns of the Third Order of St. Francis, and placed them in two contiguous and united houses, pending the erection of their convent, for which a free plot of land is already provided.

8. In addition to this, a colony of Collettines of the strictest observance came over from Belgium in order to be under his care, and some more novices have already joined them. They live entirely by alms. Notwithstanding this, thanks to the protection of Dr. Manning, after two years' time not only has some freehold land been bought, but a convent, built with great simplicity, though not unseemly in appearance, has already been roofed in.

I. Let us now briefly sum up the results of two or three

years which are owing, after Divine Providence, to the zeal of one man.

1. The large church at Bayswater completed and furnished, and a fine presbytery built.

2. Church, with land secured, built from the foundation, at Pimlico in Westminster, with schools, &c.

3. The same at Notting Hill.

4. The same in contemplation at Kensal Green, which is only delayed by want of land, not of means.

5. Church, schools, and mission at Hertford, by Fr. Vaughan.

6. Convent built on freehold land for the Collettines.

7. Another in preparation for the Franciscans, now lodged in 'temporary dwelling,' and having the care of the poor schools.

8. In all seven new schools for the poor.

9. In these works Dr. Manning has spent 30,000*l.* (equal to 132,200 sc.). This has not come from the alms of the faithful, as it usually does, but most of it has come from his own private resources, those of his family (two of his nephews being Oblates), and those of other members of the Congregation who from being rich have become poor, for all this property has been so laid out anew as that in truth the diocese has been the gainer.

10. Let us now consider the moral results. He began the work on Whit Monday, 1857, with seven companions, of whom one left the Congregation, another our Lord called to Himself. At the present time it numbers twenty members, of whom twelve are priests, and four others either in Sacred or Minor Orders. Of these only four have been educated at the expense of the diocese, and these four are discharging duties for the diocese, one as a missionary priest at Bayswater, and the other three in the Diocesan College. Adding to this number two very distinguished men, whom God willed to take away at Rome (Wilberforce and Laprimaudaye), this Congregation has given to the diocese of Westminster eighteen worthy subjects who had no tie to it whatever, in return for the four who belonged to it. Notwithstanding, concerning these four subjects, who are employed in diocesan work, the greatest trouble was made in the Chapter and out of it, as though the

Congregation had robbed the diocese of its subjects, without any account being taken of the men given by the Congregation in return.

11. The mission and parish of Bayswater is served by six priests and some clerics, which before was served by one priest with a school for a chapel. From this may be seen what change has taken place in these two or three years. Before Dr. Manning came there were about one hundred communicants; now there are more than a thousand. There are services every day, there are frequent sermons, numerous confessions, and on feast days the church is never empty or without devotional exercises. The Church of the Oratory alone in my diocese is perhaps equal to it.

12. But in order to know how efficacious this work is, it will suffice to mention that Protestants have founded in this mission a special society to counteract and hinder the progress of conversions in this district. Probably Dr. Manning will gain by this society, in which they confess the injury he is doing to heresy: they open subscriptions, and advertise courses of controversial sermons or conferences to counteract the spread of the truth—an honour reserved to this parish and that of the Oratory.

I think I may now ask your Eminence, who has such experience of men, if a man, I will not say who has worked, but whom God has made use of in order to effect so many and such great things for His glory, is to be despised, and treated as a man merely ambitious, cunning, dishonest, seeking nothing but his own interests and to gain influence? If *ex fructibus cognoscetis eos* is a Divine maxim to discover the character of the minister of God, are these sacrifices, these efforts, these effects, the fruits of a good or a bad root? Are these fruits or thorns in the vineyard of the Lord? Are these signs of the spirit of God or of the spirit of pride and hypocrisy? For so they have been openly described.

I do not hesitate to say that in all England there is not another priest who in double the time has done what Dr. Manning has for the advantage of the Catholic Church. Let your Eminence ask any who are so hostile to him, if there is any church, or convent, or school which they, I will not say have founded but even suggested, if they have ever converted

even one learned man, such as Dr. Manning has many. If the activity of the one be contrasted with the inertness of the other, it will be easy to see which merits more to be encouraged in the Church of God, this generous activity which acts and gives without any limit, or the easy part of criticising and defaming works and words, and likewise which of these gifts tends the more *ad ædificationem* and which *ad destructionem*.

II. Since it is possible that this letter may some day come into the hands of Dr. Manning, I feel obliged to say but little of his personal merits. Of his spotless life, I do not say merely that it has never been subjected to the slightest criticism, but that no one would dare to speak of his personal character without reverence. I will limit myself to two points. (1) He enjoys a reputation as a preacher that is above envy. He ranks, in my opinion, the first in England, without any exception, inasmuch as he has two very rare gifts, a mind strictly theological (*una severa teologica dottrina*) and a moving eloquence, so that he instructs the intellect and moves the heart. The Bishops assembled in council are testimonies of it, who all declared themselves to be exceedingly struck by his sermon which they had invited him to preach, and which has, at their desire, been printed. He never passes a feast day without preaching, because he never refuses to do so when asked in the poorest parts of London. (2) God has bestowed upon him in a special way the gift of converting others, so that the noble and learned, and Protestant ministers as a rule go to him to declare their doubts and abjure their heresy. But a few days since he received the abjuration of two Protestant ministers, one of whom is coming with him to Rome to enter the Collegio Pio.

III. I consider it my duty to recount the many services rendered by Dr. Manning to my diocese, and to the whole of Catholicism in England outside his own Congregation and mission. In this way it will be seen how much he is esteemed by others.

1. It is known to your Eminence that the interests of the education of the poor of the whole of England were entrusted to a committee composed of two laymen and a priest named by each Bishop. They met in London after Easter. This committee, on account of the opinion they had of the prudence and wisdom of Dr. Manning, invited him to assist at their

meetings, that he might aid them in their deliberations. He is the only one to whom this honour was given, though it was in no way sought by him.

2. When I saw the injustice committed against our poor Catholic children in the Reformatories, in which they were being educated as Protestants, I said in a public meeting at Poplar, that I could never rest as long as we had not a Reformatory entirely Catholic, as the laws permitted it. I set to work, but of the clergy one alone offered to assist me, and this was Dr. Manning. He negotiated the whole question with the Government; he gathered together certain members of the nobility, who contributed to the first expenses and protected the new work; he found a suitable house with all that was needed; lastly, he made several journeys, at his own expense, to Belgium to obtain the Brothers of Mercy from Malines (the same who have the care of St. Balbina in Rome), and so, under their direction, the first Reformatory was opened in England, which now contains about 100 boys.

3. He did the same for the Orphanage founded by me, but which was not succeeding for want of good direction. Now, thanks to the admirable administration and discipline of these Brothers, it is in a most excellent state.

4. Lastly, on account of some disorder in the Reformatory of St. Bernard's Monastery, the Government Inspector, a Protestant minister, determined to withdraw the certificate of the Secretary of State, the effect of which would have been to send 300 boys to prison or to Protestant establishments. But Dr. Manning was asked to intervene, and he induced the Inspector (Mr. Turner) not to put his resolution into execution.

5. The clergy of Westminster and Southwark have lately formed an association to liberate Catholic children from the workhouses, where they are perverted, or at least to obtain free access to them. They formed a council of direction, and one was chosen by common consent, viz. Dr. Manning, to whom it belonged to negotiate with the Minister (Villiers) by whom he was several times most courteously received—and to explain to him our demands. This shows to what an extent he enjoys the confidence of the clergy who are not prejudiced against him. And other examples might be given.

IV. Among the accusations against Dr. Manning is this: that

he governs my diocese, and that I see everything through his eyes, &c. &c.

To speak the truth, this is an accusation rather against me than against him. It is as much as to say that I allow myself to be led by him and to be governed by him, without perhaps knowing it.

1. I answer first, that a Bishop who possessed a man gifted with so many excellent qualities, prudence, learning, disinterestedness, gravity and piety, and who has done so much for God, and should repel him and keep him at a distance, make little account of him, and even persecute him and seek to drive him away, instead of rejoicing in his good fortune in possessing him, would have indeed to give an account to God. I confess, on the contrary, for my part I have most gladly made much of him, and used him much, and taken his counsel, as it is written of Herod that *audito eo multa faciebat, et libenter eum audiebat.*

2. And this in questions of great moment: when it was necessary to negotiate with the Government, and with persons in high position, in matters that concerned the interests of the whole of England; when it was a question of founding or forming new works, which required largeness of view and prudence—in such cases I have found no one around me who has given me better counsel. Likewise when I sought for light concerning the wants of the clergy in the College or in the Mission, and upon the ecclesiastical spirit and upon a thousand other matters of the highest importance, I willingly grant I have often obtained from him advice and sometimes comfort.

3. But in the current and daily administration which forms the government of a diocese, it is absolutely false that I have made use of him as *e.g.* as though he were my Vicar.

Of the temporal concerns of the diocese I do not believe that I have ever spoken to him; nor do I believe that he has gained any information concerning them from me.

In ordinary matters concerning the clergy, whether moral or administrative, I have recourse to the Vicar alone, and I do not remember ever having asked the advice of the Provost. Moreover, being surprised to hear it said in Rome that I made use of him in the government of my diocese, I wrote to my Vicar and among other things I begged of him to tell me openly

if he had ever observed such an interference in the management of the diocese, or that I had ever deferred matters in order to be able to consult Dr. Manning &c. He replied that he was much surprised at such an insinuation, inasmuch as he had always found me not only ready to discuss any proposition he might make, but ready to give him the answer at once, *a quattr' occhi*, as they say, and as he himself expressed it, with God alone for witness, and that I had always acted through him, openly and without the interference of others.

V. How, then, has so great an opposition arisen against a person so worthy of respect? It would be impossible in a letter already too long to give the history of it.

Your Eminence will remember that before there was any question of the pretended defects in the Rule, while Dr. Manning was still studying in Rome, you told him that he must prepare himself to encounter the hostility of Monsignore my Coadjutor. No sooner, then, was the Rule printed than this prelate set himself to work to compare it with that of St. Charles, though he could not certainly have expected that there would exist between them the divergences which he imagined that he found. On this point I will leave the ground free for Dr. Manning to defend himself, limiting myself to this one statement, that I likewise made a minute comparison between the two Rules, and found the precise contrary to Monsignore the Archbishop.

He then sought for a means less straightforward. I had a nephew, of the name of Burke, who had been under my care from a child, and educated at my expense for several years, who as a young priest had joined himself to the Congregation of the Oblates, with a reservation on my part that he should live with me when I desired it, for my help and consolation, for I regarded him and loved him as a son. With him, then, did the Archbishop set to work, showing him his parallel of the two Rules, so that at length he wrote to Dr. Manning a letter, which both he and I agreed was not his own work, but the suggestion of another mind. Scruples, disturbance and bitterness were soon in his mind, so that he not only left the Congregation, but became a partisan opposed to me, and I have lost his sympathy and support. For two years he may be said to have left the diocese.

From my nephew he passed to my secretary. He (to whom

I believe that I have been more than a father) had for twenty years, I will not say served me, but aided me with love and attachment; but gradually he was made most hostile to Dr. Manning. As his sphere was the temporal administration, he was for the most part assailed on this point, and was induced to believe that Dr. Manning has usurped the possession of land, &c. belonging to the diocese; and having obtained possession of the deed of assignment he threw it before me, saying that if that was not sufficient to open my eyes nothing would avail to do so. I therefore carefully considered the deed; I put in writing all the objections that occurred to me, as though I had been on the opposite side, and submitted them to two lawyers of the highest standing. They gave me their opinion most fully, and justified everything. Dr. Manning will without doubt bring with him the opinion of the advocates.

But from the time that my secretary fell under the influence of my Coadjutor all was changed for me, and he became a leader in the opposition made to me by the Chapter. This is due entirely to the hostility of the Archbishop of Trebizond to the Oblates and Dr. Manning. I do not wish to repeat what is already sufficiently known to your Eminence; nor do I believe that it is unknown to you that my Coadjutor was the counsellor - nay, director—of all that was done by the Canons against my peace and that of my diocese. I found him in the room of my secretary, with the Vicar-General, if I am not mistaken (for they hid like children surprised by their master when I knocked at the door), preparing the petitions to be proposed in the Chapter the following day. I have moreover a letter from him, in which he justifies this manner of acting. He also furnished the Chapter with the parallel which he had made between the two Rules in the memorial which I rejected as being out of their province; touching also upon other similar points. Canon Oakeley likewise told me that having asked my Coadjutor how he ought to act in my regard, he answered that although he was Coadjutor, he had also the character of a private theologian, and that as such he could give counsel, and he advised him to persevere in his opposition to me!

Behold to what excesses he, who ought to have helped me, carried his hostility to the institute of Dr. Manning. Passing over other attempts, some but too successful, in alienating from

me persons who for many years had had my confidence, and who had received from me the greatest benefits, I will relate, in order to explain everything, what the Bishop of Nottingham, now in Rome, has several times told me. He remonstrated with Monsignore the Archbishop on this unworthy manner of acting, viz. of alienating from me the affection of those who were nearest and dearest to me, especially my secretary, my nephew, the Chapter, &c. Here is his precise answer: 'The lion is asleep; in order to wake him it is necessary to bring every possible external pressure to bear upon him. One day he will awake, he will put out his paw, and then he will drive them all away,' meaning the Oblates.

I can only ask if this is the way to govern a diocese, or that Bishops are to be treated by their Coadjutors? Could Monsignore not have respectfully submitted to me his views, and if I did not approve of them, have remained in his place, which is not that of Bishop, but of Coadjutor? But instead, there must be an intestine war raised in the diocese, which was before so united and so peaceful, and where more than in any other the rights of the Canons were respected, but where they, since they put 'pressure on the Bishop' in order to ruin a Congregation worthy of all respect, have given but little edification to the younger clergy, to the Religious, and to the laity.

This way of remedying an evil, even if it existed, reminds me of the fable of the gardener, who was angry at the slight damage which a hare had done him, and sent for the huntsmen with their horses and dogs to free him from it. Soon he found his garden upset and trampled down, and its produce destroyed, and that in one hour more damage was done than that poor little animal could have done in a year. So, forsooth, in order to get rid of a man both virtuous and edifying, no better way can be found than to upset my household and my whole diocese and fill it with dissensions and scandals.

But, thanks be to God, I place all my confidence, after the mercy of our Lord, in the justice of the Holy See. I have suffered and I still suffer, both in body and in mind, on account of these miseries, more than I have ever suffered when the enemies were from without. But I will mention one thing which has given me great comfort.

When I entered the London district, I felt the want of a

body of fellow-labourers, for the great needs of this great capital. Within a few years I introduced four religious Orders, and recommended myself to their zeal, asking them to aid me with Missions, Retreats, the direction of nuns, &c. Some replied that they had not yet subjects ready for the work ; some that their rule either did not enjoin or did not permit these exterior works ; some that their institute was for the inhabitants of the mountains (which do not exist in England), not for cities: I confess I was not a little indignant, and I wrote to one superior (Fr. Faber) that it was a great pain to me to find so many obstacles to doing good proportioned to the need, and that *therefore they must not be surprised nor displeased if I endeavoured to form a body of secular priests, subject to the Bishop, and ready to do everything he stood in need of for the diocese.* This my desire has been realised in the Congregation of St. Charles, and it has been the occasion of my troubles. Last year I was sent a paper extracted from the archives of the Oblates of Milan, to the following effect : 'That St. Charles introduced into his diocese the Oratorians, and Clerks Regular, and other religious Orders ; but that he found that either through the dispositions of the Rule, or the indisposition of the Superior, they could not give him the assistance he desired, although they did great good ; and that therefore he resolved to found a new Congregation which should be dependent upon the Bishop. *That his plan met with strong opposition and specially that most urgent appeals were made to Rome.* It was said among other things that there were quite enough religious Orders already, and there was no need for a Congregation. *St. Charles replied that none "met his case" (che nessuna era 'pel caso suo')*, and so Gregory XIII. authorised him to found the Oblates.' 'Non est discipulus melior magistro.' I confess that this unexpected resemblance between the model of pastors and his most insignificant client has given me comfort and courage, and hope of similar results.

Bacio umilissimamente a V. E. le mani.

Dell' E. Vra, &c.

N. CARDINAL WISEMAN.

Casa : Feb. 22, 1860.

Manning arrived on February 23rd. He lodged with Wiseman in the Collegio Inglese, and the two

were in constant communication. Soon after his arrival he placed his whole case before the Holy Father, in a written memorial. It begins as follows :

Holy Father,—For more than a year I have waited in silence for the day when I might place myself at the sacred feet of your Holiness, and pray to know your will and command, to direct me in the trials which have come upon me in the execution of the work to which the Apostolic Benediction was graciously imparted about three years ago : I mean the Congregation of the Oblates of Westminster. Last year in the months of January and February, your Holiness honoured me with two audiences, in which I felt a strong desire to speak of these things, but, believing that it was your will that I should not do so, I was silent.

I am thankful that Mgr. the Archbishop of Trebizond has at length brought the whole subject before your Holiness, and that I may now place myself with an entire submission, as I did in 1857, at your sacred feet.

He recapitulates the story of the events already narrated, and he concludes by the following summary of his narrative :

The sum of the case then is as follows :

The work of the Congregation of St. Charles was begun by me in obedience to the will of my Bishop, unsought, and in many ways undesired, by myself : it was matured in Rome : it was laid before the Sacred Congregation of Propaganda : it received a formal benediction from the Holy See.

Of the work that has been done I shall say nothing.

Neither by word or deed had I to my knowledge crossed or offended anyone, least of all the Archbishop of Trebizond or Mgr. Searle.

Without a word of previous explanation—I may say without the courtesies of opposition—I found all at once a secret hostility setting one of the priests of the Congregation in open variance with me, and finally withdrawing himself from us. This done I was next assailed in the Chapter. I was examined and

cross-examined, my words written down before my face, month by month ; twice I was called upon to leave the presence of the Chapter, and even the room ; finally I was delated to the Holy See.

The Bishops in the Provincial Council have sufficiently judged the acts of the Chapter, to compel the Canons to an expression of regret and retractation for the violation of the episcopal rights of the Cardinal Archbishop. But not a word has been said of the above violation of the rights, to say nothing more, of one of their own body.

Those who are about his Grace the Archbishop of Trebizond were not guarded in their words. I was spoken of in terms which need no comment—I refrain even from repeating them.

Lastly, the Archbishop of Trebizond has, to my great consolation, laid the whole of his case against the Congregation before your Holiness. And I will not complain of the distractions of being twice compelled to leave England, to suspend not a little work in the missionary duties of our parish, and in the anxious responsibility of directing the Congregation, to say nothing of the heavy expenses incurred in two journeys to Rome, for I have longed and prayed for the day when the whole case may be laid at the feet of your Holiness, whose lightest word has ever been my law.

I only wish to add, that whatsoever there may be in the statement of the Archbishop of Trebizond affecting my personal acts, I shall feel rejoiced to answer before your Holiness. Whatsoever there may be affecting the Rule and constitutions of the Congregation, in order to preclude all questions for the future, I earnestly pray your Holiness to remit the whole matter direct to the examination of the Sacred Congregation of the Bishops and Regulars.

In conclusion, Holy Father, suffer me to add, that I have found the work of beginning a Congregation is no light or easy task. Even a fitter and worthier than I would have found it beyond his strength. It is no wonder if, in a work so new, and in a state so abnormal as that of the Church in England, there should appear to the Archbishop of Trebizond some things to censure. But it is easier to censure than to establish such a work. I might at least have looked for some clemency of

judgment, some kindly forbearance, a little charitable patience. But I have found none. While as yet not seven months had passed since the foundation of the Congregation, while it was still on trial—'donec experientia constet utrum aliqua in illis immutatio vel modificatio sit admittenda,' in the words of the Cardinal Archbishop, the true founder and author of the work—I found unawares one of my friends and companions alienated and changed into an adversary. From that time to this his opposition and that of the Canons have been unceasing. If the Archbishop of Trezibond had aught against me, why did he not, according to the precept of our Divine Master Jesus Christ, 'first speak between him and me alone'? If I had been in the wrong, certainly he would have gained a brother. For I had never any will to resist, I will not say authority, but even good advice. But if this were too much to ask, why did he not formally, and by way of open process, lay the whole before the Cardinal Archbishop? Or, again, if this course were not acceptable to him, why did he not lay a relation of the whole case before the Holy See?

These three courses would have been hostile, but at the same time open, regular, just and charitable. But they were unhappily not pursued by the Archbishop of Trebizond. He took another course. He proceeded first by alienating a priest of the Congregation, next by organising, sustaining and directing an opposition of the whole Chapter of the diocese, first against me, and then against the Cardinal Archbishop.

From this I beg to draw two evident and inevitable consequences. First, that the Archbishop of Trebizond began these unhappy contests as an adversary and an aggressor. It is not he, but I, that have been assailed and aggrieved. Secondly, that the opposition and aggression fell not only, or even chiefly, upon me, but formally and directly upon the Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, by whom the Congregation of the Oblates had been founded and directed, from its first commencement. This was notorious, and the Archbishop of Trebizond could not fail to be aware of the fact. . . .

Finally, Holy Father, if in the anxious and laborious work of the last three years undertaken, as I have shown, not at my own pleasure, but in obedience to my Bishop, and with the full cognisance and benediction of the Holy See, I have in any way

erred, I pray for the correction of your Holiness. If I had in any way provoked or deserved the hostility of the Archbishop of Trebizond, and the language—which I will not repeat or qualify—of his friends, I should humbly pray that your Holiness would receive the resignation of the office which your paternal charity and confidence bestowed on me three years ago. I hereby submit myself entirely to your judgment and your will. As I have not been the sower of these disastrous and afflicting events, so neither will I be the cause of their continuance. One word or sign of your Holiness's good pleasure will release me from one of the most painful duties I have ever had to discharge.

But if I shall have the consolation to know that in the judgment of your Holiness I have not failed in my duties to my Bishop, to the diocese, and to the Church, all the sufferings and crosses of the last two years will be abundantly rewarded.

The Pope summoned Archbishop Errington early in March, and urged him to resign. Errington refused, though the Holy Father again and again entreated him to do so, and renewed the offer of Trinidad. Errington said he would obey a command, but would not resign of his own accord. It was said that the only effect of the Pope's vehement exhortations was that Errington produced his pocket-book and took down the Holy Father's words. That the Holy Father was incensed, and let Errington know that he was incensed, appears from the Archbishop's own statement.[1] Some kind of formal inquiry was asked for by Errington. Three Cardinals were appointed to look into the matter and report to the Pope. This made it necessary that both parties should state their case.

At the end of March, therefore, the Cardinal received an intimation from the Holy Father that he must set down his whole case in a *Scrittura*. This he

[1] See Appendix D, *ad finem*.

proceeded to do, and I have before me the original rough copy written in the Cardinal's fluent Italian with comparatively few corrections or erasures. It runs to upwards of 100 pages of foolscap paper and deals largely with events already narrated. It is summarised at the end of the present chapter.

With the *Scrittura* were sent in a number of testimonies from priests of standing and character as to the unfortunate effect on religion, and on the condition of the clergy, of Errington's policy. The head of the Redemptorists, urged by the private confidences of many priests, testified that 'the mass of the working clergy would find it little less than impossible to work under one whose system is so hard and inflexible.' The General of the Friars Preachers —Père Jandel—wrote to Cardinal Wiseman that the English nuns of his Order declined, after their experience of Errington's administration at Clifton, to found a house in Westminster until it was certain that he would not succeed to the archbishopric. Father Faber writes: 'If [Dr. Errington] returns to Westminster as Archbishop, the Holy See will have to reckon that it will take fifty if not a hundred years to restore England to the pitch of Ultramontanism which she has now reached.' Dr. Hearn the Vicar-General testified, as Father Coffin did, to the sentiments of the clergy. The apparent existence of a party favourable to Errington was ascribed by another authority, not to satisfaction with the Coadjutor, but to a fear that the Cardinal would promote the converts to positions of authority. Errington, as the only effective and influential opponent of such a

policy, was upheld by many who did not by any means approve of his line of action in other matters.

The Cardinal began his *Scrittura* in better health, cheered by the decision of Propaganda on the Synod. 'His health is much better,' writes Mgr. Talbot, 'and the solemn triumph he gained in the affair about the Synod had a wonderful effect on his health and spirits. . . . All the bad effect Grant's affair had made on the minds of the Cardinals was removed.'

The effect of writing the *Scrittura*, however, and the sad memories it revived, told on the Cardinal. He left Rome for Porto d' Anzio, to recruit, early in May, and Mgr. Talbot writes to Mr. Patterson of 'an attack which the Cardinal had at Porto d' Anzio, which nearly carried him off.'

The Cardinal's own pathetic words in the letter written to the Holy Father himself, when he sent in the *Scrittura*, tell their own story of a broken constitution and nerves.

He states the intention of Cardinal Barnabò to allow twenty days for an answer on Errington's part, before placing the *Scrittura* before the Cardinals, and entreats the Holy Father, 'con tutta possibile istanza,' to have the *Scritture* at once placed before the Cardinals, leaving it to *them* to decide if any further explanations are required, and he gives the following reasons for his request :

'(1) The Archbishop has occupied four months or so in compiling his *Scrittura*, and has made it most full. He must therefore have exhausted his matter and anticipated that of the Cardinal.

'(2) To give twenty days more would be to give

them to him alone, because the Cardinal feels himself so broken down in his weak state of health by the labour (small as it may seem to others) of his first *Scrittura*, that to repeat it would mean never to leave his house again. The last days have so weakened him that, with feverish pulse and laboured respiration, his heart threatened afresh (for the first time for six months), and other ancient symptoms aggravated . . . it will be impossible for him, mentally or physically, to return to the work without incurring the gravest risk of never more recovering.' Such, he adds, is his doctor's verdict. That this estimate of his own shattered health was not exaggerated is evident from the following letters from Manning to Mr. Patterson :

Rome : June 1, 1860.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—The account of the Cardinal's health since I wrote is this :

After the last attack he mended slowly, much pulled down and depressed in strength and *courage*. But by last Monday he seemed to have gained ground. In that night blood appeared again in a quantity to renew his alarm. Next day he fell back and did not go out, and was under the influence of medicines. The following night he slept well and no blood appeared. I left him next day, better and in more heart about himself. But I cannot help seeing that he is some degrees below the point he was at before he left Rome, and that his health is more *uncertain* and precarious than before. All this makes me more anxious, and what you wrote has been constantly in my mind.

As to business : The last point I reported was that the Holy Father had ordered that the three Cardinals should judge whether there was need to interchange the *Scritture*, and if so to do it.

After a delay of ten days, and then letters from Propaganda, Dr. Errington refuses to send in his paper, or to defend himself, on the plea that his accusation is not made known to him.

And yet he asked to write, never dreaming the Cardinal would write at all, six months ago.

There remains only one thing to be done, and even Barnabò now speaks as if that will be done. The history of this case is to me fearful; and I am convinced that his mind is not sound, for unreasonableness is unsoundness.

The Cardinal comes back to Rome to-night, and I trust he will start on the tenth by sea to Marseilles.

I hope you are better, and that your mother is well.

Believe me always very sincerely yours,

H. E. MANNING.

The Cardinal is just come back from Porto d' Anzio, and seems decidedly better. The blood has almost disappeared.

Another relapse came later in the month.

Rome: June 23.

I must add that the carbuncle was of an alarming kind. If by God's mercy it does not extend, or reproduce itself, I trust the danger is past. But if not there is ground for much anxiety. Thompson is the best and gentlest of nurses, and the Cardinal seems much satisfied with Mazzoni. You will use your discretion as to the use of this information. The Cardinal does not wish any alarm to be given, and we trust that in a few days we may see a decided turn.

But it is an anxious matter, especially after so many months of illness. His strength, however, keeps up, and his courage. He bore the incision with great patience; and his whole conduct in the long illness has been wonderfully calm and gentle. I never saw more genuine humility and resignation with great endurance of pain and discomfort. The Cardinal would like Dr. Hearn to be told.

You shall certainly hear if there is any change.

Believe me always very sincerely yours,

H. E. MANNING.

Five days later Monsignor Talbot writes to Mr. Patterson as follows:

Vatican: June 28, 1860.

MY DEAR PATTERSON,—As no doubt you are very anxious to hear something about the Cardinal's health, I write to say that

although he has had a most serious operation to undergo, he is now very much better, and I hope he will get over this, together with his other trials.

You are very anxious to hear also about the progress of the Errington affair. The two *Scritturas* have been examined by the three Cardinals on the Commission, and the whole conduct of the Coadjutor has been condemned in the strongest terms, and the Holy Father has been recommended to remove him from Westminster, as totally unfit to succeed him in that archdiocese. The report of the Cardinals has been entirely approved of by his Holiness, and he is about to resort to the last measures for his removal.

So stands the affair at this moment. I dare say the Archbishop will still fight, but I think myself that he has no chance of success, as all the Cardinals feel most strongly the indecency of his whole conduct, and have spoken in such terms to the Pope.

Mgr. Manning has come out wonderfully in this affair, and he has gained the approbation of all the Sacred College, and many other officials in Rome. He was warmly greeted on being made Protonotary Apostolic, and I think this promotion will be of great service to him.

Altogether up to this time the Cardinal has succeeded in all he comes for to Rome, except in the Grant affair, which was merely a money matter, and in which I always said he was in the wrong, and wanted him to settle long ago. It is curious enough that Mgr. Searle was the great obstacle in the way of that affair being arranged. . . .

You cannot conceive what we have had to undergo since you left Rome, what with the frequent attacks of illness the Cardinal has had to suffer, our hopes being raised that the affair was being settled, and then again disappointed, &c. &c., as was the case when you were in Rome. Now, however, whatever may happen, the Coadjutor's conduct has been condemned, and if the Cardinal lives a month longer I think there is no doubt that the affair will be finally settled to our satisfaction.

Nevertheless, although this winter has been a very stormy one, I feel certain that the row has done much good. It has been a crisis which the Church in England was obliged to go through. Nothing could have been a greater misfortune than

that the direction of ecclesiastical affairs should have quietly fallen into the hands of Dr. Errington and Grant at the death of the Cardinal, which I am sorry to think cannot be very far off.

A fortnight later Manning wrote as follows to Mr. Patterson :

Rome : July 12, 1860.

My dear Patterson,—The Cardinal desires me to thank you, with his love, for your letter, with which he was much pleased. I can give you, I am thankful to say, a really good account. The hæmorrhage may be said to have ceased for three days . . . The healing of the wound is steady and healthy, and every evident symptom gives ground for a confident hope of perfect recovery. But down to the last three days I have been in the greatest fear. It is to me wonderful how, with his constitutional maladies, and after eight months of severe illness, and in this heat, he has come through the trial. It seems to me that God has His designs for him still, and has preserved him for them ; and next after this I ascribe his recovery to his singular self-command under pain and the suffering of illness. I never have seen him ruffled or agitated for a moment, and the unchanging habit of his mind has been resignation, thankfulness, and cheerfulness. There has been a greatness about him quite in proportion to his other powers.

The history of Dr. Errington's last act is hardly credible—another audience, and the same refusals. Three hours with Barnabò, a half-disposition to accept some other employment. This revoked next day, and then leaving Rome. They are all amazed, and Barnabò is as decided as anyone to put an end to the affair. He has been to the Pope to-night, but we do not know the result.

Thanks for your kind words. I hope I may never have to go through the like again ; but if I have I hope I may do better. It has been two years of hard trial upon hard work : either alone would have been enough, and both together have been nearly too much. However the contest has been not of persons but principles, and I believe the full effect of it will not be seen till we are gone to our rest.

July 13. Barnabò last night received orders to make out the

Decree, which will probably be confirmed on Sunday night. And so I trust will end this sad affair, full of suffering, and I trust of a better future.

The Cardinal is still better to-day.

Believe me always
Very sincerely yours,
H. E. MANNING.

The successive stages and final issue of the Errington case were briefly chronicled by Manning himself at the time. In March (he says) Dr. Errington went to the Pope, and requested that the *Scritture* should be referred to three Cardinals, the Pope having said that he could not read all that he might be pleased to write.

'In this interview the Holy Father asked, prayed, conjured him for his own sake to resign. Dr. Errington refused, saying he would "obey a command." The Pope then said that he was not fit to be Archbishop of Westminster, and used other strong terms of reproof. Their voices were raised, and were heard in the antechamber.

'Cardinal Barnabò then wrote to Dr. Errington, fixing ten days for the sending in of the defence. He also wrote to the Cardinal to prepare his statement, and said that the two documents were to be interchanged for replies before they were sent to the three Cardinals. This was about March 30th—Friday.

'The Cardinal began his writing about Good Friday, April 6th, and with great suffering and difficulty finished and sent it in by the end of a month.

'The Archbishop's paper was not sent in.

'After finishing his writing about Friday, May 4th, the Cardinal became so ill that Dr. Pantaleoni was alarmed. At the Cardinal's desire I saw him on

Sunday the 6th. His report was that fifteen days of renewed work would probably be fatal.

'I then went and found Mgr. Bedini at St. Peter's at the beatification of De Rossi, and told him. He told the Pope that night. Mgr. Bedini came back with me to the English College, and saw the Cardinal.

'The Cardinal then stated that the Pope had never ordered the exchange of the writings; that he could write no more; that he had never consented to any such procedure. He claimed that the two papers should be sent to the three Cardinals, and that they should judge whether any exchange was required.

'It was understood then that, on hearing this, Dr. Errington refused to send in his paper.

'About this time I had an audience with the Holy Father. He told me that he had desired the papers to be sent in.

'They came about June 15th and were distributed next day, and the Cardinals met on the 22nd. The Cardinal's operation was on the 23rd. The Cardinals decided unanimously; Mgr. Bedini carried the decision to the Holy Father on Sunday the 24th, and the Pope confirmed it, but, with the desire to save Dr. Errington, desired to see him on the Thursday week after, July 5th.

'Mgr. Bedini wrote a letter to Dr. Errington, which he did not acknowledge, but wrote to Card. B., who took the letter to the Pope on the evening of the 4th.

'Dr. E. went to the Pope on the 5th; the Holy Father repeated all he had said before to induce him to resign. He seemed willing to treat with Cardinal Barnabò, to whom the Pope referred him.

'The proposal was (1) that he should accept of another employment; (2) that he should engage to resign, *but not at this moment.*

'On Friday the 6th, after a long conversation with Cardinal Barnabò, he went away disposed to draw up such a paper.

'But on Monday the 9th, he returned, saying that he would not do so, adding: "Vim patior, patior injustitiam."

'He left word of three places where he was going, and left Rome either Tuesday or Wednesday.'

'Cardinal Barnabò went to the Holy Father on Wednesday night, the 11th, and the Pope ordered the decree of the removal from the Coadjutorship to be made out.'

The decree is dated July 22, 1860. It commemorates the repeated interviews between Errington and the Pope, Errington's refusal to resign of his own accord, and his expression of readiness to obey a Papal command. No charges are alleged against Errington beyond the impossibility of his working with the Cardinal, and the necessity for the welfare of the Church in England that he should be removed from Westminster. The Pope finally states that by the unanimous advice of the consulting Cardinals he liberates Errington from the office of Coadjutor with right of succession, and frees him 'from all right' to the Diocese of Westminster.

It remains to be added that Dr. Errington gave universal edification by the uncomplaining obedience with which he accepted the sentence of deposition. But when, three years later, Cardinal Barnabò (at the

Pope's desire) again offered him the Archbishopric of Trinidad, he again refused to accept it; and his letter on the occasion (printed in Appendix E) shows his view of the situation. He pointed out that no judicial sentence had been passed on him by the special Commission of Cardinals, or by the Pope. His removal by the Pope's supreme authority from the position of Coadjutor, and his deprivation of the right of succession, had been an administrative act of the Pope for the benefit of the diocese—as the decree itself stated. To the public at large, however, his deprivation had the appearance, he maintained, of a judicial sentence, and he considered his reputation so far injured by it that his position in Trinidad must suffer, were he to accept the offer. Moreover, after such a removal for merely administrative reasons, he held it to be unusual that Rome should offer him a position inferior to that of which he had been deprived.

In point of fact, it is improbable that anyone held his dismissal to have been due to any canonical offence; indeed it is evident that the Commission of Cardinals was appointed with no view to trying him for any such offence—of which Cardinal Wiseman had expressly declined to accuse him. It was appointed at Errington's own request[1] 'to examine economically the facts,' on the ground that the Pope had not time to do so. The decree of the Sacred Congregation expressly states why the special commission was summoned by the Pope—namely, that he might have the aid of its counsel. It gave its opinion

[1] See Appendix D, *ad finem*.

to the Pope; and he acted on it, grounding his action on the differences between Errington and Wiseman, and on Errington's declaration that he would obey the Pope's command to resign, though he would not resign of his own accord. Dr. Errington —true to his love of canonical procedure—had apparently magnified Monsignor Talbot's vague charges, of an anti-Roman spirit, into formal accusations, and wished by a further interchange of *Scritture* to put upon the Special Commission the duties of a judicial tribunal, which had never been entrusted to it by Pius IX. In point of fact, both *Scritture* showed unanswerably the only ground for Errington's removal, on which Wiseman insisted, and the Pope acted—namely, that it was of great importance for the welfare of the diocese that he should cease to occupy a position in which, as he himself had maintained from the first, he ought never to have been placed.

Dr. Errington eventually lived at Prior Park, near Bath, in the diocese of his friend Bishop Clifford of Clifton, teaching theology there for many years, and died in 1886. During these years he won universal respect: and even those who had regarded his removal in 1860 as an absolute necessity, spoke and still speak of the personal character of the Archbishop in terms of unqualified admiration.

I subjoin a summary of Cardinal Wiseman's *Scrittura*, referred to at p. 347, and the text of the decree deposing Dr. Errington.

The *Scrittura* was entitled 'A Statement of the motives which have urged the undersigned Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster to petition his Holiness to remove Monsignor Errington, Archbishop of Trebizond, from the position of Coadjutor with future succession.'

'Prompted,' he begins, 'by a letter from the Secretary of Propaganda written by supreme command of his Holiness, dated March 30, I gird myself to the task—a most melancholy one to me—of exhibiting, with all brevity, the motives which have urged me to petition the Holy Father for the removal of my Coadjutor, Mgr. Errington, from his office. I say "most melancholy," because after so many years of friendship and of esteem for his many good qualities, it grieves me profoundly to feel myself constrained to a step which no lesser interest than the good of religion . . . would have induced me to take.'

He begins by accepting the sole responsibility for Errington's original appointment, and declares that for this reason—because Errington was the man of his own choice—he has refrained from asking for his removal until no other course appeared possible.

He proposes to divide his statement into two separate articles: one 'on the impossibility in which I find myself to govern my diocese with Mgr. Errington as Coadjutor; the other on the very grave difficulties and dangers which I foresee in his succession to the diocese.'

He then leads off by quoting the words of the brief by which Errington was appointed, which defined his work and duty as Coadjutor. 'We therefore

elect, appoint, and depute you,' the brief ran, 'by these Apostolic letters as Coadjutor to the present Archbishop . . . in such manner that you may be able to take part in the Vicariate of the Archbishopric in the lifetime of the aforesaid Nicholas, only so far as the said Nicholas shall have ordained, and may be entirely bound to do and fulfil whatever he may command you in this matter.'

On the contrast between these specified conditions of the appointment, and the Coadjutor's conduct, Wiseman bases his whole case. 'He is nominated as *coadjutor* and not as *opponent*; to assist and not to resist me.' 'He does not come as a second bishop; for a diocese with two heads would be a monstrosity.' He is not even Vicar-General, and 'consequently has no claim to the ordinary administration of the diocese.' He cannot oppose the 'ordinary' on the plea that he does so as private theologian, or as independent bishop, or under pretext of his future right to the diocese (*jus in rem*, as the Canonists have it) which entitles him to arrange matters now (against the views of the Cardinal) in such a manner that the diocese, by the time he succeeds to it, may be in a state to his liking. His duties during the Cardinal's lifetime are, by the *terms* of the brief, to be defined by the Cardinal himself.

Wiseman, in his next section, proceeds to show *how* Errington's conduct has been inconsistent with these terms, and with the principles obviously deducible from the brief.

He describes the complete harmony which had existed between himself and the Chapter, Chapter

and Provost, Chapter with its Provost, and the President of St. Edmund's College. He describes the open rupture which succeeded the proceedings of the Chapter in 1858; the discord and the 'party spirit' introduced into diocese, College, and his own home: and he traces the whole to the action of Dr. Errington.

He tells the story of Manning's foundation of the Oblates, at Wiseman's own request, and under his direct supervision, and of Errington's systematic opposition to them and to Manning from the first; of his unceasing efforts, since the beginning of 1858, to obtain their removal from the College, and if possible from the diocese. He gives a sample of the attitude towards Manning encouraged by Errington—of language implying that he was little better than a 'hypocrite and a traitor.'

He then relates, point by point, the story of the strife between the Chapter and Manning, already described in these pages, and the opinion of the foreign theologians and bishops whom he consulted, that, apart from all question as to the undisguised *animus* displayed against Manning, the capitulars had in fact exceeded their powers—an opinion afterwards confirmed by the Third Provincial Synod of Westminster. The whole of this strife was, he writes, instigated and abetted by the Coadjutor, who had worked out the objections to the Oblate Rule on which the attack was based, and had formulated the petitions of the Chapter to Rome.[1] Is such conduct, he asks, consistent with

[1] He proceeds to point out that the petitions sent to Rome misrepresented the real issues between himself and his Chapter, and entirely ignored the question as to the Rule of the Oblates. He denies

the conditions of Coadjutorship laid down in the brief?

Wiseman passes to Errington's own written admission that he sees no objection to the Coadjutor's giving 'non-official' counsel and aid to anyone, notwithstanding that such a one may be taking up a hostile attitude towards theCardinal Archbishop; that he is only bound to *aid* the Cardinal *officially*; that what he does unofficially is his own affair. 'The conduct of Mgr. Errington,' writes the Cardinal, 'is the best commentary on the practical application of this maxim. He omits entirely his official work and gives himself over altogether to the non-official; . . . sets himself to guide the Chapter exclusively, and gives no thought to *my* need of help and to his duty of supplying it.' Wiseman insists on the utterly impracticable nature of Errington's theory. Errington said: 'It is not fair that the Cardinal should have the advantage of his superior acquaintance with Roman procedure when litigation arises. Priest or Chapter should have their case stated by an expert.' 'True,' said the Cardinal, 'but should that expert be my Coadjutor, whose business it is to help me, the Cardinal?' Such a theory makes the Coadjutor practically the supreme arbiter and holder of the balance between the Bishop of the diocese and his clergy. And yet the man who urges this liberty of opposition to the Cardinal, his absolute superior, is the same who demanded that in canonical visitations the decisions of himself, the

having refused to consider a *petition* of the Chapter—as stated in the Chapter's own petition to Rome. He only refused to sanction certain *resolutions* of the Chapter in matters held by the best Canonists to be outside their competence.

inferior, should be absolutely endorsed by the Cardinal without qualification, and supported by him in case of an appeal to Rome, even though to the Cardinal himself they should appear unjust. He refers again to Errington's direct advice to Canon Oakeley—advice given *non-officially*—that he should oppose the Cardinal; one sample only of the Coadjutor's application of the maxim already referred to. 'Thus,' said the Cardinal, 'I may expect at any moment that he will urge others to act against me, as he tells me that, in his character of private theologian, he is at liberty to do so!'

The Cardinal then relates an attempt made by a common friend, Bishop Turner of Salford, to bring about a better understanding. At the meeting of the Bishops in Low Week, Bishop Turner told the Cardinal that he should try to persuade Errington to express his regret for his action in the affair of the Chapter. The Cardinal replied: 'Impossible; he *never* yields.' Turner nevertheless made the attempt. The result was as the Cardinal had predicted: Errington defended himself on every point, and Turner declared that it was impossible for the two men hereafter to act together, as he now saw. This opinion he also expressed in writing.

Wiseman then proceeds to give a full account of the events of the Synod, and of Errington's systematic opposition—already described in these pages—not omitting the episode of his own previous warning letter, and Errington's reply—that he was studying his rights in canon law; a reply which showed that his subsequent attitude was fully premeditated. Wise-

man asserted further that the Coadjutor did not *merely* take an opposite view on nearly every subject, but never sought a private interview or explanation, or carried out the ordinary courtesies of friendship. The whole attitude was an impossible one. He dwelt indignantly on the open discourtesy of Errington's final proposal—that he and not the Cardinal should open the discussion, so that it could not be said that he was contradicting the Cardinal. After this, and after the debate on the Colleges, at which Errington had declined to obey the Cardinal's request that he should withdraw—an episode which ended in the Cardinal's declining himself to be present at the discussion—many of the Bishops were shocked and pained at the Coadjutor's conduct. 'The special friend of the Archbishop of Trebizond, Bishop Turner of Salford, either spontaneously or by delegation, tried to induce him to show me some act of civility or deference,' writes the Cardinal. 'But it was all in vain. After hours of conference with him they were of no avail; and the Coadjutor allowed me to depart without bidding me farewell, without salutation, without a word of feeling, of courtesy, or of recognition. So finished this for me most unhappy Synod, during which, my strength broken, so that I could seldom say Mass, obliged to rest on my bed after nearly every meeting, obliged, however, to work in the night to get through the work assigned to me by my colleagues, I saw myself moreover entirely deprived of all help or assistance from my official helper. Do I say help? condemned, on the contrary, to suffer the whole time his studied and inflexible opposition.'

Wiseman adds, in fairness, that Errington had subsequently declared, that, had he seen the written opinion of the Roman Canonist, Tommassetti (obtained by Wiseman), as to a Coadjutor's position in a Synod, he would not have acted as he did. But, adds Cardinal Wiseman, 'if his position is that normally he opposes, until the best Canonist has the case referred to him and forbids it; if his maxim is, not that normally he is subordinate, but that he is normally independent, the result must be that the whole of our mutual connexion will be a series of litigations in Rome.' The very terms of the brief of Errington's appointment, on the contrary, indicate that Wiseman's own judgment is the normal appeal as to the limits of Errington's activity and powers.

To these instances of the Coadjutor's hostility Wiseman adds others, mostly traceable to his deep animosity against the Oblates, and the movement which they represented. The whole College question—in which he had stirred up opposition to the Cardinal outside his own diocese—was raised simply by the suggested possibilities of Oblate influence at St. Edmund's. And in Rome itself Errington had succeeded in rousing considerable hostility against the Congregation.

'This has been, I think, the radical . . . error of the conduct of the Coadjutor, *fons et origo malorum*: to have considered that he ought to have, not only liberty (which I should have granted him from my heart, and have granted him), but also independence of action. I have reason to know well his very excellent qualities, his laborious industry, his persevering studies, the exactness of his inquiries, the inflexibility

and rectitude of his judgments, his fervent virtues, his perfect disinterestedness, his varied learning. These gifts I have seen to be inferior or wanting in me.' Wiseman had hoped (he says) that the combination of supplementary qualities would have attained to a government at once generous and exact—the special gifts of Errington being guided by principles which Wiseman had maintained with the approval of the Holy See itself. 'I had found in the archdiocese on my first entry a certain coldness, an extreme rigorism in theology, great need of further *stimulus* to public devotion, a scarcity of means for inflaming it, total absence of any institutes of charity, faults in others, an entire absence of communities of men, a paucity of communities of women, an insufficient number of priests, churches, and schools. I felt myself called, so far as my deficiencies allowed it, to remedy these defects, and to this task I yielded myself. A certain largeness and facility of concession were necessary (almost) to carry out these intentions; one had to encourage, to make easy, to allow concessions, to open one's heart to whoever wished to do good, be he secular or regular, Catholic-born or convert.'

The result was that so sudden a change of policy, from the grooves in which the three preceding Bishops had moved, gave rise to 'defects of an opposite kind—a want of exactness in form, irregularity in administration, and perhaps excess in the freedom allowed. No one could have put in order these defects better than Monsignor [Errington],' had he been content to do so without interfering with the new system. 'But such acting by mutual agreement and intercourse,

although I explained it to Mgr. Errington in detail, was not in conformity with his way of seeing things, and seemed to him to indicate a want of confidence in him—which was not the case.' The sequel was a necessary consequence. If he claimed such independence as would enable him gradually to undo the whole system to which Wiseman had devoted his life and energies, all hope was gone of a 'united, peaceful, and orderly government of the diocese.'

In this state of things Wiseman consulted the best authorities as to his course, and found that recourse to the Holy See itself was the only plan of action open to him. Errington had not forfeited his rights (Wiseman adds) by any canonical offence, and the only resource which remained was to lay the case before the Holy Father.

So ends the first part of the *Scrittura*.

The second article is headed 'On the future Succession of the Archbishop of Trebizond.'

Had the question, Wiseman begins, been only one of personal incompatibility, some measure of separation less stringent than this appeal to Rome might have been devised. But the difference of principle must make it a matter of 'conscience' to 'take a measure, lasting and peremptory, which would leave no doubt as to the future.'

The *principle* on which he pleads for the abrogation of the right of succession, is that the right is a future *reward* for faithfully carrying out certain present duties. If those duties are violated, the reward should be forfeited.

But while this is the technical *ground*, the real

reason of the importance of insisting on the dismissal is given in an interesting part of the *Scrittura*.

Wiseman describes the state of the diocese on his original accession to the London district, in 1847. The clergy were divided into two parties: the old school, who wished things to remain as they remembered them in their youth—a condition certainly not favourable to the spread of religion; and the younger, who wished for better things. The former party gradually disappeared. Death took some; the diocese of Southwark absorbed others; others, whose virtue had ever been admirable, came to acquiesce in those views of the Cardinal to which they had been at first opposed. The result was that 'no diocese presented a more fortunate appearance in the concord . . . between bishop and clergy, seculars and regulars.' The Roman authorities knew what underlay this account, the details of which Wiseman left, he said, to others. It was the old contest between the old spirit of national independence and Roman influence.

Errington's systematic opposition to the Oblates had revived again the old watchwords and renewed the old strife. And what gave the situation its gravest aspect was that his right of succession destroyed hope of peace. The adherents of the Chapter considered that the extinction of the Oblates, and the defeat of *that party*, was only a matter of time, since Errington was the future tenant of the archiepiscopal throne. This hope was kept alive by Errington's action in counselling his friends (unofficially) to continue in their conscientious opposition to the Cardinal's views,

an opposition which he distinctly refused to admit mistaken, and which consequently promised constant dissension for the rest of the Cardinal's reign as well as the destruction of most of his work after he should be gone.

What the principles were which would prevail, should Errington succeed, might be seen from the results of his pastoral visitations. *Rigorism* was the significant phrase used—with the connotation which French Gallicanism and Jansenism had won for it. But besides this suggestion of larger issues, the immediate effect of his severity and narrowness had been highly disastrous to religious progress. Into the few cases where Wiseman had felt constrained to reverse Errington's decision he forbears to enter in the document. But in other cases, priests of excellent character had complained of intolerable rigorism, and begged for the Cardinal's intervention, which, however, though fully sympathising with them, he declined to give. In these cases Errington's action appeared to Wiseman 'rigorism incompatible with the supreme principle of saving as many souls as possible, of promoting the devotion of the faithful, and of animating the priesthood with zeal.' The head of the Redemptorists told Wiseman that at the spiritual exercises of the clergy various priests, zealous and active men, had 'opened their hearts to him,' and expressed themselves utterly crushed by the rigorism of the Coadjutor, and had spoken of leaving the diocese. The priests who had nothing to fear from Errington's visitations were those who had attempted nothing, whose accounts

were in order, who had risked nothing, who had had one talent and buried it. The zealous priests, who had built schools, stirred the devotion of their flocks, received converts—these were the men on whom the hand of the Coadjutor was heavy: those who had put out their talent to interest. In the way of this class the Coadjutor placed every difficulty. He insisted on their making formal undertakings [as to the expense] of any new enterprise, and so multiplied the conditions referring to the form and arrangement of churches and schools and to other particulars, as to make an act of zeal a burden of the heaviest description.

The following is the text of the decree depriving Dr. Errington of his Coadjutorship with right of succession, together with the official intimation of it to Cardinal Wiseman :—

Eñe et Rñe Dne Mi Obtñe,

Cum Sñmus. D. N. Pius PP. IX. Aplica auctoritate finem imposuerit controversiæ quæ inter Eñtiam Vestram et R. P. D. Georgium Errington Archiepum Trapezuntinum orta fuerat, relativum Decretum hisce insertum litteris ad Eñ. Vestram mitto. Interea Manus humillime deosculans debita cum observantia maneo

ex Æd. S. Congregis de P. Fide
die 24 Julii, 1860.

Humillimus Addictissimus Famulus verus
AL. C. BARNABÒ, Præf.
CAJET. Archpus Thebar. ab Secretis.

Eño ac Rño Card. Wiseman,
Archpo Westmonasteriensi.

DECRETUM

S. Congnis de Propaganda Fide.

Cum variis ex partibus S. Sedi exponeretur in admne Metropolitanæ Ecclæ Westmonasteriensis diversa omnino ratione sentire ab Emo ac Rmo D. Card. Nicolao Wiseman Archiepo R. P. D. Georgium Errington Archiepum Trapezuntinum in pbus infidelium, ejusque Coadjutorem cum futura successione a Mense Maio 1855 renunciatum, atque exinde non solum in prædicta Archidiocesi verum etiam in suffraganeis sedibus non parum detrimenti oriturum facillimè prævideri, nisi laudati Præsules eo adducerentur ut una mente ac uno corde Animarum salutem, et Religionis incrementum promoverent fierentque labii unius, Ssmus D. N. Pius PP. IX. omnibus maturè perpensis quæ ad memoratum dissensum pertinebant, quæque hinc inde a dissentientibus, oppne in hanc rem præsentibus in Curia, afferebantur, cum utroque Antistite iterumque iterumque de tam gravi negotio conferre dignatus est. Quandoquidem vero Sanctitas Sua inde clare comperuisset moraliter impossibile fore id assequi, pro ea qua premitur solicitudine omnium Ecclarum vehementissime hortatus est Archiepum Trapezuntinum, additis etiam precibus in Dño ut pro bono pacis et Westmonasteriensis Ecclesiæ utilitate, sibi, qui Xti in terris Vicarius existit quique in Ecclesiæ Catholicæ bono curando supremus Adsertor et Judex divinitus constitutus est, munus Coadjutoris Westmonasteriensis dimitteret ac resignaret, non abnuens illius opera zelo ac peritia uti in alia parte Dominicæ vineæ, quod quidem in luculentum virtutum ac meritorum ejus cederet testimonium. Immo cum in præsentiarum suo Pastore viduata maneret Metropolitana Ecclia Portus Hispaniæ in Insula Ssmæ Trinitatis, et Delegatio Aplica in Haitiana Republica, utramque eidem obtulit procurandam. At quoniam laudatus Archiepus professus est iterate se paratissimum quidem esse ad obediendum cuicumque mandato Summi Pontificis, adduci tamen minime posse ad petitam renunciationem sponte emittendum, Ssmus D. Noster nonnullis etiam ex S. R. E. Cardinalibus negotiis S. Congregnis Propagandæ Fidei præpositis in consilium accitis, eorumque unanimi habita sententia, Religionis in Anglia bonum unice præ oculis habens, et Divini Spiritus lumine effusis precibus implorato, R. P. D.

Georgium Errington a munere Coadjutoris cum futura successione, quod hactenus gessit, liberandum, atque a quocumque jure in Ecclìam Westmonasteriensem solvendum judicavit, præsensque eo desuper Decretum per S. Congr̃em de P. Fide dari jussit.

Dat. Romæ ex Æd. dict. S. C. de P. F.
Die 22 Julii, 1860.

Al. C. Barnabò, Præf.[1]

[1] Some extracts from Dr. Errington's own *Scrittura* are given in Appendix D.

CHAPTER XXVIII

THE ROMAN QUESTION

1860-1862

THE years of the Cardinal's domestic troubles were very eventful years for the Church. They saw the beginning of the movement which took from the Pope the patrimony with which his predecessors had been endowed by Pepin and Charlemagne.

Since the restoration of the Pope by French arms, in 1849 the policy of Sardinia had caused constant uneasiness to the Holy See. Victor Emmanuel was on the throne of Piedmont, and the power placed by the constitution in the hands of the Liberals in the last year of his father's life, inaugurated a policy of hostility to the Church. In 1850 a Bill was passed depriving the clergy of their immunities, and abolishing certain holidays of the Church. The Pope protested and two Bishops were imprisoned for opposing the execution of the law. This was but the first of a series of oppressive measures, culminating in the suppression of the religious houses and confiscation of their property in 1855.[1]

[1] Chevalier O'Clery gives the details of these measures in his *Making of Italy*. See pp. 4 and 5. I have made liberal use of his work in my account of the sequel.

Then came Cavour's long and finally successful attempt to secure the co-operation of Napoleon III. in his encroachment on the States of the Church. Since the Papal restoration, Napoleon's troops had occupied Rome, and the Austrians had occupied the Legations. To utilise the old anti-Austrian feeling among Italians, and get rid of the Austrian occupation, would be a first step in the desired direction. The subject was broached in 1856 at the Congress of Paris; and it is probable that from that date onwards Napoleon and Cavour really understood one another.

The Sardinian Plenipotentiaries at the Congress, ominously referred to the Legations as 'a part of the country which shows itself less docile to the yoke of the clergy, which is a constant scene of agitation and anarchy, which furnishes pretexts for the permanent occupation of the Austrians, which arouses diplomatic complications, and which troubles the European balance of power.'[1]

On the other hand, the Papal party claimed a moral triumph in the following year. On occasion of Pius IX.'s tour through the States of the Church, in the summer of 1857, not only was the popular enthusiasm extraordinary, but it was especially marked in the Legations.

The Pope, on his return to Rome, expressed his satisfaction at the unexpected warmth of his reception; and, at the Consistory of September 25th, he poured forth his feelings to the Cardinals. 'We could only be filled with joy,' he said, 'and render

[1] *Hist. of Pius IX.* i. 329.

the most humble thanks to the infinite mercy of God, Dispenser of all good things, at seeing all the populations which we met on our journey give evidence of so much love, and show themselves happy to make their attachment and devotion to the Holy See conspicuous, so much so that our journey became a constant and solemn triumph for our holy religion.'

Disaffection in the Legations was an old story as old as 1830. The Pope's friends had always maintained that it was mainly the work of the Carbonari and their allies. Either the demonstrations of loyalty, in the summer of 1857, were not so significant as the Pope had supposed, or (as his supporters maintained) the revolutionary party saw that no time must be lost in stirring up the embers of revolt before they were extinct. For a change in the dispositions of the inhabitants was manifest two years later, as we shall shortly see. Hitherto the supposed check on Sardinian ambition had been the reputed devotion of Louis Napoleon to the Holy See; but after 1858 symptoms of a new policy were unmistakable. At the beginning of that year an event happened, to which the change was ascribed by French and Italian Churchmen.[1] An Italian, Felice Orsini, made an attempt on the life of the Emperor, on January 14th of that year, with an infernal machine. He failed, and was arrested. The account he was said to have given of his act was that, in 1831, Louis Napoleon had sworn to one of the secret societies to endeavour to destroy the temporal sovereignty of the Popes, that his career hitherto had proved him false

[1] *Loc. cit.* 339.

to his oath, and that the Carbonari had deputed him (Orsini) to execute their sentence on the Emperor for his defalcation. Whatever truth there may be in this account—generally received among Catholics—Napoleon very soon gave evidence of the change in his attitude towards the Papacy.

Cavour had an interview with Napoleon in the following June, and its results were apparent in a pamphlet known to be inspired and partly written by the Emperor, and entitled 'L'Empereur Napoléon et l'Italie.' This pamphlet, which appeared at the beginning of 1859, was on the lines of Cavour's policy, and amounted to a direct attack on Austria. It advocated an Italian Confederation as the only solution of the Italian question, and, in view of the Austrian occupation, it declared that 'Italian nationality will never be the result of a revolution, and can never succeed without foreign help.' War was in the air, and Austria and Piedmont were both largely increasing their armaments. Russia proposed a congress at St. Petersburg for a pacific solution of the Italian question. Austria declared that pacific deliberations were impossible amid preparations for war, and that the Sardinian army must first be reduced to a peace footing. This request was sent on April 18th to the Sardinian Government as an *ultimatum*, war being given as the alternative. Cavour treated it as a declaration of war; and so entirely was France prepared for the crisis, that, before the end of the month, the French troops had reached Turin as allies of the Piedmontese. Garibaldi placed his services at the disposal of Sardinia. Austria was

nominally the aggressor ; but the opinion of Europe in general was probably expressed by Lord Malmesbury, when he said that 'by violating her treaties of extradition with Austria, by fostering desertions from her army, by rallying in Piedmont the disaffected spirits of Italy . . . by ostentatious declarations that she was ready to do battle against the power and influence of Austria, Sardinia has invoked the storm, and is deeply responsible to the nations of Europe.'

Immediately a revolution broke out in Central Italy. In Florence Victor Emmanuel assumed a temporary dictatorship. A little later Bologna was in the hands of a revolutionary Government which claimed the support of Sardinia and France. The peace of Villafranca, in July, ceded Lombardy to Piedmont, restored the ducal Governments, and promised to provide for an Italian Confederation under the nominal presidency of the Pope. Its terms were general and not final, and a large French army remained in Italy after it was concluded. The press forthwith urged that the revolution in Bologna should be recognised, and the Legations ceded to Piedmont. In September, the provisional Government at Bologna offered the Romagna to Victor Emmanuel, who did not at once definitely accept it, but said he would do all he could to forward their wishes at a conference. The Pope indignantly broke off diplomatic relations with Sardinia.

Cardinal Antonelli had issued a protest in July against the countenance given by Sardinia to the revolution. Now, the Pope, in an allocution dated

September 25th, protested against the perfidy of Piedmont in the Romagna. It was obvious that what Piedmont contemplated was simply the annexation of the Legations, on the plea that the revolution represented the will of the inhabitants, and that the will of the inhabitants was supreme. And the Pope's words found an echo throughout the Catholic world.

Indignant denunciations of the action of Sardinia came to the Holy See from the whole Catholic world. The Bishop of Arras[1] gave the signal. The Bishop of Orleans (Dupanloup) followed, with a public condemnation of the outrage done to the 'first Bishop of the world,' protesting 'in the name of justice against armed spoliation, of truth against lying, in the name of order against anarchy, in the name of reverence against the contempt of all rights.' The rest of the French Episcopate either signed this protest, or sent protests of their own : and from the Bishops of Spain, Ireland, and Germany came similar expressions. In truth, the action of Piedmont was so directly contrary to all principles of international justice, that it remained defensible only by the dangerous theory of the all-sufficiency of the *plébiscite* ; and the Papal party indignantly denied that the popular desire, which was Victor Emmanuel's only pretence of justification, had any existence whatever. A voice, heard a little later, which was perhaps more significant than any other, was that of an Englishman, no fanatical devotee of temporal power, no sympathiser with the extreme

[1] Monsignor Parisis, Bishop of Langres under the July Monarchy.

representatives of Continental clericalism, and, though a future Cardinal, not in great favour with Pius IX. John Henry Newman, in his sermon on the 'Pope and the Revolution' (preached after Piedmont had further added to its spoils), with a depth of indignation which those who heard it still remember, characterised the Piedmontese army as 'a band of sacrilegious robbers,' stamping his foot as he uttered the words. 'This,' he said, 'is not a political sentiment, but an historical statement, for I never heard of anyone, whatever his politics, who defended their action in itself, but only on the plea of its supreme expedience, of some State necessity or some theory of patriotism.'

The anxiety of the Catholic world as to Napoleon's attitude became acute in the autumn of 1859. He had partially dissociated himself from the action of the Piedmontese, in a letter of June 16 to a Catholic journal—'L'Ami de la Religion.' His position was still to some extent inscrutable. On October 11th —three months after the peace of Villafranca—he passed through Bordeaux ; and Cardinal Donnet had the boldness to address him publicly and directly, to speak of the suspense of his Catholic subjects, and to tell him that he was the man who, by one word, could reassure them.

> We still pray and hope [he said]. The motive of that hope, of which the realisation seems now so difficult, is you, Sire ; you, who have been and still wish to be the eldest son of the Church ; you, who have said these memorable words : 'The temporal sovereignty of the venerable head of the Church is as intimately bound up with the glory of Catholicism, as with the liberty and independence of Italy.' Beautiful thought, and in accord with

the sentiments of the august head of your dynasty, when he said of the temporal power of the Popes, 'The ages have done it, and they have done well.'

The Emperor, in his reply, said that he could not enter into the grave question on which the Cardinal Archbishop had touched, and added words which had little tendency to reassure—that the French troops must necessarily before long cease to protect the Papal States, 'for Europe could not allow that an occupation already of ten years should be indefinitely prolonged.'

The latent fears, which the absolute annihilation of the French Church in the last century had left as a kind of permanent legacy to its Bishops, were aroused. With an absoluteness which it is hard for Englishmen to enter into, but which has justified itself by facts, French Churchmen viewed contemporary history as a great battle between the Church and the Revolution. Napoleon's apparent devotion to the Papacy had raised hopes; and the fears which now came were deep in proportion. Cardinal Donnet addressed a long letter to Cardinal Wiseman, shortly after the visit of the Emperor, in which he communicated his anxiety as to the situation.

Wiseman had recently published his 'Last Four Popes,' a work which, without pretending to be critical, had the merit of being written by one who had seen and known at first hand the places and persons he described. The book had in England unquestionably brought the Popes nearer to the general public, and invested them with the character of human beings. In France it was read in the light

of the burning question of the temporal power, and as a testimony to a rule beneficent in matters in which the active reports of the Revolutionists—accepted without question in anti-Papal England—had represented it as hopeless. Cardinal Donnet had studied the work, filled with the thoughts which Napoleon's visit had aroused, and his letter to Wiseman, though somewhat desultory, has an interest of its own as a witness to the feelings of the French clergy.

MOST EMINENT AND MOST REVEREND LORD,—Your pen is unwearied. We cannot but rejoice and thank you for having so well chosen your time for the publication of a book, of which the appositeness is incontestable. To narrate the life and good works of the four immediate predecessors of Pius IX. is to go to the heart of the Roman question, on which depend the destinies of Europe. I write to you, Monseigneur, but a few days after the solemn occasion when I was able to bring to the hearing of the Emperor the words that the newspapers have reported to you. I have no comment to make on the Prince's answers; time will show you that they bear, perhaps, a more favourable meaning than was at first supposed.

It is not the less true, Monseigneur, that men on all sides are asking themselves, Whither is the world going? It is a question that has been asked at all epochs of upheaval and confusion, but never with more insistence than it is to-day. The Romans, appalled by the ever-increasing influx of the barbarians, believed that the annihilation of the Empire was at hand; they were not mistaken. It was the end of the old world, which was to be replaced by youthful nations regenerated by Christianity. The barbarians abused their strength in their violence, but their intelligence was not perverted. Later on the progress of Islamism and the multiplicity of crimes again called forth a cry of terror. The world believed that its end was at hand about the year 1000; yet Christianity was only touching on one of those violent crises which bring back a more vigorous life. Faith revived, order was restored, and the beautiful epoch of the

Middle Ages followed— gigantic intellectual labours, wonders of architecture, the Crusades, too little understood, and above all innumerable legions of saints in all classes of society. The sixteenth century saw the renewal of terror and confusion. The Church, though attacked on all sides, saved the world once again, because faith was not dead and saints reappeared. Nevertheless the wound inflicted by the so-called Reformation was far from being healed. In our own day we are again threatened by a refined barbarism. In attacking the temporal power of the Pope men know well that they are undermining one of the foundations of the Papacy itself.

'The temporal power of the Pope is a *hors-d'œuvre* in modern civilisation': so speak the thousand voices of the press and the more vigorous methods of rebellion and treason.

'The Pope, even if he wished to do good to his people, has not the power. What rank is occupied in the catalogue of civilised nations by the Roman States? Their railways are below those of Egypt or Turkey. The ports of the ancient Romans have either ceased to exist or are barricaded. The Goths respected the Coliseum; the Popes demolished it, or allowed it to perish. The Tiber once carried to Rome the rich spoils of conquered nations; now it is choked by the ruins of the ancient grandeurs of the Empire itself. The Campagna of Rome, the Legations, the Marches of Ancona, formerly so populous and so rich, are to-day the most hideous of deserts. Therefore secular civilisation must hasten if she is to be in time to remove, with vigorous hand, the brambles which cover up one of the most beautiful spots in the world.' They insinuate under such sophisms the boldest plots of the modern revolution; the mother of the Christian world is denied by madness, abandoned by ingratitude, nourished on humiliations, bathed in tears, defeated even through her love. It is against such errors that your Eminence indirectly addresses these 'Recollections.' You refute beforehand the famous manifesto in which Cipriani has wished to prove the incompatibility of the Papacy with its temporal power. The serious errors in questions of history, of legislation, and of statistics, financial or administrative, with which his pamphlet swarms are shown up by your book with as much dignity as force. It was not your intention to publish a complete history of the last four Popes, and still less to bring out 'Personal Memoirs'; and

this although your long sojourn in Rome might have allowed you to say, 'I was present: I saw, I heard, I touched with my hands. "Quod vidimus, quod audivimus, quod manus nostræ tetigerunt, nos annunciamus vobis ut et vos societatem habeatis nobiscum. . . ."'

It must be confessed, Monseigneur, that in the question now agitating men's minds they are all exchanging *rôles*. It was only yesterday that I ventured to make the following observation to persons in high position, who demanded, in good faith, perhaps, the deprivation of the Popes in the name of the most sacred interests of religion. 'In general,' I said, 'men are not blind to their own interests. The College of Cardinals may well have as much light as the publicists of England and of France, and if the patrimony of St. Peter were a danger for the Church, they would perceive it. She would not wait to have her cause taken in hand by the most obstinate of her enemies. . . .' I allowed myself to add that Rome in the sixteenth century was exposed to the same dangers, and, opening a volume of Montaigne which I had on my table, I read to these gentlemen the following words: 'This Rome which I have just visited deserves to be beloved, allied in all times and by so many titles to our crown; the only town that is common to all and universal. The sovereign magistrate who commands there is equally recognised elsewhere. It is the metropolis of all Christian nations. Spaniard and Frenchman alike are at home there; to be of the princes of that State one needs only to belong to Christendom. The patrimony of the Holy Father belongs to all the inhabitants of the earth; to suppress it would be to decapitate all Christian nations.' And with what a vigorous pencil your Eminence has shown us what a Pope would be sovereign nowhere, subject everywhere, carrying his sacred deposit under all skies, however adverse, at one time amidst the most stormy struggles of a free country, at another amidst the silence of a despotic *régime*; a Pope whose Encyclicals would be submitted to police inspection; a Pope to whom an appeal is as dangerous as the abuse appealed against; a Pope reduced to exile, like the Archbishops of Cologne, Cagliari, and Turin.

We have seen, Monseigneur, the Papacy during its long career made to endure all that is bitter; she has borne all, passed

through all, risen above all, and her most violent oppressors have been left in the end astonished at their own impotence.

Cardinal Donnet proceeds to give an analysis of the chief features of the reigns of Pius VII. and Leo XII. as recorded by Wiseman, and cites the curious letter of 1824 from Cardinal Bernetti, which, if it be genuine, shows that Leo XII. had conceived a profound distrust of the celebrated Lamennais, then at Rome and at the height of his influence.[1] He then continues his letter as follows:

This digression has carried me away from the reign of Pius VIII., whose history you faithfully reproduce in a few words. I visited the Eternal City for the first time under his pontificate in the company of the venerable Archbishop of Tours,

[1] "Il me semble que les lignes que vous consacrez à M. de La Mennais en parlant du règne de Pie VIII auraient trouvé plus naturellement leur place sous le règne précédent, car c'est en 1824 que l'auteur de l'essai sur l'indifférence avait poussé vers Rome. Sans avoir le don de prophétie, a dit l'éloquent auteur de *L'Eglise Romaine en Face de la Révolution*, Léon XII connaissait admirablement le cœur humain. Il laissa dire à Rome et à Paris, qu'un chapeau de cardinal était destiné au célèbre écrivain; mais au fond du Vatican, lorsque la pensée du Pontife s'arrêtait sur ce prêtre alors inexplicable, il manifesta des craintes véritablement inspirées. Je me permets de vous rappeler quelques phrases tombées de la plume du cardinal Bernetti, qui dans une lettre du 30 août 1824 initiait l'histoire aux sombres prévisions du Saint Père.

"'Nous avons à Rome,' écrivait-il au duc Laval de Montmorency, 'l'abbé de La Mennais, et je trouve qu'il ne répond pas en tout point à son immense réputation. Je vous parle à cœur ouvert, cher Prince, comme si j'étais encore en tête à tête avec vous. A une de mes dernières audiences le Saint Père m'a demandé si j'avais vu M. l'abbé de La Mennais, et ce que j'en pensais. Ne voulant pas m'avancer sur ce terrain, et ayant entendu dire que Léon XII se montrait bien disposé pour lui, j'ai fait une réponse dilatoire. Bientôt je suis resté tout stupéfait, lorsque le Pape, d'une voix calme et presque triste, m'a dit: 'Eh bien, nous l'aurons mieux jugé que pas un. Quand nous l'avons reçu et entretenu nous avons été frappé d'effroi. Il y a l'hérésiarque sur son front. Ses amis de France et d'Italie voudraient pour lui un

Mgr. de Montblanc. We found Rome in the midst of the excitements produced by party spirit even in the heart of the Pontifical city. Cardinal Albani was Secretary of State. At this moment the most advanced Carbonarism has reached its apogee ; everything is in its favour. It has mysterious agents in the councils of princes and even within the sanctuary, whose services are paid by praise or by popularity. In his Encyclical letter of May 24, the manuscript of which was in my hands for a few hours, Pius VIII. did not fear to tear aside a portion of the veil. He did not see all the evils that were then foretold—those changes of dynasties, those depositions of sovereigns, provisional governments, military dictatorships, sieges, political assassinations—of all of which you speak to us so vividly on pp. 377 and 378 of your book ; but he lived long enough to prove the strength of his character in the face of the revolution. At a moment when it seemed as if Christian civilisation must succumb under the repeated blows of secret societies, he made straight for the enemy, renewed the edicts of his predecessors, and caused the principal conspirators to be arrested at Bologna and at Forli, as well as at Rome. He was to be seen even to his last hours keeping watch over all, and showing throughout

chapeau de cardinal. Cet homme est trop possédé d'orgueil pour ne pas faire repentir le Saint-Siège d'une bonté qui serait justice, si on ne considérait que ses œuvres actuelles ; mais étudiez-le à fond, détaillez les traits de son visage, et dites-moi s'il n'y a pas une trace visible de la malédiction céleste.' Je n'ai jamais pu faire revenir le Pape sur une pareille idée. La face de cet homme se présente toujours à lui, et je commence à croire que le voyage de l'écrivain ne servira que très peu à ses projets d'ambition, s'il en avait conçu."

'Quels rapports, Monseigneur, entre les paroles du cardinal Bernetti, avec le jugement porté par les *Souvenirs* de votre Eminence !

'Nous vous entendons vous écrier à la page 317 : "Depuis longtemps il y avait dans M. de La Mennais un cancer profondément enraciné. Un ver était caché dans le cœur même de ce beau fruit. Lorsque en 1837 il finit sa carrière ecclésiastique, par ses *Affaires de Rome*, ce ver n'avait fait que se tordre, au dehors, pour s'entortiller, comme le serpent de l'Eden, autour de l'écorce ; il s'y était tenu tout le temps. Pendant son dernier voyage à Rome, auquel ce livre se rapportait, on dit qu'il s'écria : 'Je sens ici un mauvais ésprit qui m'entraînera à la perdition.' Ce jour ne tarda pas à venir."'

his States the vigilant eye and the laborious hand of the master. And in what evil times!

We come with you to Gregory XVI. facing the storm; he gives new laws on the procedure of justice and publishes a decree on crimes and penalties. In 1833 he organises the secretaryship of State, then he renews the department of Public Works; in 1834 he establishes the National Bank at Rome, and promulgates a complete code of laws and regulations for every department of the public administration. The following year he introduces a new coinage on the decimal system: he completely restores the Forum, executes considerable works at the mouth of the Tiber, at the port and in the town of Civita Vecchia; pierces the two new tunnels of the Anio, that I saw and admired in my last visit; suppresses all burying grounds in the interior of the town; forms insurance companies against hail and fire, and a savings bank for the employés of the palace. How well you bring out his heroism in the invasion of the cholera in the darkest year of his long and admirable pontificate! You do not dwell at length on the Bull of 1839 in which he rose up with such vigour against the slave traffic, and you hardly bring out his apostolic firmness with that persecutor of the Church and oppressor of Poland the Emperor Nicholas. The spirit of the revolution and English fanaticism are alike silent on these points... This continuous progress is the refutation of the prejudices which accuse either the inaction of the Holy See or the impossibilities of the situation. If we pass to the reign of Pius IX. will it be said that he has refused the reforms demanded by the needs of the time? Was he not reproached under the last reign with having granted too much? On this point it would be well to consult some of the letters of King Louis Philippe and of his Minister of Foreign Affairs. I know that the Roman States have often been advised simply to adopt the Code Napoléon. I think that it would be more than rash to do so in a country whose traditions and customs must be respected and are in opposition to that new law on several points. The Code Napoléon would be a revolution in Rome and the Legations, and it is only reform which they seem to desire, reform consisting almost entirely in the separation of the spiritual from the temporal. For the rest the civil legislation is based on the 'Institutes' of Justinian, which are the foundation of the Code Napoléon.

If, as we can no longer doubt, Piedmontese ambition—I was going to say, Piedmontese madness—dreams of another future than that of the programme revealed by the Emperor in his letter to the King of Sardinia ; if she abuses the victory, due to the valour of our generals and our soldiers, to coerce the Romans and to subdue them to her domination ; if she is seconded in this anarchist rather than chivalric undertaking by ill-advised statesmen—it must not be concluded that the majority of Italians accept this solution with full accord ; on the contrary, it is certain that if the people could be freed from all external pressure, guaranteed from all threats, and consulted under a form less roughly *égalitaire*, they would pronounce for quite another programme. Ravenna, Forli, Ferrara, and Bologna, were they not in peaceful submission, but a few months ago, to the most generous of all the Italian princes in the august person of Pius IX.? If from the humble city of Sinigaglia, which was his cradle, Providence has made him the sovereign of three million of subjects, was it not an election in which Italy, represented by the majority of the Sacred College, overcame with her voice all other votes? Elected sovereign of Italy, has he not shown that he had an ardent love for the country which he had always loved, and to which he has forgiven so much? So recently as when Piedmont was crushed by Austria in the plains of Novara did he not cause to be heard a noble and useful remonstrance in favour of the vanquished? And since then, on his journey throughout his States, did he not endow those very provinces which are now in revolt with all the benefits resulting from modern progress? He decreed the new railways, he repaired the roads, magnificently erected bridges, cultivated the lands, cut new canals, drained the marshes, encouraged commerce and agriculture, and by building new churches did as much to favour arts and industry as to satisfy the piety of his people ; and this is the prince that has been declared to be [impossible]. Is this justice? Is this reason? Is this patriotism?

I would, therefore, together with your Eminence, ask of Our Lord that He would allow this deeply tried Pontiff to pursue, or better still to finish, his work. For us, his sons, his confidants, his counsellors, we will repeat to him the words that fell from our national tribune at the moment when our legions went forth to save the Eternal City. *Courage, Saint Père!*

We will pray also for those of his subjects who carry on against him a parricidal war, led away by pernicious doctrines. Many amongst them know not what they do; they imagine, like Paul before his conversion, that they serve the interests of God and of society in refusing to be reigned over by the Vicar of One who has been called 'the Prince of Peace.'

Your book will have served to have opened the eyes of many amongst them.

My object in speaking thus to you, Monseigneur, is not to recommend this precious volume, in which flows with so much abundance a double current of apostolic faith and filial piety. The name that signs it, so dear to religion, to art, and to science, ensures its success.

I have wished in my name, and in the name of my clergy and the people of my diocese, who read your pages, to pay a new debt of gratitude.

Accept, Monseigneur, the assurance of my most respectful and devoted sentiments.

† FERDINAND CARD. DONNET,
Archbishop of Bordeaux.

This letter reached Wiseman in Rome. Although written in October 1859, it was not dispatched until March 8, 1860, and in the course of the same month Cardinal Wiseman addressed an eloquent pastoral to the clergy of Westminster 'from out the Flaminian Gate,' calling on English Catholics to contribute Peter's pence to help the Pope in his trouble. They replied by the sum of 6,340*l.*, sent to Rome in the course of the summer.

Napoleon's reticence at Bordeaux had appeared ominous. His letter to the Holy Father, on the last day of the year 1859, was still more so. He assumed in it that the Legations had thrown off the Papal authority entirely of their own free will. He had made peace, he said, greatly because he feared the revolt might spread. 'Facts,' he added, 'have an

inexorable logic, and in spite of my devotion to the Holy See, in spite of the presence of my troops in Rome, I could not escape a certain solidarity with the effects of the national movement provoked in Italy by the struggle against Austria.' Had a lay administration been given to the provinces, and the Code Napoléon been introduced, he had hoped they might be regained. The subject would be considered by the Powers at the coming Congress. But the restoration of the provinces by force of arms was not a course which they were likely to sanction. The upshot of the letter was that the Emperor thought it 'more conformable to the true interests of the Holy See to make the sacrifice of those provinces.'

The Pope saw the full gravity of the situation. The assurance with which Napoleon's letter closed, of unchanged regard for the Holy See in all events, did not qualify the clear intentions it manifested. In a letter of January 8, 1860, Pio Nono spoke plainly to the Emperor. He accepts in this letter the fact that the Emperor will not extend his armed protection of the Papacy to the work of reducing the revolted provinces. But as to the proposal that the Pope should yield them to Sardinia, he considers that such a course would not only be a scandal, and an injustice to other Italian sovereigns, but would destroy principles which are vital to all civil rulers. What, he asks, would the Emperor say if a succession of revolutions in France were regarded as sufficient reason for the Emperor to yield the provinces in which the revolution breaks out? He emphatically denies that the movement of the revolutionists should be regarded as embodying

the will of the inhabitants. When the revolt broke out 'nearly the whole of the populations were alarmed by the unexpected movement, which they were not disposed to follow.' He reproaches the Emperor with the change of his policy since the war, on the eve of which 'you gave me consoling assurances without causing me afflictions.'

Another person as well as the Pope saw the full significance of the Emperor's letter. Count Cavour, in a speech to the Piedmontese Senate, declared that 'this letter of the Emperor has for us an importance equal to the deliverance of Venice. We must not, then, say that the cession of Savoy and Nice to France has been without its compensations.' [1]

The state of feeling in Rome, during the eventful year 1860, is shown in Monsignor Talbot's letters to Wiseman after the departure of the latter to England in the summer.

We are in a state of complete consternation [he writes on September 29]: the conduct of France and Piedmont is the most iniquitous outrage of all the principles of honesty and justice I ever heard of.

I really do not know what will become of us all. Now all that remains to the Pope is Rome and the provinces of Frosinone and Velletri. How long they may belong to him God only knows.

The conduct of his troops all over the States has been admirable. We have had no treason or cowardice to blacken the pill. The conduct of Piedmont has been an open act of brigandage, but I more easily forgive Victor Emmanuel than I

[1] *Opinione*, June 11, 1860. The cession of Savoy and Nice to France was finally carried out in 1860, having been long talked of and expected. The provinces were ceded seven months after the peace of Villafranca.

do Napoleon. The latter adds hypocrisy to injury, and flatters and makes professions, whilst he has cut our throats.

I never found myself in so critical a situation as the present. Of course if the Holy Father leaves Rome I will follow him wherever he goes, but what harasses one is the anxiety and uncertainty of our situation. Every moment new reports reach us. We do not know whom to fear most, the French, the Piedmontese, or Garibaldi.

On October 12th he writes to Mr. Patterson :

The Holy Father, thank God, keeps up his spirits, and is in very good health, notwithstanding that this is the most trying moment he has had to bear during the whole of his pontificate. It is a worse moment than even 1848, because then he had the support of nearly all the European Powers. All the Catholic ministers rallied round him, and even the Protestants and schismatics did not unite to crush him. Russia, Prussia, and England gave him their support to a certain extent.

Now, on the contrary, he has been deserted by all. There is not a Power in Europe which gives him any support. He is abandoned by all earthly aid. Not even the iniquitous conduct of Piedmont has stirred up the sympathy of any Government in Europe.

The Catholic populations everywhere took in the critical character of the situation. Once it was allowed by the Pope's natural protector that disaffection among the population of any of the States was sufficient reason for allowing Sardinia to annex them, the events of the next ten years were but the gradual working out of a problem of which the data were fixed. Revolutionary agitations had already shown their power of producing the semblance of revolt. Cavour and the House of Savoy were at hand to calm the revolted provinces by annexing them ; they were reinforced by the sentiment in favour of united Italy—a sentiment which imparted a semblance of nobility to a

policy which was otherwise strongly suggestive of the freebooter. If Napoleon was really conniving at the Piedmontese policy, and paying Sardinia out of the Pope's pocket for Savoy and Nice, to appease the Carbonari, all was lost.

So thought the Catholic Episcopate throughout the world, and addresses of sympathy came in unprecedented numbers. Pius IX. on January 19th addressed to the Catholic world the Encyclical *Nullis certe verbis*, thanking them for the 'immense consolation' which their unanimity and zeal gave him in the midst of his 'immeasurable bitterness,' referring to the blow which the movement in Italy was striking at civil society in the invasion of the rights of other princes and of the 'legitimate and sacred right' of the Holy See to its possessions. The Holy Father gave an outline of his correspondence with Napoleon, and invited all the Catholic nations to pray for the Pope.

The 'Univers,' hitherto staunchly Imperialist, published the Encyclical in its issue of January 29. The very day of its appearance M. Billault, Minister of the Interior, advised the Emperor to suppress the 'Univers,' and before nightfall an Imperial decree was issued suspending its publication.

This was the beginning of the angry and indignant protest on the part of Catholics against the trend of the so-called movement of 'progress' and 'liberalism'—a protest which found its expression four years later in the Encyclical and Syllabus. England openly supported the Sardinian invasion. It was carried on under the banner of 'liberty' and 'progress.' The

Italian sovereigns—and especially the Pope—were represented, with ruthless exaggeration, as hopelessly unenlightened and behind the age. Pius IX.—described twelve years earlier in the English papers as the most enlightened sovereign of Europe—was now, with short memory, assumed without argument to be the most benighted. The aspiration for the fulness of national life, which even a Catholic like Gioberti had felt so strongly, was rekindled. But its direction was now determined by the uncompromising enemies of the Papacy, who made a vigorous attempt to secure the allegiance of the Catholic patriots by representing that the temporal power was not essential to the Papacy; that its spiritual power would be all the greater if freed from the temporal; that the true genius of the age—with which such as Montalembert, Lacordaire, and Manzoni were bound to sympathise—pointed unmistakably to a united Italy. Cavour used the formula 'A free Church in a free State,' the ideal of Montalembert and Lacordaire for the French Church, to describe his aims in respect of religion in Italy.

The result was natural enough. In such a crisis union was strength: and half-heartedness on the part of a Catholic in defending the temporal power was deeply resented by the body of his co-religionists. The 'Univers' had already raised the war cry against 'liberalism' among Catholics. Its conductors, their zeal redoubled by persecution, accentuated their policy of exclusiveness, and found an echo among the indignant Bishops. The tendency of a section of the French clergy, ever since 1793, to conceive of a

war between the Church and the age, the age being identified with 'liberalism' and 'the Revolution,' reappeared in a more marked form than heretofore. The circumstances of the hour made the same tendency strong in Rome itself; and the animosity, which many of us remember, against the very word 'liberalism' reached its acutest stage. It was from 1860 until 1870 that the term 'liberal Catholic' came to be used in so invidious a sense—that is to say, from the beginning until the completion of the Sardinian aggression. The controversy, already described in these pages, between the Catholics, who were anxious to meet half-way, and thereby to influence, the spirit of the times, and those who remembered mainly that the world is *in maligno positus*, and held that the *Zeitgeist* of the nineteenth century is essentially a spirit of revolt against Christian faith, was (for practical purposes) decided, for the moment, in favour of the latter.

Even such minds as that of Gerbet, Bishop of Perpignan, the intimate friend of Lacordaire, fashioned amid the liberalistic influences of La Chesnaie, became deeply tinged with an almost mystical sense that the forces of modern life were in direct antagonism to the Church. Gerbet was a principal agent in the agitation among the French Bishops, in 1861, against the 'errors' of 'modern society,' of which I shall speak in a later chapter. The Bishops prayed that Rome might raise its voice; and the result was the Syllabus and Encyclical of 1864. Godless principles, begotten of loss of faith, were inseparably coupled in the minds of many zealous

Catholics of that time with the universal contempt for the rights of the Vicar of Christ. In 1848, the Powers had defended the Pope from robbery. Now, not one raised a hand. England, which, after Wiseman's mission in 1847, had in some degree supported the Pope, was now an open sympathiser with the aggresssor. France was treacherous. The other Catholic Powers were neutral or hostile. It was a crisis which naturally led to extremes. The lovable personality of Pius IX., and the remembrance of his early efforts to meet the national party half-way, gave edge to the resentment of its ingratitude on the part of Catholics. An indignant loyalty drew them all together. Bishop Ullathorne writes to a friend, as follows, from Rome, in the early years of the struggle :

> At a time when other religious societies are waning and dissolving, the members of the Church are drawing into closer union with their Head. They are thinking of the Pope, feeling with the Pope, speaking of the Pope ; and all this concentration of the mind and the heart of the Church upon the Vicar of Christ comes of his sufferings, of the injustice he endures, and of his heroic spirit under the trial. On the other hand God has raised up a great Pope fitted for the occasion. Popes have been great in various ways. Pius IX. is great by force of his personal character, and through the influence which, by reason of his character, he exercises over the hearts of men. No one ever left his presence without experiencing the sweetness of that overflowing charity and the loftiness of those Catholic sentiments which flow from him with untiring ease and unchanging meekness. His sufferings, borne with so much firmness and gentleness, have drawn more souls into his presence than all worldly success could have attracted ; and his character has exercised a wider influence on souls than perhaps it ever fell within the lot of a Pope before to accomplish. . . . And so, in spite of the few among us who have imbibed the giddiness of

the times, we have more and more one spirit in one body, even the spirit of Christ and of His obedience, flowing from the Head into the members.

The chivalrous sentiment of loyalty to the Pope was accompanied in some places by the defects of its qualities, and other defects as well. The conductors of the 'Univers' and of its successor, the 'Monde,' expressed devotion to the Pope in language which some of the French Bishops stigmatised as idolatrous, and treated Catholics who could not echo their extravagances as positively disloyal.

The feeling aroused by the trials of the Papacy was strong in England. Manning, who had been in Rome in 1860, with Wiseman, was deeply affected by it. And here, as well as in France, the resulting movement had its manifestations of a more extreme or more trivial nature. It became the fashion to dwell on every word and phrase of the Pope; to send him addresses on every occasion. The imitation to which men are led by passionate affection and loyalty, appeared in England, as elsewhere. The introduction of Roman customs even in small things seemed to give happiness—as a keepsake or picture is prized for the sake of the absent friend it recalls. In 1849 Newman had written to Wiseman, asking if Roman vestments were *permissible*, in spite of the episcopal sanction given to Gothic. Now not only Roman vestments, but the buckled shoes and knee-breeches of Roman ecclesiastics, were worn by English priests; and their use was regarded by some as a mark of the truly Roman spirit. Those who held aloof from such customs were looked upon as not in the fullest sense loyal Catholics. When

an academy was formed for English Catholics, it was affiliated to the Roman Academy. When University education was under discussion, it was proposed that Englishmen should send their sons to Rome for University training.

Wiseman's loyalty to the Holy See made him as zealous as anyone for the temporal power. But the absoluteness of the spirit of the 'Univers,' shared at that time by Manning, was little in harmony with his natural bent of mind. He preferred the peaceable large-mindedness suitable to the days when the Church is at peace, to the more stringent discipline and uniformity of a Church at war. His constant dream, as we have already seen, was of a Church adopting and sanctifying all that was best in modern civilisation. A largeness of concession, a spirit of freedom were requisite for this. He had little of the martinet about him. He had preached freedom in matters of taste—in architecture, in vestments—freedom too in matters intellectual; and these freedoms some were attempting to set aside in favour of a rigid uniformity as the test of orthodoxy—a system of badges and uniforms by which the true Papal janissaries might know each other.

However, ill-health and trouble prevented him from taking a strong line of his own. He came more and more under the influence of Manning in his practical measures, though he retained his sentiments of earlier days. His addresses and his letters breathe the old spirit; his actions were on the rigid side. When the Catholic Academia was opened in 1861, he spoke for the last time on his favourite theme—the adaptability of the Church to all civilisations. When Newman first

planned an Oratory at Oxford, he was all encouragement ; when Mr. Lisle Phillipps came to him with schemes for reunion, he was filled with sympathy for the Reunionists ; but, when matters came before him for official decision, he passed from the conciliatory methods of his earlier years, and fell in with Manning's more stringent and unbending policy. The sentiment which affected Catholics in England, as in France and Italy, was that the world was in a bad way, and that to arouse Catholic zeal and make Catholics loyal to the Holy See was a wiser policy than to attempt an impossible union with outside powers which could never really be enlisted on the right side. There was more likelihood of the compromises proposed by Reunionists introducing a leaven destructive of the true Catholic spirit of loyalty to the Papacy in its need, than of the Church securing the allegiance of men to whom the Papacy was a stumbling-block, and who had not really accepted the logical basis on which alone reunion was possible. So, too, in the case of University education. It was better that Catholics should miss the culture and knowledge of the world given by Oxford, than that they should risk loss of loyalty to the Church and possible loss of faith by going there. The Church and all that was without the Church appeared, in those years, more than ever as opposite camps. War, and not compromise, was the order of the day. One real convert, Manning maintained, was preferable to many who had an attraction to union with Rome, which was only sentimental, at a time when deeds were wanted and not words. Loyal Catholics from Ushaw and Stonyhurst

were better soldiers of the Church than Oxford men, formed by the *Zeitgeist* of an evil day. Of this view further particulars will be given in another chapter.

Wiseman, as I have said, could not change the language of his whole life. In critical matters he followed Manning's lead, but with the difference which his fixed habits of mind necessitated. It was when he returned from Rome in the summer of 1860, after another illness and operation *en route* in Paris, that he was urged by Manning to found an Academia, which was to be an intellectual centre for English Catholics. The two men really conceived of it differently—Wiseman as an institution which should keep Catholics abreast of the science and literature of the hour, Manning greatly as an engine for infusing the Roman spirit into the cultivated laity. Manning, in asking Newman to join it, notified that the temporal power would be one prominent subject of discussion; Newman, who believed that the most truly intellectual Catholics in England, at that moment, were those who would not sympathise with an institution for propagating what they would regard as an anti-liberal campaign, thereupon refused to join.

Wiseman delivered the inaugural address on June 29, 1861. It was a sketch of the ideal which had so long possessed him, but at a moment when its realisation was little in harmony with the indignant movement which occupied so largely the Catholic mind, and inspired the real founder of the Academia, Henry Edward Manning. The Cardinal dealt with the characteristic of the Church which makes it reflect and utilise the great features of the secular civilisation

in which she finds herself. He compared the work of the Church to that of the signalman on a railway. He is not the originating force, yet on his guidance all depends. So it is by turning in a right direction all the energies of modern civilisation, and adopting its institutions, that the Church is to do its work. His address had affinity to Leo XIII.'s exhortation to Frenchmen to be loyal republicans. It had little rhetorical affinity to Pius IX.'s indignant declaration, two years later, that the Church could never come to terms with modern progress. The address—written during ill-health—was in some respects unfinished, and it shirked the real difficulties of the theory it propounded. But it was a characteristic, and, in parts, a remarkable exposition of the bent of the Cardinal's sympathies.

Wiseman begins by comparing the Church to a large surface of wax, which, remaining really the same in bulk and substance, may take the successive shapes impressed on it by different dies. The civilisations of successive ages form the dies; and the Church reflects their outward characteristics, while it yet remains *semper eadem*—always the same.

> Something resembling this plastic faculty has God communicated to His Church, in its contact with the outward world. Without undergoing any organic or substantial modification, without being more or less at one time than another, she presents at every moment a surface to the great life of society, over which this rolls on, and imprints its features, its thoughts, its characteristic and specific qualities. The moral and social history of any age, or even portion of an age, can nowhere be so clearly deciphered as in the legislation, the discipline, the struggles, the literature, the arts, the biographies, nay, paradox as it may appear, in the very blank pages and lines, of the

Church. For what tells us more of the world's condition than where the Annals of the Church seem to have had whole leaves, not torn out, but only here and there jotted over by a trembling hand, and its scanty records blurred by tears, or even blood?

We begin with the very first age of its infancy. It was too weak and too poor to raise commemorative monuments of its progress: it buried its memorials beneath the ground; and modern industry has sought and found them. At first sight of some chapels in the Catacombs, the Christian antiquarian is startled, perplexed, almost scandalised. He can scarcely decide whether he has penetrated into a heathen tomb or into a Christian crypt. The freedom of design, the elegance of ornamentation, the vividness of colouring, and the arrangement of the parts in the general composition, recall perhaps to his mind the columbarium of the Augustan freedmen, or of the Nasones; and moreover, he sees, as leading figures, demigods of pagan fiction, engaged in scenes and actions of a hateful mythology. And yet the place, the disposition of its parts, its tombs, its inscriptions and its emblems, leave no doubt that we are in a most Christian cemetery, that bears, upon every panel and border, in its pictures and arabesques, on its vaults and walls, the forms of that early Roman art which had faded and vanished, even before the later persecutions. The Church had taken up, and represented on its subterranean temples, the transitory art of the period, with its uncongenial stories, which, by a happy symbolism, she robbed of their poison; and thus displayed her power of appropriating to herself one of the few good gifts which the most corrupt of worlds still possessed and could communicate.

But, not to carry this illustration minutely through successive centuries, not especially to dwell on the marked influence, or rather impressions, manifested by the Church, in her adoption of the Basilica for her architectural model, and of the Roman law as the part-foundation of her canonical code, and the precedent of her juridical proceedings, as evidences of her happier connexion with the Empire; recall to mind the later period when Europe emerged from the grave of a departed civilisation, and struggled for one of its own, heaving up the accumulated ruins and soil of the past, like one of Michelangelo's figures bursting from the tomb into the valley of judgment. What sort

of times do you call those? You answer, 'Of iron.' And you are right: days of massive, compacted, close-grained, high-wrought iron. And that supposes strong-built frames and well-knit muscles to wield the double-handed sword, or the knotted mace, with unfailing prowess.

Well, even of this almost ferocious power the Church took the stamp; not in the feudal institutions merely, which she partly adopted, and which made barons of her bishops, and nobles of her abbots. No: if the age was iron-cased in its outward fashions, it was steel-tempered in its inward organs, the organs of intellectual life and power. If the crusader could with ease often cleave to the shoulder, by one blow, the paynim's morion, it was no less the blow of a giant with which a Scotus could smash a sophism that protected error. If the fine-edged sword could cut through and through the truest-tempered mail on the infidel's breast, not because of the brute strength with which it was handled, but through the deftness and very delicacy of hand by which it was gracefully waved, no less easily were the intricacies of heresy or false theories ripped open, unravelled, and stripped off, by the intellectual keenness of a Thomas Aquinas, wielding the subtle weapons of the schools. Sturdy intellects rose side by side with stalwart frames. . . . Both were offspring of the same conditions of life, of a fresh, unprejudiced, and original civilisation, of barbarian blood, well combined from different races, under the engentling influences of Christian teaching, and the invigorating training of religious enthusiasm.

The Church took to herself the mighty mental development, and, with it yet clearly imprinted on her surface, retains the evidence of the wonderful vigour and strength of the epoch at once of knighthood and philosophy.

And here he touches a thought which suggests further development. The conservative nature of the Church preserves for ever the records of its past history. Every Holy Week we have repeated for us the exact words and symbolical ceremonies which animated the devotion of the Christians in the decaying Roman Empire. The scholastic philosophy which every

student for the priesthood has to learn, stereotypes the thoughts and intellectual forms of mediæval times. The very material buildings of the everlasting Church form landmarks of history, where the secular buildings have fallen into decay :

> Of the royal palaces which every sovereign erected, from Scandinavia to Sicily, scarcely one remains inhabited ; of the cathedrals which the Church contemporaneously built, scarcely one has fallen to decay. The few that *have* fallen have been victims of religious fury, or of calculating avarice. As you sail along the Rhine, the feudal castles that crown its crags are but picturesque ruins ; the parish churches of the same date, that nestle at their feet, are fresh and filled. Had not the Church preserved, almost intact, *her* share of the monuments of those ages, the beautiful architecture which is yet our model, either would have been eternally lost, or would have to be studied in fragments, scarcely less unintelligible than the history on Babylonian bricks.

And this has a deeper significance than may at first appear. It is the eternal need for religion expressed in devotion and in theology, which has kept the cathedrals used and inhabited. It has been the sense that the value of religion is eternal which has alike attracted so much of the work of genius to the service of the Church, and has preserved relics of artistic, architectural, and literary achievement in the churches, when they have perished elsewhere. Take the religious purpose out of some of the greatest creations of literature and art, and their life is destroyed :

> Secularise, for a moment, the 'Divina Commedia'; leave to it only Virgil and Beatrice with the poet ; suppress all but the histories of the petty tyrants of Italy, and of their deeds of atrocity and perfidy ; let it only chronicle the crimes of men

unknown, the passions of parties long forgotten—and you would indeed [keep] some tender or harrowing legends ; but on the whole you would remain with a dull chronicle, in beautiful verse and rich poetry, but a labyrinth of contemporary history, to be only threaded with a clue of ravelled commentary. You might then safely strike out the epithet of *divine* from the title of the work : it would be the most human of books. But where the vivid and rich theological thought of the age kindles the poet's imagination, when first, at the end of his 'Purgatorio,' he describes holy mysteries borne as of old on triumphal cars ; then in his 'Paradiso' soars from star to star, floats from harmony to harmony upon angels' wings, or rather breath, finds celestial knowledge and Divine wisdom in the discourse of the Saints whom I have enumerated—we become conscious how all that is characteristic, unique, and sublime in the poetry of the age, to which as yet we owe our sense of the truly beautiful, and withal holy, belongs to the part which the Catholic Church took in the action and movement of that period of revival. She preserves in those enduring records, which she inscribed on the vellum-sheets of Dante, as on her most solid monuments, the evidence of her connexion with the times of both, the fairest impression of a new golden age, more indelible than the traces of the former one are, in the writings or the edifices of the Augustan period. That venerable old poet, whose countenance is the type of a northern race, sitting day by day on the stone bench in the Piazza of Florence, watching the growth of Giotto's belfry, is an excellent symbol of that second mighty age.

And as to that great distinctive quality given to it, of which that painter-architect is the aptest representative, it would seem superfluous to say, that if the world, at that time, gave birth, education, even genius and unmatched skill, to innumerable painters, illuminators, engravers, enamellers, jewellers, medallists, artists in bronze, sculptors in marble, wood, and every other material, such as the world never before saw, all this prolific power would have been wasted and utterly lost, if the Church had not happily, in accordance with her mission on earth, received upon her ample surface the most beautiful and the most durable of its productions, there impressed. She rushed, like Veronica, with her outspread veil, to catch the inspired *effigies* and true images, which genius seemed to have

caught in Heaven, of things celestial, and hung them up for the admiration and reverence of generations to come.

The Church has thus (he maintains) been at once inspirer and preserver of the highest genius in art and literature, from the days when the monasteries preserved all that remained of art, learning, or civilisation after the devastations of Vandal and Goth, even to the period of the Reformation of the sixteenth century.

What a remarkable proof and illustration of this truth is in the very period of which I have just spoken! It was one in which it might have been thought that the world had most mastered the Church. Love of art had been pushed the nearest to luxuriousness, literature had apparently most nearly reached enervation, even ecclesiastical life seemed to have almost touched on voluptuousness. And yet at this moment the jealousy of truth, the ardent love of sound faith, the intolerance of error, broke out with a vigour, a firmness, a brilliancy, such as even at the Arian epoch had not been surpassed, with a learning, an acuteness, and extensiveness never since rivalled. That period of supposed secularism oppressing the Church proved to be the glorious era of the Council of Trent; and the very Pope who has been accused of having yielded more than became him to the weakening and effeminating influence of art, was the very one who seized by the throat the hydra of the new heresy, and grappled with it. . . .

And what further evidence we have of this necessary mutual action, in the fact that even St. Charles, so stern in his orthodoxy, so lynx-eyed in his watchfulness over accuracy in faith, yet considered himself bound, in graceful deference to the classical taste of the world, to clothe the teaching of the Church in pure and elegant diction, and employ the tasteful scholar to impress the type of his age upon the unalterable doctrine of the theologian.

Such, honoured Academicians, has been the Church in every age. Whatever is good, whatever virtuous, whatever useful in the world, at every time, she has allowed to leave its seal upon her outward form. And now another day, another

generation, another spirit has come : has come with the good-will of God, has come through His ever-varying Providence.

The civilisation to be assimilated in the nineteenth century is that of modern science. But here the Cardinal notes that while real science may be to the Church once again the die to the wax, her attitude towards men who approach her in the *name* of science, but as assured enemies, is necessarily different. She accepts facts ; she refuses to accept bigoted and hostile theories. And he points to the significant circumstance that the Congregation of the 'Index' has ever abstained from condemning works of pure science, though it has condemned the application of scientific theories to theology.

The science of our day comes forward, not only disclaiming co-operation, sympathy, or good wishes from the Church, or from religion, but as a rival, an adversary, an antagonist. It advances defiant and rampant, and menacing ; too often with a sarcasm on its lips, nay, with blasphemies, scoffs, and lies upon its tongue. It 'speaks great things' ; and treats with levity and contempt of what we deem most holy. And because we do not run forward, and meet half way, and embrace, and receive a Judas-kiss from this declared foe, the Catholic is taunted as afraid of science, as a lover of darkness, as a foe to progress. When men go forth to welcome the burglar who plainly tells them that he is coming to plunder and despoil them, and lead him into their house, or the incendiary who shows them the torch with which he intends to set fire to their property, and point out to him the most inflammable part—then we may be expected to fraternise with men whose avowed purpose is to rob and to destroy. . . .

On science seriously and conscientiously conducted, the Church looks on, fearless but cautious : fearless of facts, but most cautious of deductions. It is indeed a notable fact, that while you will find the Roman 'Index' loaded with works on history, treatises of metaphysics, political, or rather anti-social,

pamphlets, you will look in vain there for scientific books, astronomical or geological.

As to geological discovery—which was much to the front at the time of Wiseman's address—he maintains that the account of the order of Creation in Genesis is, at all events, more readily harmonised with its results, than the other cosmogonies ; and, in point of fact, it was the study of Scripture which led to that of geology.

Then what shall we conclude? That it is our duty to follow without anxiety, but with an unflinching eye, the progress of science. Even when this is in the hands of upright and sincere men, experience has shown—and I could illustrate it by instances—that they may be mistaken even in their statements, and in their observation of facts. There have been too many examples of illusion, and of hasty deduction, for us to repose absolute confidence in any naturalist, especially if he has already formed a theory. But let repeated observation establish a fact, and we need not fear its consequences. . . .

And if science needs careful watching in its observations, surely it sadly wants it in its inferences. It is chiefly over these that the Church invites her children to be vigilant. For these fall generally into the hands of sciolists, and those half-learned who deal in what Pope has so well characterised as 'a dangerous thing.' It is over their superficial applications, their half-suppressed truths, and half-displayed errors, that we are invited to keep watch and ward, lest little ones be seduced, and the weak-minded be misled. It is for this purpose that we are incorporating ourselves this day. As, in ancient times, those who loved and studied art gathered round its masters or its models to learn its principles, from the instructions of the former, or the inspirations of the latter—and these were the schools, or *Academies*, of art—so, in later times, have similar institutions been created, for gathering together persons bound by a similar community of pursuits to learn from one another, or from a common source. Such are the learned societies of our own country, such the *Academies* of the Continent.

In the seventeenth century, Rome saw spring up the remarkable Academy of the *Lincei*, or *Lynx-eyed*, whose principal and avowed object was to promote physical science. Its founder was the clever and religious young nobleman Federico Cesi, who, at the age of eighteen, in the year 1606, established it in the house of his haughty and ignorant father, the Duke of Aquasparta; who, while yet a stripling, was consulted by Cardinal Bellarmin on scientific matters, and was almost rebuked by him for his superfluous display of patristic learning; who, after persecutions, almost to death, by his unnatural parent, still persevered through his short life; who inaugurated his Academy by a devout visit of its members to St. John Lateran's on St. John's day, and opened every meeting by prayer; and who has lately been commemorated in science by the name of Cæsia, given by Brown to an Australian family in botany. The Acts of the Academy still form a valuable fund of materials in the history of science. His Academy was revived by Leo XII., and has its halls and observatory on the Capitol.

In 1799, the growth of infidelity excited the zeal of the learned Mgr. Zamboni, and suggested the necessity of forming a society for the purpose of checking its rapid and overbearing course over Italy. One man will in vain cast a stone, or roll a rock into a torrent's bed; twelve men, from different tribes, may, by each carrying one, raise a warning mound in the midst of a river's course. The Society held its first meetings privately, and members read their papers to try their strength. In the first year of the century, the Holy Pontiff Pius VII. incorporated, blessed it, and approved its rules under the name of the 'Accademia di Religione Cattolica.' From that day it has prospered, has flourished and has grown. It has counted among its members many illustrious men, and, no doubt, a few less worthy of note.

Wiseman concludes by referring to his own connexion with the Roman Academy, and summing up his conception of the work of its English branch:

In the year 1830, I had the honour of being, without solicitation, elected a member of this Academy, and the following year I read a paper in it, in presence of Card. Cappellari, Prefect of

Propaganda, whose gracious commands I received to extend and publish it.

On June 16, 1837, I delivered a discourse on the Oxford Movement, making it known for the first time in Italy; on the 4th of the same month, 1840, I read a paper on Boniface VIII., since expanded in the 'Dublin Review.' None of the others have appeared in English.

I venture, therefore, to come before you, as a veteran of thirty years' standing in these ranks, with some right to seek recruits for our renewed warfare. The Roman Academy, to which I have sent papers from England to be read, in proof of my enduring connexion, has encouraged us to form a branch here, as a bulwark or outpost, nearer the post of danger from pretended science, and has granted us a patent of incorporation as a branch of itself.

Our call for associates has been nobly and graciously responded to, and I beg, in the name of our Roman President, the Eminent Cardinal Asquini, my friend and schoolfellow, and in that of our illustrious associates, to thank you and welcome you.

Strong in faith, and secure in revelation, it will be our pleasing task to meet from time to time, to discuss interesting subjects, and bring into and keep in harmony science and religion. The Church's position is lofty, but only thus can she watch over the progress of other institutions. It may be a homely illustration; but she seems to occupy, in our times, the place of the watchman whom we see standing, ever vigilant, where many iron paths meet, cross, or diverge. His object is not to arrest the rapid career of the panting engine, or the multitudes whom it draws after it, or the wealth which it conveys far away. With one firm touch of his hand, with one gentle pressure of the fine mechanism, he directs its power and velocity upon its right track. One moment of neglect, one mistake in his action, and thousands may be driven into a fatal collision, or turned into a wrong direction. Our office be, in her name, to employ the resources at our command, gently, delicately, yet firmly and strongly, to guide many on the right path, and so earn for ourselves the blessings due to everyone who saves another from evil, or leads him into good.

The Academia, in the event, dealt both with the

scholarly and scientific researches contemplated by Wiseman, and with the advocacy of principles dear to the heart of Provost Manning. The first paper was from the hand of Wiseman's antiquarian ally, Dr. Rock. Mr. Ward's paper, a year later, against Catholic Liberalism, was more on the lines of Manning's crusade in favour of Ultramontane zeal among the laity.

The co-operation of Manning and Wiseman became closer than ever, in consequence of the events of the summer of 1860. Wiseman's hope was—so Father Morris and Bishop Patterson alike testify—that Manning would succeed him as Archbishop. Broken in health, he lived chiefly in the country and surrendered himself to the influence of the strong will and definite views of his friend. Manning's chief interest was still in the Oblates at St. Edmund's and at Bayswater. Wiseman occupied the time of his convalescence at Leyton, in the autumn of 1860, in writing Latin hymns in honour of the patrons of the two houses—St. Edmund of Canterbury and St. Charles Borromeo.

The following letter from Manning suggested as suitable for the hymn to St. Charles certain features in the life of that great Saint and Cardinal Archbishop:

Bayswater: Oct. 6, 1860.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—. . . I have been too slow in thanking you for the Hymn of S. Edmund. It is much advanced in finish since I last heard it, and is very successful. I especially like the stanza about the Litteræ Græcæ.

I am also rejoiced to hear that S. Charles is already in hand.

I should like to have it to give on S. Charles's day, if that is not too short a time.

The points in his life which seem to bring out his character most appear to me to be—

1. His 'Humilitas' with the Cross upon it.

2. His early and singular elevation, with complete detachment from the world.

3. His relation to the Holy See and the Council of Trent.

4. His devotion to the mystery of our Lord's Agony and His Burial.

5. His walking about his palace at night barefoot, for fear of awaking his Familia.

6. His making S. Felix Cantaliani, who could not read, revise the Rule of the Oblates. . . .

7. The Plague in Milan.

8. The contest with the Civil Power about his jurisdiction.

9. His reading H. Scripture on his bare knees.

10. His stripping his house to feed the poor.

11. The attempt to shoot him at his night prayers, and his pardon of the assassin.

12. His *angustissima cella* at S. Sepolcro.

13. His washing the plates and dishes at the Barnabites' when in Retreat.

14. His climbing the mountains on hands and knees to visit his diocese.

15. His going on his knees in the Holy Year from Sta Pudentiana to S. Maria Maggiore.

I am happy to say that the Jubilee at S. Edward's was most successful. The congregation increased to the end. About 500 kissed the relic the last night. The *cattivissima razza* gave 15 instructions and 17 sermons.

I have had very kind letters from C. Barnabò and from Bedini. There is nothing of matter in them to send you.

As to Monday, I will do my best; I heartily wish you had to do it. The subject is as difficult as it is great.

I ought to add about S. Charles—

1. That when he entered Milan the people called out that it was S. Ambrose.

2. That he was taken ill of his last sickness at the Calvary of Varallo, and was found in the Station of the Burial.

3. That his last words were 'Ecce venio.'

4. That after his death he appeared to his confessor and told him he should die in three days—as if his Humilitas covered even this memory of his interior life.

I am rejoiced to hear such good accounts of you from several sources.

Believe me, my dear Lord Cardinal,
Your affectionate servant,
H. E. MANNING.

The great unpopularity of Provost Manning in the diocese continued, and was perhaps for the time increased by the deposition of Dr. Errington. In the early summer of 1861, Cardinal Wiseman judged it wisest that the Oblates should be removed from St. Edmund's. Although they were not personally unpopular, the feeling of the whole College and of nearly all the clergy of the diocese was against their presence in the College. The sentiment was so universal that to ignore it would probably serve only to make confirmed opponents of the more moderate members of the clergy, who might else be won to a more friendly attitude. Manning wrote as follows to the Cardinal, accepting the situation:

25 Palace Street, Westminster: June 17, 1861.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—I am not sure that I left on your mind sufficiently the assurance that we shall not regard Dr. Hearn's proposal of our retirement from the College as an adverse resolution. Therefore I hope you will not hesitate to consent to it. There is one thing I have never yet consciously done—that is, oppose any will of yours; and if no higher motive or affection constrained me, the desire to show certain men how little they have known me would be enough to make me so continue to the end. I have said to you before, and say still, that rather than cause you any pain I would retire from my external work. I say this, not as doubting of any work

in which I am engaged, for I never had a moment's doubt of all that you have permitted me to do under and with and for you in these last years. I believe it is necessary for the diocese and certain of success at last. As to the present rally of the opposition, I have seen it for months. But I am convinced that it is the work of a few men, who affect very few and lead hardly any. And I do not believe it has any hold on the young men, the working men, and, except a small number, on the laity. And I know from all these classes the estimate they form of the school and spirit which is dying out.

In one way our conversation to-day was consoling to me; for, but for your generosity of confidence, I could hardly expect that no greater impression would be made on your mind.

I inclose a letter from Mgr. Nardi, which I think must be written before your last letters reached the Cardinal Vicar.

Believe me, my dear Lord Cardinal,
Your affectionate servant,
HENRY E. MANNING.

The Cardinal placed entirely in Manning's hands the conduct of his further dealings with the other English Bishops. He found most of them unwilling to come, in 1861, to the usual gathering in Low Week, before affairs had been finally settled in Rome: and he appointed Manning his agent or Procurator to complete the pleadings before Propaganda. He likewise surrendered to the Provost his rights over the 'Dublin Review,' which Manning transferred to Mr. W. G. Ward, with whom both he and the other Oblates—including Father Herbert Vaughan—had been closely associated at St. Edmund's. When the autumn of 1861 came, Wiseman was too much out of health to accompany Manning to Rome, and postponed his journey thither until the spring, the time fixed for the canonisation of the Japanese martyrs and the great religious *festa* in honour of the occasion.

Dr. Clifford and Dr. Brown were both to go to Rome in the course of the autumn, to urge especially the ratification of the decree on the Colleges drawn up by Dr. Grant and Dr. Errington at the Synod, and also to represent the objections of the Episcopate to what they considered the Cardinal's arbitrary conduct at the Synod, and to go into the details of his *Elenchus*, which the Bishops had been directed to answer point by point. Manning considered that his former opponents—Dr. Goss and Dr. Errington—had been more formidable, and had no fear as to the issue. In the event the two Bishops were joined by Dr. Ullathorne, whose attitude, however, on the disputed questions was far more moderate. The following letters from Dr. Manning to the Cardinal, who was recruiting in the Isle of Wight, nursed by his dear friend Mgr. Thompson of Eshe, tell their own story. The Cardinal was the guest of Miss Gladstone, and Mr. W. E. Gladstone was also on a visit to his sister for part of the Cardinal's stay.

St. Mary of the Angels, Bayswater : Oct. 12, 1861.

My dear Lord Cardinal,—I am very glad that you are staying on quietly at Ryde, and very glad that you have such a quiet to withdraw into, where you are kindly and gratefully received and tended. The life you have here and the atmosphere which presses on you does not please those who desire to see your laborious life prolonged into a lasting season of brightness and peace. This is why I wish Mgr. Thompson to be always with you, and why I am glad to think of you where you are. If it will prolong your stay, I will run down to Ryde the week after next.

The last few days I have been sorting and destroying a mass of old letters accumulated during thirty years. Of the writers at least thirty-six are gone, two are labouring under mental

affections, and two are in their last illness. It has been a sort of first week 'de fine hominis.'[1] But it has given me a renewed sense of the wonderful grace of God in bringing me 'de tenebris in admirabile lumen suum.' I remember I used to have constantly in my mind Dante's words of a soul in Paradise: 'E dal martirio venni a questa pace.'

As to Rome, I have no doubt that an attempt will be made against the *Elenchus* and the decision on the Synod. The only check is that Dr. Ullathorne on these points would not be active . . . .

Then will come all the Capitular affair, which may be easily disposed of after the *Elenchus*.

On the whole, I think there is no great cause for anxiety. And it seems to me, in this case at least, safer *regem sequi* than to go before him; for it is only a small part of the *combattimento* I had with Barnabò last year when he was harping upon the '*Vi sono otto Vescovi contro il Cardinale*.' He weighed the opposition at last, not by the number, but by the *Elenchus*. I do not think that the two who are going are formidable after Dr. Errington and Dr. Goss.

The inclosed from Archbishop Cullen will, I hope, gratify you.

I have not brought you the 'Professor of the Breakfast-table,' for I spoke too soon. About the middle of the book it became vulgar and animal, and lost all the bright and joyous tone of the former part, so that I could hardly finish it, and did so with aversion.

I hope you are very much better, and that you will not work and think after 9.30 P.M. It is an old sin of yours, and a bad one.

Pray give my kind regards to Miss Gladstone.

Believe me, my dear Lord Cardinal,
Your affectionate servant,
H. E. MANNING.

Leamington: Oct. 15, 1861.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—My mention of Dr. Ullathorne did not imply that he was going to Rome, but strangely

[1] The 'first week' of the Spiritual Exercises, according to the method of St. Ignatius Loyola, is devoted to the consideration of the 'end of man' and the object of his life.

enough I have this morning learned that he and Dr. Clifford start on the 21st to be in Rome by the end of this month.

I cannot say that I am sorry for it: for I believe there will be no solid peace till there has been a *sfogo*. Moreover, I think it of great moment that your Eminence should be the respondent in this case, and also that the first criticisms and resistance of the line taken on this subject should come from the Propaganda in Rome, and not from your Eminence or anyone in your name. This will clear your line and make the work of reply easy. I had this in my mind on Saturday when I said that I had rather 'come after the king.' I cannot but think that when spring opens you will make a pleasant progress southward to the Canonisation, and will put the last hand to many things in person.

To-morrow I hope to be at Campden, till Saturday, and then at home.

Believe me, my dear Lord Cardinal,
Your affectionate servant,
H. E. MANNING.

Manning started for Rome in company with Dr. Gillow of Ushaw early in November. At Avignon he met the Cardinal's old friend Lord Brougham. He writes to the Cardinal from Nice as follows:

Nice: Sunday, Nov. 17, 1861.

MY DEAR LORD CARDINAL,—We got here on Friday, and go on to-morrow to Genoa, and hope to be there Tuesday night. We then purpose to go on to Rome without delay, and to arrive by the end of this or the beginning of next week.

Dr. Gillow, I am sorry to say, suffers much pain, and is more permanently disabled than I was aware of; but he bears it with great cheerfulness and patience. I am much the better for the change of air, and feel very well.

In Paris I saw hardly anyone. The Cardinal was absent, and Montalembert, and nearly everyone. The only notables we have met are little Prince Leopold, who is the image of the Queen when she came to the throne. We travelled the same line for three days. He is a very pleasing-looking boy, very bright and *ruly*. But I am told that his state is very anxious;

a slight touch on the skin brings blood. The other notable was Lord Brougham, whom I met at Avignon. We travelled the same road to Cannes, and spent the morning at his Villa on Friday. It is very beautiful and most comfortable. He asked much about your Eminence, and talked of your last meeting. I have not spoken to him for years, and he seems to me very much aged and feeble.

I am enjoying this beautiful climate. It is bright and bracing, but not cold, and I should like to stay a while here, though, thank God, I hardly feel to need it now.

You must have been tired, I am afraid, with S. Charles's day; but it went off very well. There must have been between seventy and eighty priests during the day, which is the largest number we have ever had, and many of them enjoyed themselves much.

I shall be expecting letters from your Eminence at Rome by the time I arrive. Howard will, I hope, bring the 'Rambler.' By this time, I suppose, he is on the everlasting rail, if his everlasting lawyers have let him go.

Nothing can be worse than the chief French papers on the great subject of this moment. And it is difficult to know what is the feeling of this country. I suspect it to be more on the right side. But the good are passive and silent.

I hope you continue well.

Believe me, my dear Lord Cardinal,
Your affectionate servant,
H. E. MANNING.

Cardinal Wiseman's letters at this time to his old friend Mr. Walker have a pathetic interest, as showing how painful the differences with his Chapter and fellow-Bishops had been to him, and how he yearned for the sympathy of old friendship—sympathy of a kind which his most staunch supporter and future successor could not from temperament ever give him completely. Mr. Walker had been with the Cardinal during part of the campaign of 1859-60 in Rome, and it was clear that, old friend though he was, his

ecclesiastical views were on the other side. Still the Cardinal could not forbear writing with the old intimacy, and telling him what was passing. The immense influence of Manning and the Cardinal in Rome evidently gave the Bishops a feeling that their chances were unfairly small, and Dr. Ullathorne offered to resign his see. This step had its effect in securing a more favourable consideration for the Bishops. Dr. Ullathorne was, next to the Cardinal, perhaps the most influential of the Bishops, and the Pope spoke to him in person, and begged him to retain his functions.

The Cardinal wrote to Mr. Walker on February 14, giving an account of what was going on in Rome, and describing those points in the procedure of the Bishops which he had found specially trying. The letter concludes as follows :

Now, I think, I have told you quite as much as I know myself, and far more than I have told anyone else. I trust it to your prudence, for I do not want to embroil myself in matters more than has been our case hitherto.

Sat funeri, sat lacrymis,
Sat est datum doloribus.

Peace, peace, peace, for my remnant of days, is all I ask. As a modern Greek poet says :

Πλοῦτον δὲν θέλω,
Δόξαν δὲν θέλω·
Θέλω εἰρήνην,
Ψυχῆς γαλήνην.

I say nothing about the present controversy between my suffragans and myself, still less of the higher points of difference which stand in the background, and are the real phalanx of which the actual disputes are but the *velites*. I vainly imagine that, on both, your sympathies are against me. Early associa-

tions, and – shall I say Lancashire influences, very naturally may lead you on an ecclesiastical and theological path diverging from mine. . . . Here I am at the *finis chartæque viæque*.

Your affectionate servant in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Canon Walker apparently wrote a full answer, going into the whole question on which—notably on the College decree—he was far from concurring with Wiseman. Wiseman sent no reply. Mr. Walker failing to hear, or to receive the customary pressing invitation to York Place, wrote for an explanation, fearing that he had overstepped the limits of friendly criticism. The Cardinal's answer is pathetic, and shows him worn in body and spirit. But it was simply an agreement to differ, and the old friends remained with friendship unbroken.

Leyton : April 27, 1862.

MY DEAR WALKER,—I am not living in London myself, as the painters are hardly out of my house, and it is not considered safe for me to sleep in it yet. This will account for my not having asked you or anyone else to it. But this year, besides, I feel so much the necessity of complete repose of mind, that I dare not entertain guests beyond absolute necessity. Searle is unwell, and the whole burthen of correspondence falls upon me ; besides several heavy literary tasks, the Exhibition, my journey to Rome, and the peculiar delicacy of our thin episcopal meeting, not to speak of several domestic troubles . . . interfere with the little stock left me of vigour and power, so as to oblige me to husband painfully the small strength and time which yet remain to me. Not, therefore, from the causes which you assign, of resentment or displeasure, do I feel unequal to the exercise of hospitality, but because, centred much more in myself –or in my own weakness, if you please –I do not feel equal to the jar and conflict of opinions with others, and could not stand the discussion of things now past or of principles or feelings which I know I must carry to the grave.

Your letter I showed, and spoke of, to no one. I mentioned it in general terms, to, I think, two correspondents, in one sentence, and so put it by till occasion offered itself to me to write on other matters. To have *answered* it—there being nothing requiring answer, but itself being a reply to one from me—would have been to prolong a needless discussion. This I thought it better to drop, lest friendship and intimacy might suffer through it. I said expressly in my letter that I believed old associations and local influences had made you go on a different track from me on great questions, and I did not expect you to agree with me. . . . As you hear much, I thought it was fair for you to know all, and only to another person have, or had, I written or made known as much ; for I know well from how few I have a right to expect the sympathies of friendship.

Well, a line which said, 'I am sorry that you should be subjected to this new and painful trial,' would have been as drops of dew or of balm to me in that hour, especially as I acknowledged that I could not expect your accordance or fellow-feeling in the main questions on which my colleagues differed from me. Instead, however, of anything like this, came your hard-headed letter, taking up this very excluded point, and replying simply on the 'Serves you right' principle of entering into what I wished to avoid. What could I feel or do? I said to myself, 'This letter, after all, in truth only acknowledges that I was right in what I wrote when I told Mr. Walker that he and I differed on great points in our Catholic interests. So far, therefore, there is nothing to answer.' Was there anything to answer as to your statement in it of facts? Certainly much ; but to get into correspondence on these would have been to enter on the very ground which I wished to avoid—that of our differences. For though our *contubernium* at Rome brought these out far more prominently, I had always been aware of them, nor had they interrupted friendship. . . .

Let us correspond, if you please again about France and America, the Exhibition or Naples, and put aside all topics on which one of us is the doer and sufferer, and the other the quiet spectator : 'Suave mari magno, turbantibus,' &c.

It was certainly stupid and foolish on my part to look, or care, for so useless a thing as human sympathy where aims and

consequences were so much above its want as I hope they were. *Aliquid humani* we all suffer at times, for our own correction. So do not fear any repetition of trouble from my personal affairs.

I am sorry to hear of your domestic misfortune, and trust you may find things better than you anticipated. I pray God to console you, and to turn your fears into Paschal joys. I direct this letter 'not to be forwarded' that it may not intrude on your domestic affliction.

Your affectionate servant in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

There is no doubt that Manning's skilful conduct of affairs contributed greatly to the success of Cardinal Wiseman's cause in Rome. When the Cardinal arrived there, in May, for the canonisation of the Japanese martyrs, affairs were almost settled; and the College matter — though the most important of all — was regarded by him (erroneously, as it appeared later) as practically determined in his favour. The Pope spoke strongly to the Bishops on the necessity of unity. Mgr. Talbot wrote to Manning, who had returned to England, of the Cardinal's success, but added, 'I think his Eminence in future ought to try to be as civil as possible to [the Bishops], always, however, maintaining his rights.'

The canonisation of the Japanese martyrs was one of those events in Catholic history which startle the secular world. When Pius IX. had been driven an exile to Gaeta, and all the world supposed he must be fully occupied with diplomatic negotiations for his restoration, he issued his letter on the Immaculate Conception. And now he chose the moment when his secular fortunes seemed again at their lowest, for a great universal demonstration of

homage to the heroic martyrs of Japan. So too, eight years later, when deprived of all his possessions except Rome, he assembled the Vatican Council.

Three hundred Bishops and some three thousand foreign priests repaired to Rome for the canonisation. Bishop Ullathorne graphically described some of the principal scenes, in letters written to a friend from Rome at the time. He writes as follows on May 22:

This morning we assisted at a semi-official Consistory. After all had spoken and the Pope had concluded his allocution, his Holiness made a most touching and affecting address out of his very heart. He spoke of the glory of the martyrs, of the delight of having around him the Bishops from all parts of the world, and of his bitter sorrow at the miseries of Italy. He asked each of us to say a Mass for the conversion of sinners. When he spoke of some who had been unfaithful, he wept, he trembled, he shook upon his throne; his voice grew broken, and he said words to himself in the intervals of his address in an under tone, as if encouraging himself. And the Bishops thrilled and wept with him; old, grey-headed men, many of whom then saw the Pope for the first time, covered their faces with their hands and wept. There was but one heart in that august assembly of the Church's rulers, and that heart was the Pope's. He had put that sorrowing heart of his into the heart of each one present.

The same writer thus describes the closing function:

Rome: June 10, 1862.

Three hundred Bishops, including Cardinals, and 3,000 foreign priests, and a number of devout laity from all quarters crowd Rome. Bishop Clifford found four poor French *abbés* in the streets at 11 P.M., unable to get shelter, and kneeling before a Madonna as their refuge. He got them with much difficulty into a hospital amongst the sick for the night. Cardinal Altieri, the Bishop of Moulins, and Monsignor Nardi had opened their suites of apartments for reunions of the prelates twice a week. Those at the Palazzo Altieri were quite remarkable. I have

seen 22 Cardinals and 150 Bishops assembled at once. Everything is done to make Rome agreeable and to bring the prelates acquainted, and the intense heat that is so continual is the only drawback.

St. Peter's within is like a fairy tent of paint and paper;—candelabra and coronas, put up at the cost of 12,000*l*. But it is not St. Peter's; it is a tent for a day, to disappear to-morrow. The numerous paintings, representing the scenes of suffering and charity of the martyred Saints, are very beautiful. Thirteen thousand candles, weighing 30,000 lbs., light it up from roof to floor. The Pope gives audiences to hundreds and even thousands at a time of priests and laity; walks through them, addresses them, and to the priests gives medals. . . . The Bishops are all made free of the city, of the noble class, by special diploma of the Senate; and a medal is to be presented to each by the city, in addition to the magnificent one presented by the Pope. The enthusiasm is very great, and the courtesy exhibited in the streets could not well be surpassed.

It is felt that an immense invigoration is preparing for the Church.

On Sunday we assembled in the Vatican by 6 A.M. The procession began at 7. The 300 mitres, they say, was a grand spectacle—the largest number since the Council of Lateran seen together in Rome. The interior of St. Peter's was very dim, the lights being a feeble substitute in so vast a place for open sunlight, and in the course of the function light was introduced through the windows. It lasted five hours. The Pope both sang Mass and preached a homily, and was none the worse after it all.

Yesterday was the last Consistory. The Pope gave an allocution, and then the Bishops presented a long address, read by the oldest Cardinal Bishop, and signed by all. Then the Pope uttered a short reply from his heart, exceedingly sweet and touching. Then we rambled about the Vatican until dinner-time at 2 P.M. Each prelate received a plan of the tables with his own number and name printed, so that he found his place without difficulty. The Pope sat under a canopy in the centre. The Cardinals were dispersed amongst the Bishops; each Bishop sat according to his order and time of nomination. The dinner was admirably served, and the 300 guests were

each attended to without the slightest hitch, delay, or inconvenience. This resulted from having three distinct sets of servants one to look to the guests, one to bring in the course, and another to carry off the one to which it succeeded. Thus the dinner exactly occupied the hour and a half which the Pope wished it not to exceed. . . .

After dinner we strolled through the beautiful gardens of the Vatican ; and the mixture of red and purple robes, with a sprinkle of black, brown, and ash colour of the regulars, made, in the bright sunshine, amidst the dark foliage and white statuary, a magnificent spectacle. All commingled and conversed, as if they had known each other from childhood, Italian, French, and Latin being the tongues most commonly heard. At last we gathered in a cool pleasaunce encircled by colonnades, round fountains and groups of flowers, where coffee was served ; and then we regularly mobbed the Holy Father. . . . He got on some steps, and we all crowded round him. 'Holy Father, Holy Father, you have given us everything ; what will you give our flocks ?' His eyes twinkled with the fun of the scene. Cardinal Donnet had got him by the arm, and all were calling together. 'Well,' he said at last, 'a plenary indulgence and the Apostolic Benediction on your return.' 'But is it for all the congregations ?' 'Well, then, at the first pastoral visit you make.' Then it was 'Evviva !' and 'Hurrah !' for the Holy Father, and we all shouted like boys let loose.

Then he took an old German Cardinal by the arm, and as he walked on he said, 'You see, he is older than I am, and yet [he is my] support.'

And so all hearts were open, free, and glad, and the Fathers of the Church became as children round the common Father. . . . . It was a happy day for him, and yet many had occasional sad thoughts, and even words. The Bishop of Geneva said to me, 'May we not use the words of our Lord, "I have desired to eat this supper with you *before I suffer*" ?'

During this visit to Rome, Cardinal Wiseman stayed at the Palazzo Doria. A meeting was held there, of the 300 Bishops assembled in the city, to arrange for the presentation of the address of loyalty to the Pope referred to by Bishop Ullathorne. And

Wiseman was invited to preside and draw up the address. He was also deputed to express, on behalf of the Bishops, their acknowledgments for the honour done to them by the Roman Senate, in conferring on them the freedom of the city.

The critical state of political affairs in Rome, and the encroachments of the Piedmontese, moreover, gave to Cardinal Wiseman's presence in Rome unusual importance, from his known friendship with Napoleon III. It was arranged that, on his way back to England, he should see the Emperor, and attempt to influence his action in the Italian question. The Pope marked out the English Cardinal, during his whole visit, for special favour. 'Certainly,' wrote Mgr. Talbot, 'the position he occupied in Rome at the Canonisation was one of the greatest events of his life.' He left Rome on June 21st, and had his audience with the Emperor a few days later. Manning writes of this interview, of which the Cardinal told him: 'It is indeed a complete success, and places him where he never stood before, both in Rome and in England.'

The sanguine hopes of an alteration in the Imperial policy were not destined to be realised. And the Cardinal had a further disappointment, a little later, when the decree as to the government of the Colleges was given against him in Rome. Still the trials he had gone through in the adjustment of the relative rights involved in the ecclesiastical constitution of 1850, were now for the most part at an end, and the remaining two and a half years of his life were passed in comparative peace.

CHAPTER XXIX

LAST YEARS

1862–1865

ONE result of the action of the Liberal Government in 1851, had been to break the alliance between the Catholics and the Liberal party. We have seen that, between 1720 and 1730, the friendship between the 'Papists' and their old allies of the Jacobite wars, the English Tories, had waxed cold. In the succeeding fifty years, it was from the Liberal principle of religious toleration alone that Catholics had anything to hope. And the Relief Acts, culminating in 'emancipation,' had made staunch Liberals of the remnant of the party. Lord John Russell's action, in 1850–1, damped their Liberal enthusiasm. In the subsequent agitation, on the part of Wiseman and his friends, for the redress of grievances (of which I must speak directly), as much was to be hoped from Tory as from Whig. Lord Palmerston's support of the policy of Cavour—which many have regarded as the determining cause of Victor Emmanuel's invasion of the States of the Church—aroused Cardinal Wiseman's strenuous opposition. The Tories turned Palmerston out in 1858;[1] and the Ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, which

[1] Lord Palmerston was supposed to be truckling to Louis Napoleon in the Bill he introduced after Orsini's attempt on the Emperor's life.

succeeded, was firmly supported by Mr. (afterwards Sir George) Bowyer in the House of Commons, and by Cardinal Wiseman, who did their best to keep it in power by urging Irish Catholic members to uphold it.

Eventually many English Catholics of note became avowed Conservatives.[1] Disraeli's historical imagination was interested in the return of English Catholics to an alliance with Toryism,[2] and we learn from Shirley's 'Table Talk'[3] that he prided himself on being instrumental in the change. When his Government went out of office in 1859, he conveyed his acknowledgments in the following letter to Mr. Bowyer:

Grosvenor Gate: June 25, 1859.

MY DEAR SIR,—I do not wish to retire from office without offering you my thanks for the valuable and truly independent support which, during the trying period of our existence as Ministers, we invariably received at your hands.

I should feel gratified also if, through your medium, I might convey to Cardinal Wiseman my sense of the generous and courageous manner in which his Eminence accorded us his assistance. It was given ungrudgingly, without solicitation and without condition, and with that true feeling which can only be prompted by a high sense of duty.

Believe me, dear Mr. Bowyer,
Yours sincerely,
B. DISRAELI.

[1] The present Lord Arundell of Wardour was the first Catholic peer who sat on the Conservative side of the House.

[2] Mr. Wallis, editor of the *Tablet*, had no small share in cementing this alliance a little later. At the same time, it need hardly be said, it never became more than a very partial alliance. Many of those who were most indignant with the Government in 1851, eventually renewed their political support of the Whigs.

[3] See Shirley's *Table Talk*, p. 252. 'I looked,' Disraeli writes in 1864, '. . . to a reconciliation between the Tory party and the Roman Catholic subjects of the Queen. . . . I have never relinquished my purpose, and have now, I hope, nearly accomplished it.'

Since Cardinal Wiseman's first appointment to the London district, he had been striving to obtain for Catholics equal freedom with their fellow-citizens in the exercise of their religion, and relief from social disadvantages. He had aimed especially at securing united action in this struggle, on the part of English and Irish, laity and clergy. The principal grievances concerned the Catholic poor schools, and the position of Catholics in prisons, reformatories, and workhouses, as well as of Catholic soldiers and sailors. He was hopeful that his support of the Tories, in 1858, would win important concessions—a hope which the short life of the Ministry disappointed.

In the account of the matter which Wiseman drew up in 1863,[1] he ascribes the concessions which he eventually won from the different Governments, largely to 'the perseverance of the Catholics, laymen and ecclesiastics working together with perfect accord and a common zeal.' The 'Catholic Poor School Committee,' under the presidency of Mr. Charles Langdale, had been set up before the establishment of the Hierarchy, and dealt directly with the Government on the education question. While Wiseman was still Vicar Apostolic of the London district, a grant had been obtained from Government for the Catholic poor schools. Wiseman reckoned the sum they received between 1848 and 1863 at 239,757*l.* The appointment of Catholic school inspectors, salaried by the Government, was an important concession; and he also obtained permission to establish Catholic reformatories which were to

[1] In the Malines address, referred to later on.

be recognised by the State.[1] The industrial schools —the first of which was founded in 1857—extended the benefits of the system to the non-criminal classes.

The next agitation concerned a grievance which had been noted at the Crimea—the absence of any official *status* for Catholic army chaplains, whose position was necessarily important from the number of Irish soldiers in the army. This was remedied in 1858, when they were granted salaries, and an official rank similar to that of the chaplains of the Established Church.

The position of Catholics in the workhouses and prisons, was another matter, in which persevering agitation at last secured the redress of an intolerable grievance. Mr. Lucas, M.P., first brought the question before Parliament (unsuccessfully) in 1853. The priest was unable to obtain the names of orphans who were consigned to the workhouse; and in the case of grown-up persons his ministrations were obtained only by the urgency of Catholic inmates, the result being that many lost their religious faith. On this subject the brief ministry of Lord Derby and Mr. Disraeli, of 1858–9, gave encouraging assurances; and Lord Palmerston's Government redressed the grievance, so far as the prisons were concerned, in 1862, by the appointment of salaried priests as prison-chaplains.

The laymen whose support was of special assistance in bringing such matters before Govern-

[1] He placed the first reformatory under the Brothers of Mercy, from Malines.

ment were Mr. Charles Langdale, Mr. Lucas, Lord Arundel and Surrey, afterwards Duke of Norfolk, Lord Edward Howard, and later on Sir George Bowyer, Mr. Wallis and Lord Campden. To Mr. Langdale the Cardinal paid a warm tribute, in his account of the struggle, as 'a man equally venerated by Catholics, respected by Protestants, and listened to with deference by the first ministers of State; a man for many a long year at the head of all Catholic works, who has only to make an appeal in the name of religion, to rally round him all that is most intelligent and most noble in Catholicism,—who has renounced a life of ease at his country seat to live in the metropolis . . . and work for the poor.'

Cardinal Wiseman's relations with the Duke of Norfolk were less close and constant, but his tribute to the Duke's memory, at the time of his death, showed an equally keen appreciation of his character:

> While placed [he wrote] on the very highest pinnacle of social and national position, while surrounded with all the advantages the world can give, endowed with manly and generous qualities, and even physically offering a choice type of English manhood, there was in this illustrious man a gentleness that sprang from true humility, and almost concealed by its external grace the firm root from which it grew. Whether in the form of considerateness for the lowest dependent, or of attentiveness to guest or friend, or of deference to counsellors, or of unostentatiousness in person and action, or of simplicity in the doing of great things, or in bashful shrinking sensibility as to public appearance, we have noted with admiration a far deeper and holier groundwork than these outward characteristics manifested to the world. For they were the results of a rare unselfishness, self-neglect, and almost self-contempt. If what is called Fortune was lavish of its gifts to him, Grace

certainly was no less generous, and made him lowly and simple in heart and inmost thought ; so that he considered himself placed where he was, only to dispense the earthly blessings in his hand, for the love of God and of his neighbours.[1]

The Cardinal was never again the same man after his illness of 1860. The disease which cut short his life advanced steadily. His attacks of illness were occasionally alarming ; and he suffered at times from great depression. He seems himself to have felt that he was closing his accounts with the world, and he instinctively turned to recollections of the past. His last years appeared to his friends, in Cardinal Manning's words, 'like the hours of a still afternoon, when the work of the day begins to linger, and the silence of the evening is near.' 'He seemed to be resting,' Cardinal Manning adds, 'after twenty years of active toil. It was a time of survey and reflection ; and with those who were about him he used often to go over the past, and cast up the changes he had seen.'[2] He lived for the most part in the country—at Leyton. The diocesan business was mainly in the hands of the Vicar-General. In his public action, as Metropolitan, he leant more and more on Provost Manning. Dr. Manning represented the Cardinal in Rome, as his agent or *procurator*, in 1863 and 1864, as he had done in the appeals which were decided in 1862.

The Cardinal devoted much of his time during these years to revising his old sermons. He continued, also, his lectures and his correspondence with friends abroad. His play, 'The Hidden Gem,' was in 1861 translated into Hungarian ; and a Hungarian

[1] Pastoral letter of December 2, 1860.

[2] Manning's *Sermons on Ecclesiastical Subjects*, vol. ii. p. 285.

Bishop wrote to him on July 20, describing its performance by the inmates of his Ecclesiastical Seminary. The Prince Bishop of Trent invited him, a little later, to be his guest at the coming celebration of the tercentenary of the close of the Council of Trent.

Some reminiscences, belonging chiefly to these years, may here be inserted. A member of the Belgian community of Ursuline nuns, now established at Upton, gives the following account of his sympathy and kindness during their early struggles in England :

To this day the Ursulines of Upton, Essex, cherish the memory of his Eminence Cardinal Wiseman.

In the early days of their foundation in England, he was truly to them a father and friend.

The first home of the Ursulines in England was a small house in one of the squares of the City, where they taught the parochial schools of the district. The fatherly heart of the Cardinal was touched at the privations of the sisters, and the suffering entailed by the want of fresh air and space. He very frequently sent his own carriage on a Sunday morning, to take them to his country house at Leyton, where they spent the day. He gave orders that they should want for nothing. In the evening the carriage came to take them home again, laden with the produce of the flower and fruit gardens, and the loan of books from the library.

When, later on, our community moved to Oxford, his Eminence often wrote words of advice and encouragement ; and when it was found that the University city was unsuited to their work, and our sisters were compelled to return to Belgium, the good Cardinal expressed his regret in the following letter :

' Leyton : le 8 juillet, '61.

' Ma Révérende Mère, -Je regrette bien sincèrement votre retour en Belgique. Il paraît que ce soit la seule volonté de Dieu qui vous y ramène ; puisque certainement il n'y a eu que

du dévouement, du zèle, et de la piété de votre part. Des circonstances adverses paraissent avoir neutralisé vos efforts, faits pour le bien de l'Angleterre, sous différentes circonstances ; personne n'a fait qu'admirer votre patience, votre persévérance, et vos vertus.

'Que je serais bienheureux de pouvoir vous retenir dans notre pauvre pays !

'Je demeure ordinairement à la campagne, près de Walthamstow, et je ne vais que rarement, et pour quelques heures seulement, en ville.

'Je serais bien aise de vous voir à l'occasion de votre passage en Belgique.

'Je vous souhaite, de grand cœur, toutes les bénédictions et grâces célestes, aussi que toute prospérité sur cette terre de souffrances.

'Agréez l'assurance de tout mon respect,

'N. CARD. WISEMAN.

'A la Rév. Mère Crescence, Ursuline.'

After a year spent in solitude and prayer, the same Sisters returned to England and took possession of the home prepared for them at Upton, Essex. On May 8, 1862, the Cardinal was the first to welcome them. He came a day or two after their arrival, and entered into details regarding the comfort and well-being of his 'dear children.' The elders of our community love to tell how he sat on a box—for want of a better seat—while he spoke to them and encouraged them.

Contrary to the general usage, he gave leave to have the Blessed Sacrament reserved, as soon as the little chapel could be prepared, thus enabling our Sisters to bear all difficulties joyously, as the Divine Master was under the same roof with them. The boarding school was opened on August 20 of the same year, 1862, and the heart of the good Cardinal overflowed with kindness for our dear children. During his frequent visits to the convent, he often sent for the young people, gathered them round him on the lawn, heard all they had to say, and readily granted all their—often unreasonable—petitions. One day, as they knelt round him in the reception room, they ventured to exact a promise that his Eminence would grant the petition they were about to make ; the result was that exquisite composition from the pen of the learned Cardinal, 'The Mystery of St.

Ursula.' Not being able to assist at its first representation, he wrote, 'I was sorry I could not be at your recreation at Christmas. Perhaps you will repeat it for carnival next week.'

Bishop Knight, the late Bishop of Shrewsbury—who was the Cardinal's neighbour at Walthamstow in 1862—supplies a characteristic anecdote, which shows that Wiseman knew how to deal with children of a different stamp from the pupils of the Ursuline nuns:

In 1862, I was in charge of the little mission of Walthamstow, but employed also during part of each week at the Cardinal's country residence (Etloe House), where I assisted Mgr. Searle as an under-secretary. The industrial school of St. Nicholas was attached to my mission, and I well remember how, on one occasion, a culprit belonging to it was dealt with by his Eminence. The boy in question, a determined-looking youngster of thirteen or fourteen, had arrived some time before from America, and on the voyage had become so mischievous and unmanageable that he had actually been put in irons. At the school he maintained his reputation, defied his masters laughed at punishments, and was set down at last as incorrigible. Before handing him over to the police for committal to a reformatory, the Cardinal had the boy brought before him by the master. I was present, and when they came into the room, his Eminence, who was busy writing, looked up for a moment, and asked what the boy had done. The answer was a recapitulation of his offences, winding up with the statement that it was a hopeless case, and the sooner we were rid of him the better. Meanwhile, the boy stood with his hard determined look, evidently resolved to face it out. The Cardinal, who, after taking a look at the culprit, had continued his writing, now looked up from it, and, as if talking to himself, remarked what a pity it was that a lad who, probably, had some good in him, should have to be turned adrift to become a miserable worthless vagabond, with a prospect of ending his life on the gallows, &c. &c. While he spoke, I saw the lad change colour; his eyes filled, and it was plain that the Cardinal's soliloquy had gone home. 'Send him away,' he said at last; and then, as if a sudden thought had struck him, he said, 'No, he shall have one

more chance.' The boy looked up : a change had come over him ; he was doing his best to keep back his tears ; and when the Cardinal said a few kind words to him, and told him he should look for better things, and count on hearing a good report of him, the battle was won, and I believe that boy became a good and useful lad, a strong character turned from evil ways by the skilful touch of one who knew how to read hearts, and to call out the latent good that others less skilled had failed to find.

'I hope,' wrote Cardinal Wiseman to Dr. Russell on June 22, 1863, 'that you will come to the great Congress at Malines in August.'

The Congress was summoned by Baron de Gerlache, the Chief Justice of the Court of Cassation, and a staunch defender of the Church in the days of Dutch persecution. Some 3,000 Catholics—chiefly French and Belgian—responded to his invitation. Cardinal Sterckz, Archbishop of Malines, presided, and the Patriarch of Jerusalem and the Bishop of Adelaide in Australia were among the prelates who attended, as well as several Belgian Bishops and our own Bishop of Beverley. Cardinal Wiseman was asked to deliver an address, and among others who spoke were Montalembert, the Abbé Mermillod (afterwards Cardinal), and the accomplished writer M. Cochin of the 'Correspondant.'

Cardinal Wiseman went to Malines, accompanied by the present Cardinal Vaughan, who gives me the following particulars :

We were the guests of Cardinal Sterckz. Cardinal Wiseman and Montalembert were the two most distinguished speakers at the Congress, and the reception given to Cardinal Wiseman was most enthusiastic. It was a time when feeling ran very high on the subject of the Pope's temporal power, and liberal Catholicism, even as represented by Montalembert, was looked

upon with suspicion. Montalembert's great address on 'A Free Church in a Free State' aroused opposition among some of the clergy present. Some of the more ardent spirits endeavoured to pit Wiseman against Montalembert, as the representatives of Ultramontanism and Liberalism. In this attempt, however, Cardinal Wiseman himself took no share. His meeting with Montalembert was most cordial. They talked much together of old times.

The Cardinal's own address was delivered fluently in French, though the accent was somewhat English. He spoke at great length, and was enthusiastically applauded. His subject was the state of Catholicism in England, and he applied to it the Belgian motto, 'L'union fait la force.' Auguste Cochin, Montalembert's great friend, was also one of the speakers, and I recall finding him praying before a statue of Our Lady in the garden, that he might deliver his address successfully. The party assembled at Cardinal Sterckz's table was a large one—some forty of us sat down to dinner.

Cardinal Wiseman's address purported to tell the Catholics of Belgium the history of the progress of Catholicism in England, since the time of the Emancipation Act. He began thus:

Eminence, messeigneurs, messieurs,—Lorsque des orateurs consommés ont cru devoir vous exprimer l'émotion qu'ils ressentaient en présence de cet immense et majestueux auditoire, avec quelle appréhension, moi, étranger autant que peut l'être un catholique au milieu de catholiques, parlant une langue qui m'est étrangère, avec une santé chancelante, ne dois-je pas aborder la tâche de traiter devant vous un sujet aussi vaste que délicat? Je vous le déclare donc, je crains de paraître téméraire et même présomptueux. Mais quelque chose me rassure; je ne me présente pas ici comme un orateur et je ne prétends pas gagner les palmes de l'éloquence; je ne suis qu'un simple rapporteur, qui vient avec des chiffres pour vous entretenir et peut-être pour vous fatiguer pendant quelques instants. Je vous raconterai simplement des faits que je crois dignes de l'intérêt et de la sympathie de tous les catholiques, et l'accueil bienveillant que vous m'avez déjà fait m'assure de toute votre indulgence. (Applaudissements.)

The substance of his account, though new to his audience, is already known to the readers of this work. He sketched the actual increase of numbers among the 'English Papists,' the repeal of their disabilities, the growth of the spirit of toleration, the restoration of the religious orders, the great change, both in the number of the churches and in the character of the buildings, since the days of the Mass-houses.

Some of the statistics are worth setting down—showing as they do an extraordinary transformation in the course of thirty years. In 1830 the number of priests in England was 434; in 1863 they numbered 1,242. The convents in 1830 amounted to only 16; in 1863 there were 162. There were no religious houses of men or monasteries in 1830; in 1863 there were 55.

In London alone—taking in a period of four years more—the advance in the number of priests since 1826 was from 48 to 194; of churches from 24 to 102. Religious houses of men, and hospitals or charitable institutions, had no existence in 1826; they numbered respectively 15 and 34 in 1863.

The Cardinal also gave facts and figures as to the struggle for the removal of the disabilities of his co-religionists. 'We have unbounded confidence,' he said, 'in the fairness of our compatriots, and are certain that they will in the end give us justice.'

He concluded by sounding a note of sympathy with his audience. Both the English and the Belgian Catholics had suffered for their faith. 'It is not for the weak to encourage the strong,' he said: 'we are but a fraction of the population, you are the nation

itself.' Still the issue of battle in both countries depended largely on the same condition.

Messieurs, l'écusson de la Belgique porte une magnifique devise : 'L'union fait la force.' Elle nous représente des éléments divers, qui sont faibles pris chacun en particulier, mais qui lorsqu'ils sont unis, acquièrent une force capable de résister à la violence, et de repousser toutes les attaques dirigées contre eux.

L'Eglise a une devise plus belle encore que la votre, et qu' aucune puissance terrestre ne peut inscrire sur son drapeau, car elle exprime une vertu caractéristique, qui doit descendre du Ciel. *L'Union*, vous dit-elle, constitue votre force ; *l'Unité* fait la mienne ; l'Unité assise sur ce roc que l'action continué du temps ne peut entamer, que la violence des tempêtes internales ne peut renverser, ni même ébranler. Comme *Belges*, messieurs, soyez unis par les sentiments de la loyauté, de la fidelité, par le soin de vos intérêts communs ; comme *Catholiques*, soyez *un* par la foi, par la charité, par votre attachement à l'Eglise, et vous obtiendrez le redressement de tous vos griefs, vous récupérerez votre place légitime dans le gouvernement de la société. (Applaudissements prolongés.)

These words may be recalled with interest by a generation which has witnessed in Belgium the one absolutely Catholic Government and parliamentary majority of modern times.

From Malines the Cardinal and Father Vaughan went to Bruges, and stayed for four days at the English Seminary, going on from there to Abbé Donnet's at Brussels.

Mr. Ward wrote an attack on Montalembert's Malines address[1] for the 'Dublin Review.' It was, however, in the end, not published, but printed for private circulation. The title Montalembert had chosen, 'A

[1] Montalembert spoke twice, on 'A Free Church in a Free State,' and on 'Liberty of Conscience'; but the two speeches developed one line of argument, and were dealt with together by Mr. Ward.

Free Church in a Free State,' was the phrase which Cavour had used to defend his handiwork in the Papal States. However loyal Montalembert's practical attitude might be, his argument was dangerous. Mr. Ward regarded his abstract principles as favouring the theory of religious indifferentism ; and efforts were made to get the address censured by the Congregation of the Index in Rome. They were, however, unsuccessful ; and Monsignor Chigi, the Papal Nuncio at Paris, was authorised by the Pope to assure the illustrious orator that there was no chance of its being condemned or censured. On making inquiries in Rome, Montalembert was told that his chief opponents had been Cardinal Wiseman and the Oxford Converts ; and it is probable that Mr. Ward and Dr. Manning had been understood as claiming the Cardinal's sympathy in their opposition to the speech.

Montalembert, much hurt at the report of hostile action on the part of so old a friend as Wiseman, wrote to their common acquaintance, Mr. Phillipps de Lisle, on the subject. Mr. de Lisle communicated with the Cardinal, begging him to contradict the rumour, and urging the necessity for toleration of differences of opinion among Catholics. Never, he said, was the danger of despotically closing important issues greater than at the present time. 'Of all men upon earth I am sure that has not been your Eminence's line,' he wrote, 'and that nothing can be further from your mind than to render a reconciliation between the Church and the nineteenth century impossible.'

The following letter from Wiseman fortunately survives, to give direct contradiction to the representations of those who ascribed to him their own uncompromising version of the Ultramontane position :

London : March 15, 1864.

DEAR MR. DE LISLE,—I do not know to what Count de Montalembert alludes. I have never seen any pamphlet of Mr. Ward's about his Malines address, nor am I aware of his having published one.

As to myself, I have never written a word to Rome, nor given any authority to anyone to speak unfavourably of the Count's eloquent speech. Still less has it ever entered into my mind to denounce it to the Index, or ask to have it even reproved, still less condemned. Though I did not and do not agree in its political principles and tendencies, there was no error in it against faith or morals, which could have authorised anyone to denounce it, especially a stranger, in presence of the Metropolitan. You may assure the Count of this, and of my undiminished respect and affection for him. (I am at this moment suffering from an inflammation of my eyes, which limits my power of writing.) I had understood that at Rome the conclusion of his speech had set all right with the Holy See.

Your affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Some letters, belonging to 1863, and the beginning of 1864, show the thoughts and interests which occupied Cardinal Wiseman in those years.

Broadstairs, St. Charles's : [November] 1863.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—Your kind letter has remained unanswered till I could give you good news about myself.

But first let me wish you many happy returns of your Saint's Day, according to genuine Catholic custom.

My attack of illness was more severe than it was generally known or supposed. I was many days in bed, then weeks on the sofa, with total prostration from fever, and apparently no power of rallying.

I then came out here, to a charming villa facing the sea,

with a nice flower garden round it, in which I can walk sheltered and unoverlooked. For some time we had summer weather, latterly heavy gales. While I am writing, there is before my windows a large American, bound to New York, on fire from stem to stern. She had on board 180 passengers, all saved with crew. She took fire at midnight, and now, at 11 A.M., is still blazing. With my telescope I could see a man if on board ; it is a terrible sight. (6 P.M. It has just gone down, simply disappearing.)

It is only within these few last days that my working powers have returned. My first act was to revise, or rather in great part rewrite, my Malines lecture, which was stopping the publication of the Report of the Congress.

My wish has been to put in order my sermons, which in a few days will be in Mr. Duffy's hands. Several, however, are in London, but they will be ready in time for their places. My Southampton lecture comes next. I can hardly tell you how beyond all my expectations this has worked.

The following letter to Father Herbert Vaughan (the present Cardinal) contains a reference to his proposed foundation of a College for Foreign Missions. In Wiseman's Roman days, the venerable Father Pallotti had exhorted him to devote himself to the foreign missions. Wiseman had confided to Pallotti certain difficulties against the Faith, and Pallotti had told him that some such active work of zeal would help him to overcome his doubts better than any intellectual inquiry. And when, at Ryde, in 1861, Father Vaughan had spoken to the Cardinal of his scheme, the Cardinal had been much moved. Providence had reserved—he said—for his young friend, what he himself had so long wished to accomplish. Father Vaughan started for America in December 1863, with the object of going from town to town and from house to house, to raise the funds

required for his undertaking. He paid a visit to Rome before his departure, to obtain the Apostolic blessing on his work, and while there received the letters which I subjoin:

Broadstairs: October 23, 1863.

MY DEAR HERBERT,—You will not expect a long letter from me, for I have no news to tell you, except about myself, as I am here living for myself, and almost by myself. I am better, much in body, a little in spirits and vigour. But the beautiful situation, the fine weather, and the rest which I am enjoying will, please God, restore me. Yesterday I made a pilgrimage to Canterbury Cathedral, where St. Augustine, St. Winifred, St. Anselm, &c., yet repose, and St. Thomas once received the worship of thousands. But scarcely less interesting to me was to rest against Cardinal Pole's tomb, the first Cardinal that ever entered the splendid cathedral, since he was in it, alive and dead. And no Protestant Archbishop has ever been buried in it.

I went over it all, my first walk beyond my garden here since I was taken ill. May St. Thomas protect me. Mr. Richardson, the priest, commands the keys of the cathedral; so we went in between services, unknown even to the vergers, and saw all peaceably and unmolested. I believe, indeed, they allow Catholics to *dar sfogo* to their devotions there.

I often think of our *œuvre*, and hope that it will prosper, even if I should not live to see it. I trust you will have met with a more than favourable reception in Rome, and that St. Peter, at whose shrine you will no doubt have laid your desires and your plan, will incline all hearts to accept and support so apostolic a design. God bless it and you.

Kind regards to all friends. You will have heard of good Mr. Weld's death (Lulworth), also the Tichbornes' child.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.[1]

[1] Wiseman appears to have greatly enjoyed his epistolary intercourse with the young priest who was destined ultimately to be Archbishop. 'Your letters always give me more, and generally more cheering, news than anybody else's,' he writes in 1863. 'Talbot's are dry and repetitious, and lately, I must say, anything but agreeable. Father Superior's

On the eve of Father Vaughan's departure for America, Cardinal Wiseman wrote again :

Leyton : December 16, 1863.

My dear Herbert,—It is only now, when you are on the eve of starting for your noble mission, that I seem to myself to realise the greatness of your devotedness and self-sacrifice, in separating yourself from home and friends, and from all that is *naturally* dear to you. I say *naturally*, because I know that *spiritually* the souls of poor heathens and the Most Precious Blood which redeemed them are infinitely dearer to you. Were I not sure of this I could not dare to exact such a surrender as you are making of human comfort and even religious consolation. . . . But I feel an inexpressible confidence in the power and goodness of God, that He will prosper this work, such as I have never perhaps felt in any other. Especially while I am in so much darkness and depression about myself, this feeling shines brighter, and seems given to me to compensate for my past and actual sufferings. I therefore give you a parting, though I hope not final, blessing. May God preserve you through all the troubles and dangers of your mission ; protect you, support you, and guide you, by His wisdom, power, and goodness. May He prosper your work, and crown it with success, and bring you home safe and well, to carry out here to completion what you are so piously beginning at a distance.

Your affectionate Father in Christ,
N. Card. Wiseman.

[Note by Cardinal Vaughan :

The next day I started from Southampton on the *Atrato* for the Isthmus of Panama, much encouraged by the Cardinal's affectionate and touching letter. H. C. V.]

[Manning's] are inevitably business and concise ; you contrive to give me a variety of matters, easy of digestion, in a small space. Your last letter was especially full. . . . While at Broadstairs,' he adds, 'I rewrote in French, in two or three parts of days, all the first part of the Malines Lecture, and it is coming out in French and English. But besides, I prepared and sent to Dublin 112 sermons for the press. So you see I have not been idle.'

To Dr. Russell, Wiseman wrote on January 1, 1864 :

Many happy New Year's Days to you, and thanks for your kind good wishes. Thank God I enter on this new year in fair health and spirits, welcoming it as a new gift from God, with its joys and griefs as it shall please Him to distribute them. For some years now the charcoal-marked days have greatly prevailed over the chalked ones ; and, even at this moment, I have more cloud than sunshine over me. How gladly I would talk many matters over with you, which I cannot write of, but patient silence is often one's best resource.

Cardinal Wiseman's old friend, Mr. Bagshawe, had recently been promoted to a Welsh judgeship. The Cardinal wrote to him on January 2 :

Etloe House, Leyton, N.E. : January 2, 1864.

MY DEAR BAGSHAWE,—I intended and proposed to write to you the last day of the year, remembering it as spent so pleasantly at your house the previous year, but was prevented from doing so. The new year must therefore bear on its unfledged wings my good wishes and auguries to you and Mrs. Bagshawe.

I hope that it will bear healing on them to your frame and constitution, and repair all the damages inflicted by the past. I hope you may go on long, a terror to Welsh evildoers, unless nobler quarry is furnished to you, especially in this quarter of the world, inhabited by the Saxon, not the Celtic race

But still more I hope that you and Mrs. Bagshawe will keep one another company into patriarchal length of days, beginning soon to see your children's children. These will form a new link between you and your old home, which I hope will prevent your total banishment into the Western fastnesses.

I pray that this new year may bring as much blessing and joy and happiness to you as this wicked earth of ours is capable of containing, and these good seasonable wishes I beg to extend, with all my blessing, to the whole of the family.

I am ever,

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

The gloom hanging over Wiseman's last years was increased by the untoward fortunes of the Papacy. Cavour had died prematurely in 1861; but the hopes which his death was calculated to arouse, were instantly disappointed. His successor, Baron Ricasoli, at once identified himself with his predecessor's policy. The utterances whereby Napoleon periodically sought to allay the fears of the French Catholics, were found, as time went on, to mean very little. The French troops remained, indeed, in Rome to protect the Pope; but the Emperor recognised the new kingdom of Italy, and the Convention of September 1864, between Italy and France, although keeping up the pretence of stipulating that Italy should not further encroach on the Papal territory, bound the Emperor to withdraw his troops within two years. Italy (represented at this time by Minghetti) undertook, indeed, to allow the Pope to recruit his army by foreign volunteers; but it was obvious that the withdrawal of the French troops must mean what it was actually found to mean when they did withdraw in 1870. No intimation of the Convention was given to the Pope or Cardinal Antonelli until September 12, when it was already agreed to and only awaited signature in Paris.[1]

In the same year Garibaldi visited England, and was received at Southampton by the Mayor and

[1] See *Making of Italy*, p. 342. The Convention was supplemented by a secret protocol stipulating the removal of the capital from Turin. The consequent proposal to transfer it to Florence aroused an outcry which led to Minghetti's fall. 'Turin or Rome' was the alternative insisted on by the people, and the stipulations of the Convention were not carried out. Minghetti was succeeded by La Marmora.

Corporation, who addressed him as an 'uncrowned king of men.' The sympathy of England with the Italian revolution was emphasised by the extraordinary popular demonstration on the occasion. Enormous crowds lined the streets at Garibaldi's public reception in London. Ladies were said to have knelt to him as the Apostle of Freedom. He was entertained by such representative Englishmen as Lord Palmerston, Lord Russell, and the Duke of Sutherland.

A prominent part was taken by dignitaries of the Anglican Church, in the welcome accorded to Garibaldi. Wiseman was indignant. Garibaldi, in his letter to the English people, of September 1862, had avowed his sympathy with the rank atheism of the worst phase of the French Revolution. That Anglican Bishops should pay court to such a man, simply because he represented the anti-Papal revolution in Italy, appeared to the Cardinal an unfortunate desertion of their primary duties as defenders of religion. Ill though he still was, he wrote an indignant pastoral in May, and quoted the following words from Garibaldi's letter, referring to Napoleon's action in leaving his troops in Rome for the protection of the Papal Sovereignty :

> The initiative that to-day belongs to you might not be yours to-morrow. May God avert this. Who more bravely took the initiative than France in 1793?—she who in that solemn moment gave to the world the Goddess Reason, levelled tyranny to the dust, and consecrated free brotherhood between nations. After almost a century, she is reduced to combat the liberty of nations, to protect tyranny, and to direct her only efforts to steady on the ruins of the Temple of Reason that hideous and immoral monstrosity the Papacy.

On these words Wiseman commented as follows:

The representation [of the French Revolutionists] by an act of sacrilegious solemnity, of the victory of reason over revelation, was thus eulogised in an address to the British nation, by the man to whom it is said that English ladies knelt. Be it so. The French nation is extolled [by him] for that obscene worship, and is reprobated for having repented. . . .

[In the general acclaim to him], not in the common crowd, not mingled with dissenting ministers, . . . but standing apart, elaborately separated, were the leaders, we will not say the representatives, of the Anglican Hierarchy. Three and three from each highest class the National Hierarchy came forward . . . to greet the man who has preached to them these doctrines and applauded to them these practices. . . .

Oh, pity, pity, at least, if not worse, that such a spectacle should have been exhibited to England at the time, the moment, when every energy on every hand should be put forth, not to dally with, but to crush the spirit . . . of infidelity as well as disloyalty. And now, dearly beloved, must not we, who value consistent truth—revealed truth, Apostolic truth, the truth that rests on the teaching of the Church—boldly assert our right to teach it, however others may either vacillate or shrink from its plain delivery? We stand on our own ground here within our own holy place. And we ask of you to co-operate with us in our appeal this day to multiply the number of our churches and schools, into which the spirit of irreligion will never creep, nor any tampering be allowed with the faith of our fathers.

The 'Times' published these words without comment on May 23. On the 25th followed a leading article bitterly attacking Wiseman, and accusing him of having garbled his extract from Garibaldi.

Having hit upon an unlucky paragraph [it said] . . . he inserts a word or two to make it suit his purpose, and then feigns a transport of pious horror at our impiety in doing honour to such a reprobate. . . . To us the invention of such profanities [about the Goddess of Reason] to damage a political enemy, seems quite as shocking as the honest utterance of them.

It so happened that Wiseman's extract was taken *verbatim* from the 'Times'' translation of Garibaldi's letter. Wiseman wrote to remonstrate, and, after some correspondence, the 'Times' published an *amende*, in which it explained that some other English translations had omitted Garibaldi's atheistic observations.

This explanation—published on May 31—was preceded by the following expression of regret :

> We have great pleasure in correcting an error which occurred in our comments on Cardinal Wiseman's recent Pastoral. Doubts were there expressed as to the genuineness of a passage quoted by his Eminence from Garibaldi's letter to the English nation. A reference to the translation of the letter which appeared in our own columns proves that Garibaldi's words were accurately copied by the Cardinal, whose literary fidelity remains therefore unimpeached. . . . We can hardly doubt [said the writer in conclusion] that the General himself, if he could now revise this strange rhapsody, would withdraw the offensive contrast between the idolatry of Reason and the Papacy, as freely as we do the imputation on the Cardinal's good faith.

This episode was a considerable moral victory for the Cardinal. Not only was the attack on him withdrawn, but the tables were turned. Wiseman had been accused of garbling his quotation to blacken an enemy : Garibaldi's English supporters were convicted of garbling to whitewash him. The fact was brought to light that Englishmen were so ashamed of the language of the man they were idolising, that they had suppressed it in their translations.

Still, if Garibaldi's name did for the moment suffer, the English sympathy with the Italian Movement continued.

To those who confidently expected that the loss of the Pope's civil sovereignty must mean the loss of

all real independence for the Papacy, and, humanly speaking, the imminent peril of its extinction, the state of things was gloomy in the extreme. A flagrant violation of all principles of international justice, was (it seemed to them) being abetted or applauded by Europe, and notably by England, though the Father of Christendom was its victim. The Catholic Powers stood by, without raising a finger to recover for the Pope what he had lost. Among the French Episcopate especially, who were so closely bound to the Pope's natural protector, Napoleon, the disappointment of their hopes led to deep despondency. Evil times appeared to be at hand, the days of the Man of Sin perhaps, or at least a suggestion of what those days would be. The present writer recollects the Prince Imperial being spoken of at this time—only *half*-jestingly—as the probable Antichrist. The world was plunged in infidelity. The faith and zeal, which should have raised up defenders for the Pontiff, were dead. Wiseman's friend Gerbet, Bishop of Perpignan, wrote an indignant Pastoral on the irreligion of the day. It was forwarded to Rome, and the Pope had sixty-three propositions, on similar lines, drafted and submitted to the Episcopate. Some of the wisest of the Bishops, however—among them Dupanloup of Orleans—were apprehensive of any imprudent expression of Catholic indignation at this moment. The sixty-three propositions were abandoned. But the Board of Theologians, which had been sitting since the Definition of 1854, drew up a *résumé* of the errors condemned by Pius IX. in the course of his Pontificate.

The publication, on December 8, 1864, of this *résumé*—the famous *Syllabus Errorum*—with the accompanying Encyclical, had the effect of expressing the Pope's indignant anger at the attitude of the civilised world. The actual propositions, taken in their original context, were largely an exposition of the principles of the Christian faith as contrasted with those of a civilisation which was not really Christian.[1] But the publication of this seeming-formidable list was an *act* of the Pope, and was felt to be due to the attitude of the European governments. The logical positions taken up in the Syllabus and Encyclical, were, for the most part, capable of a moderate interpretation; but they were used or urged by extreme men on either side. The most keen and indignant supporters of the Papacy wished to put into them all that protest against the modern world, which the sixty-three propositions had contained. The free-thinkers, on the other side, wished to make it appear that the Church had once and for all dissociated herself from the civilisation and progress of the nineteenth century. M. Boissard—the biographer of Foisset—sums up the account given by the irreligious press, by saying that the papers represented these Papal documents as the 'definitive divorce of the Church from the modern world.' The French Government forbade the clergy to read the Encyclical in the churches. The Bishops protested, and some refused to obey.

To Cardinal Wiseman the situation was especially

[1] I have pointed this out in some detail in *W. G. Ward and the Catholic Revival*, pp. 237–8.

trying. He was in constant communication with France, where the exasperation on both sides was most acute. It was a state of things which paralysed him. The hope that the Church would once again impregnate the civilised world with her spirit, and ally herself with the great movements of the time, had been the instinctive feeling which had prompted him throughout his career. It had been, indeed, a dominant note in the Christendom of his youth. In his Roman lectures, at the Palazzo Odescalchi, he had sought to prove the natural alliance between the Church and modern philology. While at Oscott he had hoped that the Catholic ideals of Oxford meant reunion between the new religious life of England and the Papacy. Even quite recently he had preached on his favourite theme in opening the Academia. He caught at every straw which renewed the old hope. He had great schemes in the fifties for Catholics to go to Oxford, and gain an influence on the national life. His lectures fell back on the union of the Church with civilisation in the past, even when it seemed unpractical to work for it in the present. And his personal relations with the representatives of secular art and science betrayed, as we have seen, the same ruling desire.

But now the attitude of the Pope, and of his most zealous supporters, was that of a Church, which, far from being in alliance with the modern world, was its foe. Catholics appeared to be drawing together, to resist uncompromisingly the movements of the modern spirit—for even the most hopeful promises of the world, like those of Napoleon, were held by them to be fair and false.

The following extract from a letter of the Bishop of Poitiers to Wiseman, dated October 13, 1864, may be cited as a specimen of the gloom which was prevalent at that time :

Je me réjouis grandement de la meilleure santé de Votre Eminence, qui a rendu et qui rendra encore de si insignes services à l'Eglise et à son Chef. Nous avons vu se lever des jours bien mauvais, depuis que j'ai eu l'honneur de vous entretenir. Hélas, il les falloit prévoir. Dès les premières accointances de ce gouvernement avec M. de Cavour, j'ai porté aux Tuileries des observations qui ont amené des réponses significatives ; et, depuis 1855, j'ai pu suivre de l'œil le développement graduel des projets que j'avais éventés. Après le protocole du 8 avril 1856, il ne pouvait plus y avoir de doute pour personne sur ce qui se traînait. La merveille est que l'on ait obtenu un terme d'arrêt, et que les solutions ne se virent pas précipitées davantage. Mais les dispositions n'ont pas changé, et la première occasion le prouvera, si Dieu n'intervienne auparavant. Quoi qu'il arrive, toute la désorganisation opérée depuis cinq ans est une enjambée considérable vers la désorganisation des derniers temps ; et bien que je sois de ceux qui croient à une ère de réaction favorable, il restera cependant, à mes yeux, d'immenses avantages acquis à l'homme inique qui doit un jour récapituler en lui toute la dévolution de ces derniers siècles. J'ignore quand il viendra ; mais le règne actuel aura été l'une de ses bottes de sept lieues.

Pardon de cette longue causerie. Daigne, Votre Eminence, accepter l'hommage de mon profond respect et des sentiments de bien particulier dévouement, comme d'admiration sincère, avec lesquels j'aime à me dire,

de votre Eminence,
Monseigneur,
le très humble et très obéissant serviteur,
L. E. Evêque de Poitiers.

The tendency, more or less forced on Catholics at this time, to hold aloof from all movements outside the Church, little as it accorded with Wiseman's nature, could not but affect his policy. It probably

had its share in determining his action in two important matters, to which brief reference has been made in a former chapter

These were the proposal that Catholics of the upper classes should, in general, be educated at the national universities, and the controversy concerning the Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom.

Neither of these controversies reached their climax in Wiseman's time. In both his ultimate public action was probably shaped, to a large extent, by the vigorous and resolute line of policy adopted by Dr. Manning and Mr. Ward. I have no letters similar to the one already cited on his attitude towards Montalembert, distinctly dissociating him from the position taken up by his more extreme counsellors and supporters. But Cardinal Newman's lament over Wiseman's change on the University question survives. And no reader of the letter to Lord Shrewsbury on Catholic unity, can fail to see how deep Wiseman's original sympathy with the Reunion movement had been—not the less so because he had throughout carefully guarded himself from encouraging Utopian hopes for a recognition of Anglican Orders on the part of Rome.

Newman, acting with the concurrence of many English Catholics, had bought land in Oxford in September 1864. He drafted a circular, explaining his intention to found an Oratory at Oxford for the benefit of Catholic undergraduates, to whom Parliament had at last opened the Universities. Manning and Ward considered that such a step would be a direct encouragement to them to go to the Universi-

ties ; and in their mind a Catholic educated at Oxford, in those days of Liberalism, was likely to be an opponent of the Pope's temporal power, with a sneaking partiality for Cavour, and a general lukewarmness towards the Roman See. This prospect appeared fatal, at a moment when Catholics were called upon to show a degree of *esprit de corps* which only strong partisans can show,—to go in for the whole programme of the Papacy, as the only means of saving the Papacy itself from overthrow. And the Liberalism, of which the anti-Papal movement was a part, was regarded as tending ultimately to religious negation.

Under these circumstances, the Church's principle of opposition to 'mixed' education was urged strongly by Manning, and by the 'Dublin Review.' Pressing representations were sent to the Roman authorities. Loss of faith as well as of zeal was put forward as the probable result. Propaganda, however, referred the matter, as one of local interest, back again to the English Hierarchy. A meeting of the Bishops was therefore convened. Before it assembled, on December 13, Cardinal Wiseman's last illness, of which he died two months later, had actually begun. But he sanctioned the circulation among the Catholic laity and clergy, on December 5, of a list of questions in reference to the advisability of Catholics going to Oxford,[1] and he presided at the meeting itself. The publication of Newman's circular, describing the proposed functions of the

[1] It is part of the history of the time that Newman was omitted from the list of persons consulted.

Oratory at Oxford, was, at this meeting, unanimously decided to be unadvisable. The Bishops likewise addressed a letter to Propaganda, urging the necessity of discouraging Catholics from going to the Universities ; but many members of the Episcopate were opposed to any direct prohibition.

Newman felt the action of the Bishops to be decisive. On December 28 he wrote to his Bishop—Dr. Ullathorne—that his scheme was abandoned, and that the land was to be resold.

Two months later the Cardinal had gone to his account ; and Newman wrote to a friend :

> The Cardinal has done a great work. Alas ! I wish he had not done his last act. He lived just long enough to put an extinguisher on the Oxford scheme—quite inconsistently too with what he had wished and said in former years.

The second matter, to which I have referred, was the condemnation (in the autumn of 1864) of the Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom, in a letter from the Holy Office 'To all English Bishops.' Many of the documents connected with this event have been so recently published in the Life of Cardinal Manning, that a few words will suffice to recall Wiseman's position. The Association had been founded in 1857. Its members comprised some Catholics, though the large majority were Anglicans. The Anglican members advanced the theory of the existence of three branches of the Church—the Greek, the Anglican, and the Roman—and advocated united prayer for their reunion. They relied greatly on Cardinal Wiseman's letter to Lord Shrewsbury, of which I have given an account in a

former chapter. That letter, written before the stream of conversions had begun, had contemplated simply a corporate movement among the Anglicans. Its tone had been sympathetic and conciliatory. Wiseman had made light in it of all difficulties in the way of 'Reunion,' and had encouraged hopes that they could be overcome. But his logical attitude had been strictly orthodox. He had frequently guarded himself against the theory of the existence of three branch Churches; which of course involved a denial of the Catholic teaching as to the unity of the Church, and placed those excluded for heresy or schism on a similar footing with Catholics themselves.

Very soon after the Association was established, he found the letter to Lord Shrewsbury claimed as sanctioning the Anglican view of separate churches, and the correlative theory that individuals were not bound to join the Church in communion with the Holy See, but should remain in their own communion, working for its reconciliation with Rome and Constantinople. This position, also, Wiseman had frequently repudiated. It involved a theory on which the hoped-for corporate reconciliation could never be accepted by Rome. Wiseman, though all his tastes and his temperament led him keenly to sympathise with the Reunion movement, found himself credited with views which he could not possibly accept. Moreover, Mr. Lisle Phillipps, afterwards Mr. Phillipps de Lisle, who had joined the Association, had communicated to Propaganda what Wiseman held to be a greatly exaggerated estimate of the extent and significance of the movement. These causes conspired to make

Wiseman, even at the outset, emphasise his dissent from the most sanguine promoters of the Association. He drew up a strong Memorandum for Propaganda in 1857 within a year of the foundation of the Association. The original draft is written in Wiseman's fluent Italian, with few erasures and corrections. The following is a translation :

Report on the Party called the 'Union' Party in the Anglican Body.

Towards the end of the past year, 1856, viz. on December 11, there appeared the first number of a new Anglican journal entitled 'The Union.' It aroused great surprise in all, Catholics no less than Protestants. The former were almost bewildered (with a certain satisfaction) on seeing that this journal upheld freely, or rather boldly, the principles of their sacred religion, and inculcated the necessity of a 'union' with the Holy See and with the Universal Church.

Nor did this system confine itself to vague and general ideas, but went on by degrees down to the minutest details. The use of confession and of extreme unction ; the sacramental character of matrimony, of confirmation, and of orders ; the abstinences of the Church ; the worship of the Saints, especially of the Blessed Virgin Mary ; the daily celebration of the Lord's Supper, under the names of 'Divine Mystery,' 'The Sacrifice,' and even 'Mass' ; the observances of the different colours in the sacred vestments, indeed the use itself of vestments such as the chasuble, the cope, and the stole (to say nothing of the signing of the Holy Cross, genuflexions, &c.) ; such were the points on which the editors of the new journal delighted to instruct and exhort their readers. And the latter on their part urged them on, and encouraged them by letters and questions, to still stronger declarations.

At the same time they inculcated a more ascetic life and the practice of the Catholic devotions ; and recommended our books of piety for reading aloud and for study.

But the essential and fundamental point, on which they

insisted with the greatest stress, was that none of them and consequently none of us—ought to contemplate the conversion of individuals, but only the reconciliation of all their 'Church' (as they express it) with the Roman and Catholic Church. Hence they insisted that the former—in spite of its many shortcomings—had always had validity of Orders and of Sacraments; and that sufficiency of spiritual means and salvation for the soul could always be found in it. Accordingly they treated ecclesiastical unity, that is to say union with the Holy See, not as a matter of absolute necessity, but rather of great utility, as perhaps the only *practical means* of bringing about what they so earnestly desired. They refused to consider it as of Divine appointment.

All England was amazed at the unexampled boldness of publishing such propositions as these; and the Catholics were undoubtedly pleased at the publication and fearless assertion of so much truth, mingled though it were with error.

But, it will be asked, were not these the same doctrines which had been promulgated, under the name of Puseyism or the Oxford theological system, as early as 1840, in the famous 'Tracts for the Times'? In point of fact the latter did not go so far, nor did they concern themselves so much with questions of detail. Indeed the *Unionists* (as they are now called) reproached the old Puseyites bitterly for not having insisted upon many points necessary for the reform of the Anglican Church, for not having inculcated the pious observances of Catholicism, and for having addressed the learned only, instead of the whole people.

On the first appearance of this new system, well-informed persons asked, in their turn, as they contemplated its remarkable development: 'Can it last? Can it spread?' It was well known that the newspaper, which was its organ, had taken the place, by purchase, of another semi-Anglican journal, 'The Church and State Gazette'; and that its vaunted circulation included the subscribers of this latter, many of whom would probably not renew their subscriptions on the expiration of the term then running. But the partisans of the new journal maintained, on the contrary, that a great number of persons scattered about all over England were in accord with them. To such a pitch did the enthusiasm of their followers rise, that we

were assured that the leaders of the new movement were disposed to resort to Rome, in order to submit to the supreme judgment of the Holy Father their doubts whether Anglican orders were valid or not, and whether they could with a good conscience stay where they were, or ought to abandon their sect without waiting for the hoped-for union of their whole body with the Catholic Church of Rome. They added that the judgment pronounced by the Supreme Hierarch should be peremptory and final for them, and that many hundreds of ministers would obey it promptly.

Such were the hopes—I ought rather to say the dreams—which some men accepted as absolute truth. But no one who had kept a watchful eye on the history of Anglicanism, who had kept himself well informed as to the sentiments of its foremost men by reading their works and observing their acts, could let himself be beguiled by such illusions or believe such stories.

In the former class we must reckon Mr. Ambrose Lisle Phillipps, a Catholic convert of many years' standing, full of zeal, the founder of several churches though not yet the possessor of his family estates, always more ready to put his faith in extraordinary and supernatural ways than in the regular progress of the designs of Divine Providence. Moreover, in the earlier movement towards Catholicism, he had shown himself to be of the opinion that the conscience of individuals ought not to be aroused too much, that perhaps individuals ought even rather to prefer working in Anglicanism towards a general conversion, to uniting themselves singly with the Catholic Church. He was always inclined to maintain the validity of Anglican orders. . . . No sooner, then, had the phenomenon of this new journal appeared, than he began to inspire it with this idea, that it was the duty of all those who agreed with the editors, to remain in the Anglican communion, and not to make up their minds to leave it. So at least these same gentlemen interpreted his counsels, and his letters which he addressed publicly to the journal were so understood by almost all the Catholics.

But not content to stand alone in these ideas of his, which were denounced on all sides by zealous Catholics, he wanted to induce the present writer to give his support to these opinions, and so to compromise him with the party in question.

In the year 1841 the present writer directed a letter in the public press to the Right Honourable John, Earl of Shrewsbury, with the title 'A Letter on Catholic Unity.' At that moment Oxford was in a glow with the so-called Catholic Movement, of which the present writer has given an account in a Dissertation read before the Academy of the 'Catholic Religion,' and afterwards published in Rome. At that time, however, the return of so many famous men to Catholicism had not yet begun, nor was it believed to be approaching; on the contrary, Dr. Newman had written to the present writer that he had no hope of their being united in the same faith during their lifetime. Their aim was to purge the Anglican Church of its many abuses, urging us to do the same for the Catholic, which they described as imbrued with a thousand vices. The object of this letter to the aforesaid Earl was to make the civil rulers see how they would gain not only glory for themselves, but also advantages for the nation, wasted as it is by the intestine war of hostile sects, if they could bring this realm to religious unity. From this it passed on to the duties of English Catholics in such a crisis; viz. to be more fervent themselves, to preach the true faith more and more, both by example and precept, and to assail Heaven with prayers for the accomplishment of this desired object. The writer next called the attention of those who professed themselves desirous of the union of all, to the duties consequent on these their protestations; viz. to make known among their co-religionists the false notions propagated hitherto by their teachers with regard to the nature and the true faith of the Catholic Church, to spur on their superiors, ecclesiastical and civil, as much as they thought necessary for the common good, &c. In this sketch the writer did not contemplate the practical case of an individual who found himself convinced, or nearly so, of the radical falsity of Anglicanism, how such a person should act, or what attitude ought to be adopted towards him. He (the present writer) treated exclusively of a body of persons who were considering only how to prepare the nation for a still distant and perhaps impossible religious unity.

But in many passages in his writings, published previously and at that time, the present writer had proclaimed aloud that a person who had doubts as to the security of his position was

bound to make himself certain ; and that, when once he was convinced, he could not stay one moment outside the only Church ; nor must he flatter himself that he could be excused from rejoining it with the false idea that he could serve it better by staying in Protestantism. Until that time it was believed that Mr. Phillipps held this view. In its fullest extent he has always denied it ; but it is certain that all his writings tend to strengthen the Anglicans in their intrenchments, and to make them more confident of the validity of their orders, and to encourage them to look for the conversion of their whole body, rather than for that of individuals.

When the 'Union' newspaper had acquired a certain stability, he began to exhort its promoters to persevere in the line which they had adopted, and suggested that they should reprint this letter, so as to prove to their readers that the present writer was of their opinion, viz. that the conversion of individuals should not be aimed at, but on the contrary only the reunion of the Anglican sect with the Church. On this point the present writer was obliged to protest that his opinion was very different ; and he had some *private* correspondence with the editors, and more still with Mr. Phillipps.

As for the paper itself, many Catholics denounced the views taken by this gentleman, and the consequences deduced therefrom, fairly or unfairly, by the editors ; viz. that, although inwardly convinced of all the Catholic truths, they could yet remain safely, for the good of the Church itself, as in a branch or offshoot of the veritable Church of God. In this dispute a young convert named Wetherell, a layman, holding an appointment in the War Office, distinguished himself ; and in the last number of the 'Dublin Review,' our Catholic organ, he has produced an excellent article upon the whole question. To him, then, the present writer entrusted such extracts from the works published by him at that period, as made it evident to him that he (the present writer) had always been far from allowing the slightest prerogative to the 'Church' (as it professes to be) of England, whether in the matter of orders, of missions, of sacraments, or of instruction in doctrine : that, on the contrary, he had impugned all right, on the part of Anglicanism, to the name of church ; and that he had warmly, and not ineffectually, invited each one singly to save his own soul

by leaving a system of falsehood and error. Mr. Wetherell's letter was not inserted by the 'Union,' but it was published in the Catholic journals.

Meanwhile Mr. Phillipps, as has been hinted already, addressed some mysterious letters to the present writer, in which he assured him that he had some confidential notes, which could not be communicated at length in writing, but which he desired to reveal by word of mouth. Without mentioning names, he said that ten Anglican Bishops were ready to make their submission to the Holy See ; that the leaders of the political parties were showing themselves favourably disposed towards a national reunion with the See of St. Peter ; and that 600 or more Protestant ministers were of the same mind. Such assurances could only be regarded as dreams by anyone who knew, by their respective acts and writings, every member of the so-called episcopal body of Great Britain, and all the leading statesmen in the Empire.

For example, no list of the foremost men in the 'High Church' party (the party in question) could be complete without the name of Dr. Samuel Wilberforce, Bishop of Oxford. Now he had preached a sermon, which he published under the title of 'Rome, her new Dogma, and our Duties. A sermon preached before the University of Oxford,' 1856. It has also been published in a French translation. In this discourse he had put forth horrible blasphemies against the Blessed Virgin Mary, and declared (among a thousand other things) that Rome might have been described, on the day when she heard with exultation the dogmatic decree, in the words of the Apocalypse, 'I saw the woman, whose name was Mystery, drunken with the blood of the Saints.'

Another prominent member of the party was the octogenarian Bishop of Exeter, who had publicly renounced communion with his own Metropolitan, and who had always shown himself opposed to many of the errors of the Church of England, as for instance in the so-called Gorham case on the question of baptism. But the present writer had shortly before seen an autograph letter from him to a convert friend, in which he declared his unalterable hostility to Rome, and the impossibility of any approach to her on his part.

Now these two must of necessity be in the forefront of the

ecclesiastical corporation, if a movement were on foot towards a semblance of Catholicism; but they would never move a step in the direction of submission to the authority of the true Church or of her supreme Hierarch. Who, then, would be their followers, since the rest (excepting two who counted for very little) were much worse?

As a matter of fact, the present writer found, on having a conversation with Mr. Phillipps, that the Bishops of Oxford and Exeter were among the first of those reckoned upon as willing to submit to the authority of the Holy See; and next to them came Hamilton of Salisbury, Forbes of Brechin in Scotland, and a few more of whom there could not be the slightest hope. It was the most complete illusion in the world; and with all the stretching possible, he did not make up his ten.

As for the favour with which politicians were supposed to regard the system, there was not a shadow of foundation; on the contrary, the persons whom he named, in Parliament and elsewhere, had given unmistakable signs of their hatred of Catholicism. To return for a moment to the Bishop of Oxford, on whom Mr. Phillipps counted more than on the others: within the last month, being called upon to speak at Reading before a large assembly, on Indian affairs, his discourse was simply a diatribe of the most bitter kind against the Catholic Church, and a song of thanksgiving to God for having separated England from it. . . .

Mr. Phillipps talked a great deal about a meeting which he had convened in London, and at which he had read a letter from the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide; he showed me this letter, but it was evident that he had misunderstood its meaning.

I then took him to task for his pamphlet 'On the Future Unity of Christendom,' which had caused grave displeasure, not to say scandal, among the Catholics. I had not only read it carefully, but annotated it throughout, finding it full of the grossest errors. One of the greatest of these was the way in which he spoke of 'the three great denominations' (the term itself is Protestant) 'of Christians,' i.e. 'Catholics, Greeks, and Anglicans,' as though they were all equal, and could treat of religious union upon a footing of equality. For example, he proposed a congress at Paris of theologians from the 'three

Churches,' who should 'in concert' together 'lay down certain preliminaries that might serve as a basis for further operations.' And what will these preliminary principles be? As follows: 'My own conviction is that a preliminary meeting at Paris, of divines of the three great communions, would probably lead to what might end in the calling of an Œcumenical Council. In my opinion nothing but an Œcumenical Council can possibly heal our differences and restore that unity for which we are all sighing' (p. 65). Now, I asked him, supposing that, in such a congress, these divines – not being yet of one accord – discuss the conditions of settlement with one another as representatives of these independent powers, in what form and on what terms will they agree upon an Œcumenical Council? It will certainly not be claimed that the heterodox and schismatic Bishops of England and Greece are to take part in it as Fathers of the Council. On the contrary, they must stand outside the door, and sue for absolution and pardon, and bow to the decisions of the only 'Latin Communion.' But if they once consent to do this, the question is settled, and there is no need for council or congress. Mr. Phillipps could not gainsay this conclusion; though, no doubt, his idea had been that the council should include all 'the three great Churches,' or, as he elsewhere (p. 32) calls them, 'the *separated portions of the Church*.'

The mere enumeration of the grave errors with which this book teems – especially with regard to the authority of the Supreme Pontiff and the Church, and her sovereign rights in ecclesiastical affairs – would be endless. The present writer had already informed Mr. Phillipps that two instances had come before his notice, of persons disposed to embrace the Catholic Faith, who had been dissuaded therefrom by his letters to the 'Union.' But afterwards a lamentable example of the same thing occurred in consequence of this book of his. . . .

I will conclude this lengthy discourse by adding only three or four remarks.

The first is that, as the most prudent had foreseen, the game could not be prolonged. In the course of the summer a change was seen in the tone of the 'Union' newspaper; it became more unjust towards the Catholic Church, and more Protestant in its doctrines. Finally, it declared that it could not continue in agreement with Mr. Phillipps, who had hitherto

been its oracle : seeing that, while he supposed that its editors upheld all the Catholic doctrines except the supremacy of the Pope, they on their part declared that they 'did not think it possible to uphold the dogma of the primacy, without accepting at the same time many other errors of the Romish Church.'

The predictions of those who viewed the situation in a more prudent and calm spirit, have been verified ; viz. that although no advance whatsoever would be made towards the incorporation of the Anglican sect in the only Church of God, a spirit of discontent with the condition and doctrines of that so-called 'Established Church' would be awakened in men's minds, especially among the younger men, and would result in many individual conversions. And so it has been. The 'Union' has observed strict silence on the conversions which have taken place among its most zealous supporters. But the retrograde step, to which allusion has just been made, was here fatal for that journal, though fraught with blessing for us and for many souls. In the course of less than two months, several ministers and other persons distinguished for their intellectual qualities have been received into the Holy Church, the greater number by the hands of Provost Manning, who seems born to convert the hearts of erring sons to their Mother. I will mention the names of those who have been connected in some way with London Anglican clergy.

Mr. Roberts, curate at Notting Hill, a parish close to Dr. Manning's church, with his family and a brother.

Mr. Oxenham, assistant curate at Finsbury, and his sister.

Mr. Marshall, his colleague. At least twelve parishioners have followed.

Mr. Coventry, rector of Ottery St. Mary, and (I believe) his wife.

Mr. Nichols.

Mr. Collins.

Captain Gaisford, elder son of the Dean of Christ Church, the Cathedral and principal College of Oxford, who died recently with the reputation of being the first Hellenist in England. This convert is said to be a man of great ability.

Mr. Richards, student at Oxford, of great promise.

Mr. Hill, of Cambridge, a man of the same stamp.

Besides these, numerous converts have been made in all

classes, so that the present writer once confirmed about eighteen on the same day in his domestic oratory, besides performing several smaller confirmations in the same place. . . .

In submitting this report to the unerring judgment of the Sacred Congregation de Propaganda Fide, the undersigned Cardinal believes that he has exhausted the subject of which it treats. He does not think that there is room for any action on the part of the Holy See; on the contrary, he fears only the imprudence of those who represent his Holiness as favourable to the plea of disregarding the conversion of individuals, in the hope of an approaching national conversion; and he takes the liberty of adding that, if there should ever be the faintest movement towards so desirable an end, the Bishops, who watch with the utmost solicitude over the religious interests of England, would hasten to announce it to the Supreme Pastor, and would not leave this part of their duty to a layman.

Having thus clearly defined his logical position, and placed the Roman authorities on their guard against a too sanguine view of the prospects of the movement, Wiseman appears to have left the matter alone. He made no objection to Catholics joining the Association. He frequently corresponded with Mr. Phillipps, and although never departing (so far as I can find) from the limitations set down in his Memorandum, he was sympathetic in his intercourse with its Anglican members.

After it had existed for seven years it came in for its share of the opposition, which I have described, to compromises of all kinds.

In 1864 Provost Manning, Mr. Ward and others urged strongly their objections to Catholics belonging to the A.P.U.C.[1] Mr. Phillipps and the late Father Lockhart were among its members, and had carefully

[1] So the 'Association for the Promotion of the Union of Christendom' was designated.

maintained an orthodox position. But it was held that their association with the Anglicans on equal terms, was practically regarded by Anglicans themselves as a recognition of the lawfulness of their claim to be part of the Catholic Church, and thus led to confusion. Some of the Bishops shared this view, and in the end Cardinal Wiseman and the Bishops memorialised Propaganda on the subject in April; and the Association was condemned. But Wiseman, who, so long as his position was not misrepresented, always had a sympathy with the Association, offered to present to Rome a memorial from its members, to the effect that its nature and aims had been misunderstood.

We have an amusing glimpse of Dr. Manning's fears lest the Cardinal should commit himself on the subject, in one of Manning's autobiographical notes. 'Lisle Phillipps came to him with certain Anglicans, asking an interview,' he writes; 'Canon Morris came to me in alarm at Bayswater, and we both prevailed on the Cardinal to ask for a written statement instead. He answered it in writing.'

Of the impression left on the Reunionists themselves by the Cardinal's demeanour, Dr. Lee, of Lambeth, writes to me as follows:

I was presented to Cardinal Wiseman in 1857 by Sir George Bowyer, and often had the advantage of conversation with him.

As regards the Reunion Movement his Eminence appeared to me deeply interested in it. When, in 1857, the A.P.U.C. was started, he distinctly approved of it, and, with Father Ignatius Spencer's precedent, did not at all object to Roman Catholics belonging to it. Moreover, the choice of a prayer for combined use, 'O Lord Jesus Christ, Who saidst unto Thine apostles,' &c.,

submitted to the Cardinal by Mr. de Lisle as very suitable to Anglicans because of its appropriateness, and to Catholics because taken from the Missal, was warmly commended by him, as also by Nottingham and Clifton. Canons Searle and Maguire likewise approved. This interview, if I remember rightly, took place in June 1857.

The Cardinal himself constantly referred to his 'Letter to the Earl of Shrewsbury,' declining to add to or subtract from its terms. In that, if I remember rightly, the idea of 'Corporate Reunion' was plainly and most ably maintained; and the force of its charitable and kind words was notable and welcome.

Later on, after much criticism and discussion, his Eminence hesitated to issue a new edition of his Letter, soon out of print. I had previously procured 100 copies, and Dr. Maguire had mentioned the names of Catholics, both clerical and lay, to whom it should be sent, and to whom I forwarded it. Bearing so directly on the Oxford Movement, it was very acceptable to those Catholics who openly became Reunionists. Several of our clergy, on the other hand, were greatly influenced by its terms and tenderness. Some of the Cardinal's friends, as he informed me, thought that in certain sentences he had gone beyond his lawful powers; and subsequently at your father's, Bishop Ullathorne's, and Dr. Manning's urgent suggestion, appealed to Rome, as regards the nature of the communion in prayer and the public action of the A.P.U.C.

The immediate result was its condemnation. The late Father Lockhart, whose letter is before me, wrote to me thus: 'What we meant was misunderstood by those among us in authority. To their decision I was, however, bound to bow.'

The two following notes may here be added. The first refers to Mr. Phillipps de Lisle's proposal that a deputation of Anglican clergymen should entrust to the Cardinal an influentially signed petition for presentation in Rome:

London: November 18, 1864.

DEAR MR. DE LISLE,—I think it would be better for you to do nothing personal in the Union matter, till what you have

already mentioned to me shall have taken place, *i.e.* the address by Anglican clergy, &c. A day or two's notice will be sufficient for your favouring me, together with any friends of yours.

Your affectionate servant in Jesus Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

To a clergyman who wrote to the Cardinal on the decision of Propaganda, Canon Morris (afterwards Father Morris, S.J.) replied as follows :

8 York Place, London, W. : November 29, 1864.

REVEREND SIR,—I am requested by Cardinal Wiseman to say that when your first letter reached him he was unwell, and I was absent ; and now, on receipt of your second, he is still indisposed.

His Eminence wishes me in reply to your two questions to say first, that it is not true that the recent letter of the Holy See has been obtained by representations made by Mgr. Manning ; and next, that the Cardinal hopes that he is too good a Catholic to form any judgment at variance with an act of the Holy See, and that therefore you were misinformed when you were told that his Eminence was opposed to the recent condemnation of the A.P.U.C.

I remain, Reverend Sir,

Your obedient servant,

JOHN MORRIS.

The Cardinal's melancholy, in these years, was somewhat alleviated by the signs of friendliness and respect which came to him from his own countrymen of all classes and creeds. His genial nature had ever longed for peace, and for the good will of his neighbours which had been so rudely alienated by the events of 1850. And now, at last, tokens multiplied of general respect and even admiration, which ten years earlier would have seemed impossible. Canon Morris (his secretary) has stated that during the dangerous illnesses of 1863 and 1864, letters were con-

stantly coming from clergymen of various denominations, suggesting remedies. The Cardinal's lectures were more largely attended than ever during these years, although their actual effectiveness sometimes suffered greatly from his broken health. The press, which had remained cold or hostile long after he had won a measure of popularity with the public, now at last spoke in terms of appreciation. He was elected an honorary member of various archæological institutes in the country. He was once more—as in the days preceding the agitation of 1850—not unfrequently a guest at non-Catholic houses, or at the reunions of learned societies. When the Shakespeare Tercentenary was approaching, he was asked to join the National Committee for its celebration, and to deliver a lecture on Shakespeare. The Royal Institution renewed its invitation to him to lecture in Albemarle Street, and the lecture on Shakespeare was fixed to take place there on January 27, 1865.

Such indications of public feeling can only be truly gauged by remembering the anti-Catholic prejudices of that time, and the special feeling of animosity which the founder of the new Hierarchy had himself aroused. And they came before the Cardinal's mind and imagination as tokens of a great victory, to be won by the patience of the long-suffering English 'Papists.'

Perhaps among the most welcome signs of the times was a complimentary letter—which I print later on—from the Shakespeare Working Men's Committee which represented more than two and a half millions of Englishmen. The Cardinal was no

democrat ; but the persistent injustice of the upper and official classes, during the outcry of 1850, had led to his 'Appeal to the People of England.' It was through popular audiences that he had laboriously won his hold on public opinion ; and marks of esteem from the people came as a justification of his trust in the sense of justice of the mass of Englishmen.

The Cardinal proposed to mark the Tercentenary by a national memorial, to take the shape of a magnificently illustrated edition of Shakespeare's plays. This led to a correspondence with Mr. Woodward, the Queen's librarian at Windsor. The Cardinal's public reference to the Prince Consort, at the time of his death, had already been noted at Windsor ; and indications, through Mr. Woodward, of good will in the quarter in which a loyal subject especially values it, were all the more acceptable to the Cardinal, after the charges of an earlier time, that he had insulted the British Crown and Constitution.

The following letters of 1863 and 1864 illustrate this phase of the Cardinal's last years.

Mr. Robert C. Jenkins, the well-known antiquary, Rector of Lyminge, near Hythe, wrote as follows to Cardinal Manning of his intercourse with Wiseman on matters archæological, and of Wiseman's election as honorary member of the Kent Archæological Society :

> For many years, ever since I first was collecting materials for the life of Cardinal Julian (Cesarini), I had the great pleasure and advantage of communicating with that truly eminent and excellent man [Cardinal Wiseman], and for several years enjoyed the still higher privilege of his personal acquaintance. Latterly the subjects upon which we have from time to time

corresponded have been of an archæological rather than theological character, and were the more appropriate from the circumstance of the unanimous election of the Cardinal to the honorary membership of our Kent Archæological Society, an election which was received with such applause by the general meeting of the Society at Hythe a few years since, as to have given much gratification to all who recognised in it a signal proof that the great merits of the Cardinal, even more than his varied talents, had buried the memory of past differences even in this county, where the dread of the Court of Rome is perhaps more deeply rooted than in any county in England. It was a great gratification to me to communicate this circumstance to the Cardinal, and to find that he appreciated kindly, as he always did, this proof of a popularity so well earned and so lasting. Several years before this, he kindly undertook to aid us in our inquiries at Rome in regard to the ancient registers of the Diocese of Canterbury, which are believed to have been taken thither by Cardinal Kilwardby about the year 1275, as he had already aided me in the inquiries I was making in the matter of Cardinal Cesarini. As he pleasantly observed to me in one of his letters, he thought we had 'established a right of search in the Vatican.' He never failed to assist us in every matter of antiquarian inquiry. Recently there was carried on in the pages of the 'Gentleman's Magazine' an interesting controversy regarding stone and wooden buildings in the Anglo-Saxon period. Here again a reference to the Cardinal's judgment in regard to buildings of this period at Rome (a question which was incidental to the former one) brought out his own views and experience in a manner which proved his profound and accurate learning as an archæologist. The very last letter I had from him (written during his last illness) related to a remarkable relic of antiquity I had just discovered under the church here, which is built upon the foundations of the Nunnery, founded by St. Ethelburga, the daughter of King Ethelbert and widow of Edwin of Northumberland, who died as Abbess here in 647. We found near a part of the building, which is of Roman structure, a small tube of brass, lying near to which was a globular object of brass in two hemispheres, bound together by a rude fillet, and filled with a spongy material, which appeared as if it had been steeped in some oil

or perfume. It seemed to be an ancient chrismatory, and the Cardinal had described it to Canon Rock, for whose inspection I left it with Canon Searle a short time since. Even at this trying period, the Cardinal seemed to think only of the gratification of others, and so fresh and cheerful was the style of his letter that until I called a week or two afterwards in York Place, I had no idea of the extent of the danger that threatened him. But my most cherished recollection is that of his visit to this place, while he was staying at Folkestone for a short time after his return from Rome. But this subject would lead me into too long a chapter for the compass of a letter like this. On every subject, theological, archæological, or general, the Cardinal was equally accessible, equally friendly and courteous. I have corresponded with him on many subjects upon which our views were diametrically opposed, as well as on those in which they were in agreement, and ever found the same kindness and consideration, the same gentleness and Christian feeling—qualities which I sincerely trust will be inherited by all who reverence his memory, and which will give to every recollection of him—even by those who most differed from him in doctrine and sentiment—so peculiar an interest and value.

Cardinal Wiseman to Canon Walker.

8 York Place, Portman Square, London, W. :
Easter Saturday, 1863.

MY DEAR WALKER, —I am really sorry you cannot come up this year, at least at present, for I hope you will make up by a long visit. Last night I dined with the Astronomers. I was the Astronomer Royal's guest at the monthly 'Club' dinner, sat at his right, and received the first toast on which he rose to speak. Of course I had to make my speech; and afterwards we adjourned to the monthly meeting, where some very interesting communications were made. At the end the Astronomer Royal (Airy) announced my presence, which was most applaudingly acknowledged.

I spoke to Owen, who was a guest like myself, to say I would come and see him at the Museum. I want to talk about Lyell, Huxley, Darwin, &c. I wish you could be with me. There are many things you have not seen, I think, in London —

Museum of Practical Geology, Horticultural Gardens, new pictures, R.A. Exhibition, Museum of R.C.S., &c., that would occupy a few days. I hope you will come as soon as you are well, and take your holiday in London.

Searle is not returned. He had an audience of the Emperor, and got leave to dig up the Douai plate ;[1] and he is waiting for official leave, &c. I may tell you with all reserve, that the Queen has expressed herself much pleased and 'touched' by the manner in which I spoke of the Prince Consort in my lecture. I cannot but consider it a great step in working back from the prejudices of the Hierarchy feelings. However, I must close, having many things to say. Yesterday I saw the French Ambassador, the man who restored public Catholic worship in China, &c., Baron Le Gros. He gives poor accounts of Japan. I suppose we shall have war there.

Yours affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Etloe House, Leyton, N.E. : May 4, 1863.

MY DEAR WALKER,—Not having heard from you so long, I concluded you were quite recovered. But Lord Herries says you are not, but have still to shoulder your leg, if not your crutch. If so, I would certainly recommend your coming to London for advice. Indeed, independent of this, it would do you good to spend a few days here and see the exhibition going on, and some ecclesiastical work which is in progress. I have opened three new convents, raised from their foundations on freehold, within these twelve days, and have one or two others yet to open.

I have been doing rather too much, having preached or spoken to large bodies about fifteen times in nearly as many days. The most gratifying occasion was addressing a theatre

[1] The Douay plate had been buried by the English collegians when they were driven from the College at the time of the French Revolution ; but an exact description of the place of burial had been kept. In 1863 Monsignor Searle obtained leave from the Emperor of the French to dig for it. It was eventually found, and is now divided between the two Colleges representative of Douay—St. Edmund's College Old Hall, and Ushaw. The plate includes presents made to the College at various post-Reformation dates, by members of the Old Catholic families, bearing their arms and appropriate inscriptions.

full of working men and women, in the Kensington Museum, all Protestants, by special desire of the founder of immense schools, a Protestant clergyman. I have seldom enjoyed anything more.

If you can come to London, I can tell you many things now.

I think the 'Tablet' hardly does its duty as an English Catholic paper. If you take no other paper (Catholic) you will scarcely have heard of the discovery of the buried plate at the old Douai College. Searle got leave from the Emperor, and passed the permission through its labyrinth of departments, central and provincial, and with an official commission dug and found it. A full account was given in the Douai paper.

On his return to England after the Malines Congress in August 1863 the Cardinal delivered a lecture—on Self-Culture—at the Hartley Institute, Southampton, to inaugurate the thirty-fourth session of the Polytechnic Institution of the town. He wrote of it as follows to Canon Walker:

8 York Place, Portman Square, London, W.:
September 23, 1863.

MY DEAR WALKER,—I have been intending to write to you ever since my return from Malines; but more, I have wished that something would bring you up to London, to talk long and seriously over that great event, which Wallis[1] owns to have taken an ungenerous and wrong view of, from beginning to end. There is very much to say about it.

And now again I am impelled to write to you, by the singular concurrence of the press to judge favourably of my late lecture at Southampton. I have had five or six papers sent me, each of which selects a distinct point for commendation, almost without alloy. This is a phenomenon certainly. Personally it matters little; but as affecting public opinion in regard to Catholics, I think it is much.

I have often thought, and said, that the lecture platform is ours, if we choose; we have topics which would be fresh and new, which none others possess. I was in bed for some days

[1] Mr. J. Wallis, editor of the *Tablet*.

up to my starting for Southampton, and was far from well when there. So I did not look into a single book for help, and put down my notes on the morning of the lecture, took a good drive to Netley Abbey, and so did my work. . . . Thank God, I was none the worse after it.

Yours affectionately in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Cardinal Wiseman to Dr. Russell.

8 York Place, Portman Square, London, W. :
September 23, 1863.

MY DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—Thanks for your kind congratulations. I cannot make out what change has come over the spirit of the press. Besides the 'Times,' I have seen the 'Standard,' 'Telegraph,' 'Sun,' 'Edinboro' Courier' (best of all), and local papers, which all unite in almost unalloyed commendation of the lecture.

I was very unwell before going to deliver it, having passed two or three days immediately before in bed. Yet the Divine goodness assisted me, and I went through my two hours' task without feeling it. Nearly 3,000 persons were present. I did not look at a single book in preparation, but drew entirely on personal experience and observation. I suppose this gave the lecture more freshness and novelty.

I cannot but hope that a social conquest has been obtained at last, which we wanted much in England. . . .

I will write about other matters soon.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,
N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Cardinal Wiseman to Canon Walker.

Etloe House, Leyton, N.E. : October 8, 1863.

MY DEAR WALKER,—I wrote to you last at 7 A.M. When I rose from breakfast my left leg was useless, swollen, and hard like a beam. I have only written one letter from that day to this. The swelling was but secondary. Febrile excitement came on and kept me in bed till two or three days ago, and partly yet. It is another warning of an enfeebled and worn-out constitution. At each shock a weaker blow will suffice to over-

throw the attenuated structure. However, I will try to work to the end. As soon as I received yours about the grave-stone, I scribbled what came into my head, and had it sent to you. Strangely enough I was overworking my feverish brain with another inscription (Latin) that had caught or captivated my fancy, a great classical one for the Shakespeare festival. What say you? I am asked from every side to be on the committee, and they wish me to give one of the lectures. If strong enough, I could not say *no*; for it would be a great *national English* position to have allotted to a Catholic Bishop, &c.

I am ordered to leave London for *quiet* sea air, so on Monday I go to *Broadstairs*; where please address.

I can't write you a long letter, so good night. Kind regards to all friends.

Yours affectionately in Christ,
N. Card. Wiseman.

He writes to the same correspondent on Maundy Thursday, 1864:

Alea jacta est. I have accepted the proposal to give the Shakespeare Lecture. Of course I would not have done so had I not felt that the subject is already in my head. But to fill up details and throw more erudition into it, and no doubt new thoughts, I shall seek your counsel when you are here.

In the meantime I am asked 'whether it would be more agreeable to H.E. to receive a requisition to give an address from members of the Shakespeare National Committee, or that a deputation of the Trades Unions of London who have associated themselves with the movement, should wait upon H.E.' One would hardly have expected this a few years ago. However, I shall of course decline any over-demonstration. Indeed, I have written to the Secretary of the Shakespeare Committee, who *applied* to me, that if it be thought that I can promote the interests of the Tercentenary Committee by a lecture, I shall be happy to give one. This will not be before June, I fancy.

London: Monday, March 26, 1864.

My dear Walker,—You are quite out about my proposal for the Shakespeare monument. It is one which everyone can

take and keep for ever at home, an edition of his works on the grandest scale, illustrated by every great artist, and with every resource of art—steel and wood engraving, head and tail pieces coloured printing (like Doyle's book), and borders of the period of each play, &c. *My plan or idea has been most highly approved.* The sketch will soon be published. Pray do not talk of it yet.

I have ordered in Rome, and hope to have for our meeting, a centre-piece heirloom for the Archbishop's table. It represents St. Peter receiving the charge of the Flock (he is our patron) with St. John standing by, the figures in silver. On the base will be the lines in capitals.[1]

I am laid up with an inflamed eye, so can write only this.

Yours affectionately in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

Cardinal Wiseman to Dr. Russell.

London: March 30, 1864.

DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—After wishing you all Paschal joys, I write to inform you that I send you a proof of a paper on Shakespeare, on which I shall be glad to hear from you. The Fine Arts Journal is edited by Mr. Woodward, the Queen's librarian, who has encouraged me to put out my scheme, after informing me that those to whom he communicated it highly approved of it. Pray tell me your opinion. Herbert assures me that the artists will join in it to a man, and thinks that all will wonder that the idea had not struck everyone before.

I have been asked by the National Committee to give a lecture on Shakespeare, and have consented. The Pope has quite approved of my doing so. I will ask you to assist me by any suggestions.

I have not received any copy of my sermons yet, so I cannot judge how they read. I should like to go on with the next volume as soon as possible.

Next Tuesday week I have to deliver an architectural lecture, so you see I have my hands full.

Your affectionate friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

[1] The lines are given at p. 507.

The Cardinal's inquiry as to obtaining the patronage of the Prince of Wales for his scheme, was answered by Mr. Woodward in the following letter:

Windsor Castle: June 14, 1864.

My Lord Cardinal,—I have great pleasure in acknowledging the receipt of the note and memorandum your Eminence was so obliging as to send me this morning. And I will make the best arrangement I can with regard to the subject of them.

I have heard your Eminence's suggestion regarding a new Shakespeare Memorial everywhere spoken of most enthusiastically; and I know of only one thing which militates against the possibility of attempting it. I made inquiry, and found to my great vexation that there exists a rule in the etiquette of our courts forbidding the Prince of Wales from being the patron of any such attempt—*because* there are other projects before the public. If, however, these should be withdrawn, I would make further inquiry—*not without hope.*

I have the honour to be,
Your Eminence's most obliged and most obedient servant,
B. Woodward.

The following is the letter from the Working Men's Shakespeare Committee, to which reference has already been made:

33 Cloudesley Square, N.: May 30, 1864.

My Lord Cardinal,—I have the honour to be made the medium of a communication from the Working Men's Shakespeare Committee—a body composed of delegates from the various, Trade and Benefit Societies existing throughout the United Kingdom, and numbering in all upwards of two and a half million members.

The Committee have heard that your Eminence has consented to give a lecture on Shakespeare in aid of the fund of the National Shakespeare Committee, but that in the present aspect of that movement, the probability being that it will be formally abandoned, the lovers of the poet are likely to be denied the pleasure of listening to you on so grand a theme.

The Working Men's Shakespeare Committee regret exceedingly that the National Shakespeare movement should have proved a failure, and that you are in consequence prevented paying appropriate homage to the memory of our country's genius; but they are at the same time convinced that the failure is not to be attributed to any want of appreciation on the part of the public, but to internal discord- press jealousies, official mismanagement, and a want of true, large-hearted catholicity in the prosecution of the work.

So convinced are the Working Men's Shakespeare Committee of this, that they have firmly resolved to take up the monument movement at the very point where their more aristocratic and affluent brethren are about to lay it down, and appeal to the members of their own order throughout the country for small subscriptions, say from a penny to a shilling, to raise a people's memorial of the poet to be erected where they planted the Memorial Oak on April 23 last, viz. on Primrose Hill.

The Working Men's Shakespeare Committee earnestly pray your Eminence to assist them in their endeavour, by consenting to give the lecture on Shakespeare which was to have been given under other auspices, at St. James's Hall, or any other place agreeable to your Eminence, they undertaking to make all arrangements connected therewith, and to announce it, in a manner worthy of the object and the lecturer; as soon as they have formally apprised the public of the task to which they are about to commit themselves.

The Working Men's Shakespeare Committee are not to be supposed as having any identity with the Working Men's Garibaldi Committee, or as having had any part in the irregular and inopportune proceeding which occurred at a late hour of the day on Primrose Hill on April 23. They are simply a body of British workmen who reverence Shakespeare, and look for the sympathy and encouragement of your Eminence in giving expression to it.

I have the honour to be, my Lord Cardinal, on behalf of the Working Men's Shakespeare Committee,

Your obedient servant,

G. L. BANKS.

The lecture was, as we have seen, ultimately

arranged for the Royal Institution. In writing to this effect to Dr. Russell, on October 24, Cardinal Wiseman adds, 'I have considered it quite a matter of religious importance to accept, as it has a good influence to see such a national subject thrown into Catholic hierarchical hands.'

The Cardinal attended the consecration of the new Bishop of Bruges in October, and wrote of it to Mrs. Bagshawe as follows:

Brussels: October 25, 1864.

DEAR MRS. BAGSHAWE,—My trip, so far, has been prosperous, except as to weather, for which I do not hold myself responsible. And indeed, on the day on which weather was everything, it was everything that could be desired. That was the day after the Bishop of Bruges' consecration, when the other Bishops, Belgian and English, walked in full robes through the whole city, I following in an open carriage. The streets and windows were densely crowded by people of all ranks and ages. I did not see one act or look of levity or indifference in the compact mass. All uncovered, knelt where they could, and made the sign of the cross, soldiers, officers and all. It was the most beautiful exhibition of faith and piety I ever witnessed. My severest trial has been the banquet after the consecration; one hundred and sixty persons sat down to a magnificent dinner, which, according to Belgian custom, lasted five hours, which the function in the morning had also done. However, I was no worse for it all. Here I found my host (Abbé Donnet) lame from an accident. To-morrow I turn my face northward again, and hope to be at home next week. I need not say that I have met, as I always do abroad, with universal and most warm-hearted kindness. The Bishops are real brothers, full of affection for me. I feel completely at home among clergy and laity. The interest in England here is immense, but I experienced much personal friendship beyond this.

I have booked myself for a lecture on Shakespeare on January 27 at the Royal Institution in Albemarle Street. Should you or Mr. B. happen to be in town, I will take care to have tickets for you.

My best and kindest regards to Mr. Bagshawe. I pray for you all daily. I am ever

Your affectionate servant and friend in Christ,

N. CARD. WISEMAN.

I have quite recovered my eyesight since I came abroad, and am D.G. every way better.

Writing to Dr. Russell, he adds further particulars :

In the evening they all met at the English College, where I was lodged. There were addresses and music in the Aula Maxima, and I inclose a copy of the inscription erected. Only I substituted *gratulantes* for *complaudentes* after it had been printed off. My health has gained wonderfully by my trip here, though I have had some fatiguing days. But somehow I feel more at home abroad than at home. Nothing can be more warm-hearted than the reception which I meet from everyone, bishops, clergy, and laity. Sunday I passed some agreeable time with the Bollandists in their library.

CHAPTER XXX

DEATH AND FUNERAL

1865

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S thoughts had dwelt much on death, as Canon Morris tells us, since his dangerous illness in Rome in 1860. He wrote in that year his own epitaph, leaving the date of his death a blank to be filled in. Since then, as we learn from the same authority, he had 'made a very careful survey of his whole life, and the habit of introspection, both mental and moral, grew upon him.' In September 1864 he wrote some verses, whose crudeness of form betrayed his decaying mental powers. They were called 'A Retrospect of Many Years.'

Apart from these signs that he was conscious of the impending future, the habits and tastes which marked his personality, were very visible to the end. Canon Morris, who was with him throughout as his secretary and faithful attendant, has left a detailed account; and the record is so full of character, that a larger space may here be given to the closing scenes of the Cardinal's life, than would otherwise be desirable.

He led a more or less invalid life after his return from Belgium in November 1864, driving out oc-

casionally, however. He did not entirely give up his literary work or his sermons. He preached for the last time on the feast of his patron St. Nicholas. Canon Morris writes as follows of this period :

Twice he went through with me, in [his] drives, what he was going to say, or had said, at the Sainte Union Convent at Highgate, on St. Nicholas's Day. I am very sorry to think that I did not go with him to hear his last sermon. He had thought much about it, and was pleased with the thoughts respecting St. Nicholas that dwelt in his mind. He looked upon him, he said, as a connecting link not only between the East and the West, but between days of persecution and of peace. 'Can you imagine anything grander than the Fathers of the Council of Nice rising to receive a Bishop who had been in prison as a Confessor of the Faith, and had been the friend and companion of martyrs? What should we think of the appearance amongst us of one of our priests who had narrowly escaped martyrdom under Elizabeth?'

The feast of his patron Saint brought to his Eminence a large number of personal letters of congratulation and good wishes. These he devoted the next day to answering. The exertion of his little function at Highgate on the 6th, and spending the 7th at his table writing thirty or forty letters, had a very bad effect on the wound in his foot, which began to show symptoms of mortification. He had intended to have been present at the High Mass at Farm Street on the 8th, the Immaculate Conception ; and a little later, to have reopened the chapel in the Marylebone Road, but he was obliged to excuse himself from both engagements.

Though now for a considerable time confined to his sofa, he was yet able to receive many who called to see him. As it was difficult for him to write, he dictated many letters, and amused himself by looking over the little dramas which he had written for children. In the last of these, 'The Witch of Rosenberg,' he was much interested. It was written for St. Leo's Convent, Carlow, the Superioress of which has lost in him a cousin. Mr. G. C. Stanfield sketched a scene for him, Mr. James Doyle drew the costumes, and Mr. Molloy set the songs to music ; and when I came into his room one day, I found him superintending with

great satisfaction the packing of all these treasures, with his own perfectly clean and uncorrected manuscripts, in a little box, which two Sisters of Mercy, who had called on him, were decorating with gold paper and lace, as a Christmas surprise for the convent children.

He presided at the meeting of the Bishops in London on December 13. At the dinner which followed, he produced for the first time the centre piece for the Archbishop's table, already referred to, executed by Brugo, in the designing of which the Cardinal had taken great interest.[1]

He continued to lead an invalid life for the next three weeks, but no immediate danger was feared. He clung to the idea of the Shakespeare lecture, to which, as we have seen, he attached so much importance. The portion of it which he dictated to Dr. Clifford, the Chaplain of the Knights of St. John of

[1] The design is thus described by Canon Morris: 'Our Divine Lord is giving the keys to St. Peter, who stretches forth his veiled hands to receive them; St. John is standing by with a lamb in his arms, and sheep and lambs are browsing around on the hillock, which a palm tree surmounts.' The following inscription on the base is from the Cardinal's pen. He printed it on a card, intended to show his guests their places at his table, with a translation, which is also subjoined:

Inscription on the Group of O.L. and St Peter.

QVI . CHRISTI . POST . ME . PASCIS . ME . DIGNIOR . AGNOS
IPSO . IN . SYMPOSIO . SIS . MEMOR . OFFICII
NEC . DVM . TE . LAVTE . TRACTAS . SOCIOSQVE . BEATOS
LAZARVS . ANTE . FORES . LANGVEAT . ESVRIENS

N. C. W.

Translation.

Who, after me, more worthily, of Christ dost feed the sheep,
Remembrance of thy duty, even at the banquet, keep.
Nor when, for thee, with genial friends, the festive board is spread,
Let Lazarus, before thy door, sink faint, from want of bread.

N. C. W.

Jerusalem, shows plainly that his mind was quite unequal to the task ; but he kept to it until he actually broke down.

Though suffering greatly at the time from weakness of the eyes [writes Canon Morris], he read through all the books that he could collect respecting Shakespeare, and he was particularly interested by the fact that lawyers claimed Shakespeare as a lawyer, and doctors as a doctor, from the special knowledge shown by him on those subjects. He amused himself by asking all his friends for their definition of 'genius.' I remember hearing him say that he considered it to lie, after the facility of becoming great in any art or science, in an instinctive appreciation of all things that in any way bear upon it, and in the power of using all such collateral helps accurately and happily. His idea was that Shakespeare did not derive his accuracy of description of various mental states from observation, but from 'introspection.'

He wrote to Dr. Russell in this connexion on the 9th as follows :

8 York Place, Portman Square, London, W. :
January 9, 1865.

DEAR DR. RUSSELL,—Though I am still on the sofa, and recumbent, and so unable to write, I dictate and so do something. I am working on Shakespeare and hope to have it in the press before delivery. I am in a little trouble, out of which you can probably help me. I read, some time ago, a quotation from, or saying of Byron's, very contemptuous about Shakespeare as an exaggerated man. I cannot find the passage, but I think it was from Moore's Life. Could you find it for me? You will probably remember it. I have no one to ask here.

I suppose you have Rio's book. Has it a separate preface not bound? I think there are two, and I want *one*, not *the* one at hand.

On January 11 he left his house for the last time, driving to Battersea Park, and on the 12th he dictated some more of his lecture.

On Sunday, January 15, he was suddenly taken ill,

and the danger became so great that he received the last Sacraments. He rallied on Tuesday, but it was the beginning of the end. He never again went out of doors during the month of life which remained to him.

His patience during the last weeks appears to have made a great impression on his immediate attendants. Canon Morris writes as follows :

> He was quietness itself, and his patience and obedience were perfect. He had not said a querulous word during the three weeks he had been so ill, and he was ever ready with gentle thanks for any little service. He passed whole days in silence, uttering only a very few sentences ; but all the while he was quite collected and himself. He seemed to us like a man who was calmly meditating, and he occasionally gave us a glimpse of the subjects that were occupying his mind. . . . His obedience was very striking ; he would move immediately, exactly as he was told ; and it was a touching sight to see him, when so weak that he could hardly swallow, obeying like a child what Mr. Tegart [1] told him to do, in that voice of quiet authority that doctors of body and soul are alike obliged at times to use. . . . A day or two before this, when we were giving him some food, he said, 'I do this from pure obedience, for it does me no good.' We never once saw him dejected or in low spirits. Once I was giving him a mixture that must have been very disagreeable—strong beef tea with brandy in it —but I thought that he had ceased to be able to distinguish one thing from another. To my great amusement he said, 'That is what I call dull—beef and brandy.' I laughed ; and he said, 'What's that?' Dr. Hearn, who was leaning over the head of his bed, said, 'You set him off by something you said.' 'That was American,' he answered, meaning, I suppose, the use of the word 'dull.'

The following specimens of his conversation at this time on serious or trivial subjects are given by Canon Morris :

[1] Mr. Tegart and Dr. Munk were the two doctors in attendance on the Cardinal.

I asked him whether, if he were to be again in serious danger, there was any one he would wish to be sent for. He said, 'No one but Dr. Melia,' his confessor. And then, after a little silence, he said, 'I suppose it was not God's will that I should go. Perhaps my work was not yet done.' I answered, 'Ah, my lord, you must be like St. Martin, *qui nec mori timuit, nec vivere recusavit.*' I saw his face light up as the familiar words corresponded with his own thought.

After an interval, he added, 'I have been thinking much of that saying of St. Augustine, that "no one, however free his conscience may pronounce him of sin, should depart this life without penance"; and it makes a great impression on me, coming as it does from a *saint*. I hope God will take my illness as a part of my penance. . . .'

And again:

'I remember when I had a villa at Albano, Mgr. Ferrari, the Prefect of the Pope's Master of Ceremonies, who had been sent to the Palace at Castel Gandolfo by the Pope, for a change of air after a very severe illness, called on me, and said: "*Ah, Eminentissimo, abbiamo bussato alla porta, sì, ma non ci siamo ancora entrati.*" ['We have knocked at the door, but we have not been let in yet. . . .']

'I have never cared for anything,' he once said, 'but the Church. My sole delight has been in everything connected with her. As people in the world would go to a ball for their recreation, so I have enjoyed a great function. . .'

He told me then that it was the Roman etiquette that when a Cardinal was in danger of death, a priest should be sent to the Vatican in his carriage, with its usual two footmen, as though the Cardinal were himself there; and he said that he had had a curious instance in his own case of the way in which the Romans noticed such things; for the rumour spread about Rome that he was dying and had sent for the last Blessing, for they had seen Dr. Manning driven up to the Vatican in his carriage, as he happened to have an audience with the Holy Father one day immediately after he had been out for a drive with him. . . .

One afternoon he said to me, 'I am sure it would do me more good to have a long talk about Monte Porzio than to be

kept so much alone.' I answered, 'Well, let's have a good talk about Monte Porzio'; and then he straightway flung himself into it. 'I can see the colour of the chestnut trees, and Camaldoli, and the top of Tusculum. What a beautiful view it is from our Refectory window! A new-comer does not value Monte Porzio properly. It takes a hard year's work in Rome to enable you to appreciate it. I loved it dearly. I keep a picture of it in my bedroom, both here and at Leyton. They have kept the Rector's chair in the place where I used to sit. I got that gold chair for Pope Leo's reception, and I always used it afterwards. I used to sit there writing for hours after everyone was in bed, and then I would refresh myself by a look out of the open window into the moonlight night.'

One event at this time gave the Cardinal great satisfaction, and carried his mind back to the days of the Oxford Movement. Mr. R. Waldo Sibthorpe, whose return to Anglicanism soon after his conversion had been so heavy a blow to Wiseman, now, after an interval of twenty years, was reconciled to the Church. Wiseman insisted that his first Mass, on the Feast of St. Paul's Conversion, should be said in his own private chapel.

The excitement produced by the Encyclical and Syllabus was occasionally in his mind. Once he asked Dr. Clifford if there were no news about the attitude of the French bishops.

I then told him [writes Dr. Clifford] that they continued to protest against the Circular of the Government forbidding the Encyclical to be read by the Bishops to their people, and that, notwithstanding the prohibition, one or two had read it openly from the pulpit. At this he seemed very much pleased, and said: 'I am very glad the French Bishops are standing out so bravely for the liberties of the Church. That will console the Holy Father very much.'

When speaking of the Encyclical, I think he said that he

hoped to say something on it. 'The French Bishops have spoken,' he said, 'but as yet I've said nothing.'

His earnest words about death, to the Reverend Mother of the Hospital, who nursed him, and to Canon Morris, seem to have come with the absolute naturalness which led him to speak so readily on other subjects. Whether he was fully conscious or partly wandering—and the nurses were not always certain on this point—they seemed to be the expression of the habitual thoughts of one with his Catholic training and associations. Canon Morris's minute record gives them at length. At a time of suffering he was heard to say, 'He did not spare Himself.' He wished, he said, that his death should be an act of obedience. A little later, after asking for his rosary, he said, 'I wish to be in perfect harmony with Our Blessed Lord, and I only want to fulfil His holy will. My mind has been constantly dwelling on what it is to be with God. I wish I could tell you what it has appeared to me to be—quite different from what I thought it in life.'

His sense of comfort and support from the rites of the Church remained strong to the last; and his mind, though clouded or wandering on most subjects, appeared to be alert as to all preparations for the last offices before and after his own death. On February 2, he expressed a wish to be carried downstairs into the drawing-room. On his way down he paid a visit to the Blessed Sacrament in his little chapel.

He remained for a few minutes before the Blessed Sacrament [writes Canon Morris], all around him kneeling; and then the chair was turned for him to face the image of the

Blessed Virgin, a beautiful marble bust by Benzoni, which he had brought from Rome as an *ex voto* for his recovery there in 1860. He was then carried down to the drawing room, where the bed had been placed against the middle window, facing the folding doors. I believe that he expressed his wish to be moved, because he thought that the larger room would be so much more convenient on such an occasion as receiving the Chapter, and again for the Office of the Dead after his decease. My belief is that he thought beforehand of everything, and that he arranged the proper place and time of each thing in his own mind. . . .

A little later he spoke about his funeral, saying, as quietly and unconcernedly as if it had been some function he was himself about to perform, 'I shall look to you and Patterson for the ceremonial. See that everything is done quite right. Do not let a rubric be broken.' After some other details he added, 'And, of course, the religious will say the office here in the room.' And so they did—representatives of eleven religious orders of men, including the congregations of Secular Priests, but, according to Roman etiquette, not including the Fathers of the Society of Jesus ; and of those eleven orders, all, if I am not mistaken, received from him the work in the diocese in which they are engaged ; and very nearly all were introduced into London by him. . . .

'I do not wish anyone to read to me when I am dying,' he said ; 'but I had rather be left to my own meditations.' I remarked, 'But you would like to have the Litany, my Lord?' 'What, the Commendation of a Departing Soul, the Church's words?' he answered, quite brightening up. 'I want to have everything the Church gives me, down to the Holy Water. Do not leave out anything. I want everything.'

On February 4 he requested Canon Morris to telegraph for Dr. Manning, who was in Rome. On the 5th, at his wish, the Canons assembled to receive his dying profession of faith. Canon Morris describes the scene thus :

He was vested, as he lay in bed, by Mgr. Searle, who had so often vested him before. He had on his rochet, his red mozzetta

and zuchetto, his pectoral cross and gold stole ; and he wore the sapphire ring which, when he was made a Cardinal, he received from the College of the Propaganda, in return for the offering which it is their privilege to receive from all newly created members of the Sacred College. I said to him, 'Canon Hunt, as the Missionary Rector, will anoint your Eminence.' He bowed his head. I added, 'And will you have the *Asperges* from the Senior Canon?' He answered, looking round at me, 'I want everything.'

The Canons then came into the room, wearing their choir dress, and formed a semicircle around him, on his left side. Mr. Patterson was there as his Master of Ceremonies. He had previously requested Mgr. Searle to assist him on his right hand ; and he told me to be on his left, and to read the Profession of Faith for him. The large picture of Pope Pius IX., which all who have been in his drawing-room will remember, looked down upon us, and seemed to form part of the group, who were engaged in one of the most solemn acts the Church has devised. The Archiepiscopal Cross was placed at the foot of the bed ; and there it remained for the days of his life that were yet left.

Canon Maguire, as the Senior Canon, in the absence of the Provost, having sprinkled the Cardinal with holy water, I knelt by his side and read the Creed of Pope Pius IV. When it was ended, the book of the Gospels was handed to him to kiss, for the oath with which it concludes. He put his hand upon it, and said : 'Put it down.' And then : 'I wish to express before the Chapter that I have not, and never have had in my whole life, the very slightest doubt or hesitation on any one of the Articles of this Faith ; I have always endeavoured to teach it ; and I transmit it intact to my successor.'

The Missal was then lifted up to him, and he kissed it, saying : '*Sic me Deus adjuvet et hæc Sancta Dei Evangelia.*' He then added, 'I now wish to receive Extreme Unction at your hands, as the seal of my Profession of Faith.'

He then addressed the Canons on the appointment of his successor, which rested, he said, with the Holy See, and with the method of election which he had established. In the course of his address the

Cardinal referred in a few solemn words to the discords of the last few years :

> I have one word to say, and it is to beg you to cherish peace, and charity, and unity, even though it may be at the price of our occasionally having to give up our own individual opinions for the sake of peace. And if in the past there has been anything that has made against charity and unity, in God's name let it pass into oblivion ; let us put aside all jealousies, and let us forgive one another and love another.

He then gave the Pontifical blessing, and received from each Canon the 'kiss of peace.'

In the days which remained he grew steadily worse. His mind turned to his past unpopularity in England. 'I think,' he said one day, 'a good many will be sorry for me—Protestants I mean. I don't think they will always think me such a monster.'

He received Communion for the last time on the Friday. Later in the day Canon Morris records that :

> He made an effort to tell us his meditation on Heaven, but he was tired, and the right words would not come. He said : 'Do not think I am wandering, for I am not.' And he was not, but only some sentences were audible, and it was clear that his memory did not serve him with the words that would express his thoughts. I heard some such sentence as 'diamonds, and on every facet a Virgin or a Martyr.' And then [came] the two striking phrases, 'rush through the angels into God' ; and, after a time, during which he had evidently been pondering on the eternity of the Beatific Vision, 'I never heard of anyone being tired of the stars.'

Dr. Manning arrived from Rome on the 12th. The Cardinal did not at first recognise him, and it appears uncertain whether he ever did so,[1] although

[1] My father thought, from Dr. Manning's account in conversation, that he did not. Canon Morris's words leave it uncertain. I have

when told that the Pope had, through Dr. Manning, sent his special blessing he said several times, 'I thank him.' He was steadily sinking during the three following days, and expired on Wednesday morning, the 15th, at eight o'clock. Dr. Manning and Monsignor Thompson had just finished their masses for his happy death.

'Nothing can exceed the patience and submission he has shown,' Manning wrote to Monsignor Talbot, while Wiseman was on his death-bed. 'The few words he has said have been beautiful and edifying; and his end is truly the death of the just. The sympathy both public and private is great. Among others Gladstone called to inquire yesterday.'

The body lay in state on Friday and Saturday, clothed in the Pontifical vestments, surrounded by lighted tapers, and watched by nuns. The crowd which came to see it was so large, as Mr. White tells us, that after Saturday the general public was excluded, to give special friends their opportunity of praying by the remains. On Tuesday the Office for the Dead was sung, the various religious orders which he had brought to England dividing the different offices among themselves. Vespers were chanted by Dominicans and Carmelites; the three Nocturns of Matins were assigned as follows—the first to Servites, Augustinians and Passionists, the second to the Marists and Oblates of St. Mary's, the third to the Oblates of St. Charles and Fathers of Charity. Lauds were sung by the Oratorians.

given, on Canon Morris's authority, the 12th as the date of Manning's arrival. The author of the *Life of Cardinal Manning* gives the 13th.

On Tuesday evening, the body was conveyed to the pro-Cathedral at Moorfields. All Wednesday, the church was thrown open to the public. A large force of police was summoned in consequence of the crowd which assembled to see the remains. 'Their consciousness of the solemn and sorrowful character of the occasion,' writes one who was there, 'was evinced by their orderly arrangement and their grave and reverend demeanour. It was curious to note that concourse, so large yet so decorous;—curious to listen to their subdued speech when they [hardly] spoke, it might be said, above their breath.'

Of the strong sympathy of the public, and its sense of loss on the occasion, we have permanent testimony in the language used by the press in announcing the Cardinal's death. Its utterances in 1850 have been quoted as embodying the bitter feelings of the hour; and some samples of the extraordinary change which fifteen years had wrought, deserve their place in the record of the effect of Wiseman's career on the English mind. The words of the 'Times' have been cited in a former chapter. Other journals—all representative of some section of the public opinion of that time—were equally generous.

His reputation was more than European [we read in one].[1] He was conspicuous for more than merely rare abilities. He was endowed with more than simply a capacious and vigorous intellect. He was a man of genius. As a great linguist, as a ripe scholar, as a man of profound learning, Cardinal Wiseman

[1] *The Sun.* The selection in the text is fairly representative of the large number of notices collected by Mr. White, of whose industry I have availed myself. See p. 57 seq. of his *Memoir of Wiseman.*

was a personage of mark and distinction, even in an age when, among the holders of the same princely dignity, were numbered such giants of erudition and of philology as Cardinal Mai and Cardinal Mezzofanti. . . .

How completely Cardinal Wiseman had conquered the good opinion of his fellow-countrymen and fellow-citizens, here in England, during the fifteen years that have elapsed since the formation of the Catholic Hierarchy, of which, since 1850, the deceased Cardinal was, until yesterday, the head or spiritual chief . . . the opinions now being expressed upon all hands by the journalists of England, afford a very signal and significant indication. . . . The angry feelings evidenced in 1850 are in truth past and done with long ago. And the fact that it is so is of itself an attestation of the singular combination in the late chief of the Roman Catholic Church in England, of a dignity and a discretion capable, by their conciliatory influence and their combination, of conquering all prejudices, even those that appeared to be the most rooted and ineradicable. Even in England, Cardinal Wiseman was a popular man. Among his co-religionists he was beloved and revered. But, apart from them, in the midst of the general public, in assemblages of Protestants and Dissenters, the deceased Cardinal was always of late years received with the respect due alike to his learning and to his virtues. . . .

Scarcely less cordial is the following from the most widely circulated of our newspapers :[1]

Throughout the whole of England the news of Cardinal Wiseman's death will be received with sincere regret. Protestants and Catholics alike will combine in doing honour to the memory of a man who filled no unimportant post in our community, and filled it worthily. In every chapel of this country, where the ancient faith is still maintained, prayers have been offered up, during the last few weeks, for the restoration of health to the dying Cardinal. That those prayers were not answered is to all Englishmen—no matter what may be their creed—a source of real sorrow. A man of kindly nature, ripe learning, and genial disposition, he was known chiefly as an eloquent preacher and a scholar-like author. His portly figure,

[1] *The Daily Telegraph.*

his pleasant smile, and jovial, good-humoured face, accorded ill with the popular delusion which represents all priests of the Church of Rome as ascetic fanatics or Machiavellian intriguers. Emphatically a man of the world, he knew how to hold his place, without arrogant pretension or any loss of real dignity, in a society which did not recognise his rank.

Even writers who criticised expressed admiration.

It may fairly be predicted of the Cardinal's posthumous reputation [wrote a hostile critic in the 'Pall Mall'] that he will be recognised hereafter as the man who could have restored Catholicity in England if its restoration had been possible.

His comparatively early death will be felt by all [said another writer [1]], even the most sturdy Protestant among us, as a national loss.

Some of the provincial papers were led by the enthusiasm of the hour to use language which will seem extravagant to the present generation:

The greatest among the present generation of England's great men has ceased to be numbered with the living [wrote the 'Hull Advertiser']. Cardinal Wiseman rests from his many and exhausting labours, sleeping the sleep of a tranquil, peaceful, and episcopally exemplary death. Pre-eminent as a scholar and linguist among the greatest scholars and linguists of the nineteenth century; Europeanly famous among divines for his knowledge of Canon Law and erudite familiarity with Holy Scripture in the Oriental languages; distinguished among authors and artists . . . and blessed with a capacity, a sweetness of temper, and a geniality of disposition which made his wonderful stores of erudition available for the instruction of men of all ranks, classes, climes, and creeds, Cardinal Wiseman occupied by general consent the foremost place among the intellectual luminaries of the age. Wherever he appeared, all unconsciously concurred in the all-pervading feeling that how many claimants soever there might be for the second place, the first of right belonged to him. By his death Pius IX. loses a wise counsellor, the Catholic Church an illustrious prelate, and

[1] In *John Bull*.

Queen Victoria a great subject who has contributed not a little to render her reign illustrious.[1]

Religious journals took their part in the general expression of good will.

During his life it was perhaps difficult [we read in one of them[2]], if not impossible, from the prejudices, as well as from the reasonable objections of Protestant Christians against the aggressive nature of Roman Catholicism, that Cardinal Wiseman should obtain a just appreciation at the hands of his countrymen ; but now that his life here has ended, and it can be seen in its completeness, it is very visibly one in which, as Englishmen and as Christians, we may take an honest pride, and be glad that he was one of us. The talents which he brought to bear on all of the many subjects which he studied, would do honour to any man, and his earnest Christian life and manful efforts for Catholicism would be an ornament to any form of religious organisation.

[1] The following words of the same journal show delicacy of appreciation :

'Cardinal Wiseman was a man of Herculean frame, but with a voice exceedingly gentle, and almost feminine in the clearness and sweetness of its lower tones. He was remarkably cheerful and animated in conversation, and had the happy art of conveying information as if those he addressed had rather forgotten than never before heard it. He affected no reserve, treating all who approached him with an easy confidence, which at once gained the good will of strangers. It was impossible to know him for any length of time without observing that his early life had been spent innocently, and that he retained an extraordinary amount of the simplicity of childhood in his admiration of all that related to that happy period of life. There was a well-spring of simple piety and almost infantine goodness in the Cardinal, of which nothing appeared to those who had not opportunities of looking below the surface. This was one of the secrets of his strength, of which he seemed almost unconscious. No man was ever less a plotter or a diplomatist than the Cardinal, on the contrary, he was as open and unreserved as John Bull himself; but he had faith in God and in the righteousness of the work in which he was engaged, and his moral courage was of the highest order— that which would conduct a martyr calmly and even joyously to the block.'

[2] The *Spiritual Magazine*.

Dr. Thomas, editor of the 'Homilist,' alluded to 'the depth and expanse of that excitement which his death has produced':

It was not improper for us [he adds] to sympathise with our Catholic brethren in this hour of their distress. The Cardinal's death had left a perceptible blank in English society. His Eminence's theological and scientific attainments were great even for a prelate.

One of the principal organs of Dissent[1] thus expressed itself:

Cardinal Wiseman, with all his faults—perhaps we might say, *in* his faults—was a thorough Englishman; and though he committed himself deeply to the Ultramontane doctrine and spirit, there was something in his English culture and full communion with English life, which tempered his Ultramontane zeal, and made him a very different man from the popular notion of a Papal emissary. A certain humane influence was shed over his life, not so much by his high intellectual culture as by his reputation for general learning; and which he was unwilling to risk by any acts or utterances of bigotry which would have shocked the sense of the English people. . . . The reputation for refined scholarship, when cherished, acts as a softening, subduing medium, and tends to tone down the harshness of religious bigotry and polemical strife. To the last, Cardinal Wiseman prided himself with justice on his scientific and æsthetic attainments; and one of the very last, if not the last occasion on which he appeared in public, showed him to be no mean critic of the various styles of architecture, and no mean proficient in the history of the art. These tastes and pursuits formed a link of connexion between the Prince of the Roman Church and free-minded, free-spoken Englishmen, which no mere narrow-minded foreign zealot could have established; and they gave him a large audience of intelligent and cultivated Protestants whenever he appeared before the public. . . . We feel the touch of nature which makes the whole world kin, and can join very heartily in the pious ejaculation which myriads will utter this day over his grave, 'May he rest in peace.'

[1] The *Patriot*.

The Requiem was fixed for Thursday, the 23rd. The general interest shown on the preceding days prepared those who organised the ceremony for a public demonstration. But the event surpassed all expectation. Not only was the church at Moorfields thronged, but the whole seven miles of route to Kensal Green was crowded. Most of the shops were shut. So many private carriages—many of them belonging to non-Catholics—attended, that the procession was about two miles long. 'All along the line of route,' wrote the representative of the 'Times,'[1] 'every part was thronged with spectators, every window was crammed, every balcony, housetop, and even the roofs of churches were occupied. Those thousands, and even hundreds of thousands, waited patiently throughout the day.'

The extent of the demonstration took everybody by surprise, and has never been quite adequately explained. The 'Times' of Friday, in the course of the three columns devoted to the occasion, commented on it thus:

Yesterday the body of Cardinal Wiseman was solemnly buried at the Roman Catholic Cemetery of St. Mary's, Kensal Green, amid such circumstances of ritual pomp as, since the Reformation at least, have never been seen in this country, and we may add amid such tokens of public interest, and almost of sorrow, as do not often mark the funerals even of our most illustrious dead. Not since the State funeral of the late Duke of Wellington has the same interest been evinced to behold what it was thought would be the superb religious pageant of yesterday. Since the death of Cardinal Wolsey we believe no English Cardinal has been buried in this country, and the funeral obsequies were looked forward to as likely to afford a

[1] *Times*, February 24, 1865.

splendid ceremonial of the most impressive kind. Those, indeed, who were present in the pro-Cathedral of Moorfields were not disappointed in this expectation. In the streets, however, the procession was remarkable only for its enormous length. It soon, too, got broken and disarranged and mixed up with vehicles of all kinds, and this made the whole outdoor portion of the ceremonial ineffective, except as regards the immense crowds it attracted along the whole seven miles of road it had to traverse from Moorfields to the cemetery. Everywhere, however, the cortège was received with marks of profound respect. At least three-fourths of the shops along the line of route were closed—the streets were lined with spectators, and every window and balcony was thronged. Altogether the feeling among the public seemed deeper than one of mere curiosity—a wish, perhaps, to forget old differences with the Cardinal, and render respect to his memory as an eminent Englishman and one of the most learned men of his time.

Large numbers of the general public attended the Requiem Mass. Lord Campbell—the son of the Lord Chancellor who had denounced Wiseman at the Mansion House in 1850—was present. Among other personal friends or admirers were Lord Malmesbury, the Duke and Duchess of Sutherland, and Lord Southwell, besides the bulk of leading Catholics. Representatives of the Catholic Embassies and of the Greek Embassy attended. The whole Catholic Episcopate was there, and all the religious orders were represented. At the end of the Requiem Mass, Provost Manning ascended the pulpit and delivered a discourse, striking enough to those who read it even at this distance of time, and deeply impressive at a moment when all were filled with thought of the eventful career that was closed, and of the kind heart that had ceased to beat. 'When he, with eloquent simplicity,' writes one who was present, 'described

the last hours of [the Cardinal], his suffering, his agony, and his patience and sweetness of temper through it all, there was not a dry eye in the church.'

With that clear and emphatic intonation which most of us still remember, Provost Manning gave the text of his sermon, and began as follows :

'Let Nehemias be a long time remembered, who raised up for us our walls that were cast down, and set up the gates and the bars, who rebuilt our houses.' (Ecclus. xlix. 15.)

If the command of authority had not bid me speak to-day, I should not have ventured on this task. It would be a hard task to anyone. It is a harder task to me than to most. It is beyond the power of any of us to speak as we ought of the great Pastor and Prince of the Church who lies here in the midst of us. It is altogether beyond mine. I have, moreover, a farther hindrance—the private sorrow for the loss of the truest of friends, the last in this kind I can ever have in life.

But as he, in his last days, unknown to me, and when I was afar off, laid on me this command, I fulfil it as I can. It is the last obedience I can render to him, whom it has been my happiness and my honour for these thirteen years very feebly but faithfully to serve.

It would not, however, become me on such a day of public mourning to speak of any private sorrow of my own. For to whom is not this a private sorrow and a personal grief?

I see before me the Bishops of the Catholic Church in England shorn of their chief glory. The light which went before them is gone out, and the strong arm which struck for them is still in death. And yet it is not only a public but a private grief also to you. On most of you that hand impressed the Episcopal character. He was guide, teacher, and friend to many of you, who grew up around him as his disciples and his sons.

Of the priesthood gathered here, perhaps the greater number, either in Rome or at Oscott, learned from his lips, were upheld and guided by his voice. The hands of many were anointed by him with the unction of the Holy Sacrifice.

Many, perhaps, would never have held out in the dangers which beset their vocation, but for his encouraging voice and his sustaining hand. You, too, have lost not only a pastor, but a father and a friend. . . .

There is a mourning to-day throughout the Catholic Church in England. The pastor who has led the whole flock in the last fifteen years is gone before us, and has left us in the wilderness. The solemn requiem is ascending throughout England for the repose of that great soul.

Not in England alone, but wheresoever the English speech is known, the name of Nicholas Wiseman, the first Cardinal Archbishop of Westminster, is a title of honour cherished and revered.

And not only where our tongue is spoken, but in all languages within the unity of the Universal Church, the name and fame of our beloved and lamented pastor is in veneration.

The other day, when he recalled me to his side, everywhere as I travelled homewards the first question was of that precious life. They only knew that I was an Englishman; but their first inquiry, full of sympathy and condolence, was of his state.

But, most of all, where he was best known and most cherished, in Rome, among the friends of his youth, now princes in the Sacred College, his life was counted as of great price, and his death as the extinction of one of the brightest lights which surround the Holy See. When the Sovereign Pontiff knew that hope was all but gone, he lifted his hands and eyes to Heaven, and said: 'This and the loss of the Archbishop of Cologne are two heavy blows to me. The Archbishop for Prussia, and the Cardinal for England, at this moment were of inestimable worth. But the will of the Lord be done.'

Our private griefs, then, lose themselves, and are ennobled in this universal mourning. There will be a world-wide sorrow wheresoever the Catholic name is spread. We are all poorer by this loss; and the voice which has taught, cheered, elevated, and strengthened tens of thousands in every land, will be heard no more on earth. Henceforth it is mingled with the voices which are eternal.

What, then, can I say? You know all, you feel all, that can be spoken. I cannot narrate a biography, the outlines and

dates of which have been during these last days in all our hands.

I cannot undertake a criticism of his wonderful gifts and powers, and of the rich fertility of the mind which will fascinate us no more. It would be a cold and heartless task.

Least of all can I pronounce a panegyric. The name Nicholas Wiseman is a panegyric in itself. The life which is before you in all its completeness, its unity, its expanding powers, its multiplying honours, its exuberant works, its calm tranquil sunset—all this, which you already know, sets before you a noble and stately picture of a great Christian, a chief Pastor of the flock, a prince over the Church of God.

What, then, is left to me?

I can but draw most faintly and hastily the outlines of a great life. Here and there I may put in a few personal features, single touches of the beautiful colours which played about him; and a few words from that voice which, though we shall hear it no more, yet speaks by the accents of the past hanging in the air, or inscribed deeply in works which cannot pass away.

The preacher began by sketching the 'great period' in the history of English thought, which gave such interest to Cardinal Wiseman's career—the movements which had prepared the way for his work, and made him, in the words of Pius IX., 'the man of Divine Providence for England.' The Liberal Movement and the Catholic Movement had aroused at once broader sympathies, and a new appreciation of the ancient religious ideals.

England began to feel the weight and the pressure of a broader and nobler religious spirit than was to be found in the three hundred years of its past history. The change of our polity in 1828, 1829, let loose a flood upon this country. It had been ice-bound for generations. But the thaw had set in. After the frost comes the flow, and as in the floods which inundate the land, all things are lifted, the fruits of the earth, the trees of the forest, the dwellings of men; so it was in England

when the old tradition of three centuries gave way before the larger spirit of modern legislation.

Still more: under the surface there was a movement as of many contending currents, intellectual and spiritual, hardly known, while as yet the old exclusiveness held all activity in check. These vigorous and vehement movements went on, year after year, multiplying in speed and volume. A crisis was come. Doubt, uncertainty, restlessness, great discontent, great license of opinion, a craving for truth, unity, and peace, and withal an earnest seeking for it at all costs, absolute mistrust of the guidance and teachings of men; all this, from 1830 to 1840, had been preparing a crisis in the religious life of England. 'There was no balm in Gilead, no physician there.' Multitudes of thoughtful and earnest men were seeking for some mind, some voice, some guide, some teacher to lead them in the way of truth and life. And as the crisis had been preparing for him, so he had been prepared to meet it.

And what was his preparation? The childhood in Catholic Spain, the boyhood under the manly English discipline of Ushaw; and then, 'the turning point of his life,' his training at Rome.

There Nicholas Wiseman studied for twenty years. There he dwelt under the shadow, or rather within the light, of the Pontiffs. There, too, he lived in the midst of martyrs and saints, of whom in after life his mind was ever full. Their relics and their sanctuaries were his cherished study.

And, lastly, it was there that he entered into the light of the great theology, or science of God, which in Rome is in its focus, and is enunciated by the living tradition of a language which men count as dead, but Rome speaks as its mother tongue, from the hour when the apostles preached until this day.

So equipped, he entered into the movements of his time. His enthusiastic hopefulness saw in them a future for the Church which others treated as wholly imaginary.

Many good and prudent men looked at the same horizon, and saw no signs, no harbinger of the morrow. They treated

the Bishop of Melipotamus as sanguine and visionary, one whom hope had distempered. They saw nothing in England but the hard surface of the earth seared by the old storms of religious controversy which had furrowed the land. He saw beneath the surface, and discerned the delicate and vivid lines of new habits of thought, new aspirations after an inheritance which had been forfeited. . . .

The extraordinary crisis of 1845 appeared to justify Wiseman's hopes, and amazed his critics. Still the promise of that time—as many were now urging—had not been fulfilled.

The man who was destined to carry on Wiseman's work rose to eloquence at this point.

In these last days [he said], I have read again and again such words as these: 'Great beginnings doomed to a great disappointment. Lofty undertakings, and, it must be confessed, closed by a signal failure.' Not so fast, men of this world; not so lordly and confident, wise and prudent of the earth. The ploughing of December may be drenched with the rains of January, and the February snows hide all things from the eyes of men. But the sweat of the ploughman and of the sower is not in vain; there is a life in the sod, a stature, a symmetry, an expansion, and a maturity deep down, out of sight, coiled together and yet unfolding in silence. There must yet come binding frosts, and scourging hail, and raving winds; but the summer's sun and the autumn fruits are sure as the march of time, the changes of day and night. You have it in an old book—not much read, it may be, in these days of light:

'As the rain and the snow come down from heaven, and return no more thither, but soak the earth, and water it, and make it to spring, and give seed to the sower, and bread to the eater, so shall My word be, which shall go forth from My mouth; it shall not return to Me void, but it shall do whatsoever I please, and shall prosper in the things for which I sent it.'[1]

And again, 'The husbandman waiteth for the precious fruit of the earth; patiently bearing till he receive the early and

[1] Isaias lv. 10.

later rain. Be you therefore also patient, and strengthen your hearts; for the coming of the Lord is at hand.'[1]

The conversion of England! Do men think that we expect the twenty millions of Englishmen to lie down Protestants at night, and to wake up Catholics in the morning? Do they so little know the calm wisdom of the illustrious dead who lies here, the centre of our veneration and of our love, as to think that he was such a dreamer of day-dreams, so unreal and fantastic in his hopes? He was a believer like one who for a hundred and twenty years built the ark; and a hoper like him who all alone entered imperial Rome, a simple fisherman, but the Vicar of the Son of God.

Such were his expectations; and when he closed his eyes upon England, he had already seen the work he had begun, expanding everywhere, and the traditions of three hundred years everywhere dissolving before it. Time is not with the Church of God. Converging lines may stretch beyond our sight, and overpass the horizon; but they must intersect at last. So with the work of grace upon the country of our birth and of our love; its desolations are not for ever.

The preacher then sketched the last years of Nicholas Wiseman's life. He spoke of his gifts and of his character. Great as were the former, his truest greatness was in his tender heart and wide charity. 'Ille vere magnus est qui magnam habet charitatem,' he said. 'His charity was of an antique kind, such as we read of but seldom see. There were two classes to whom he chiefly showed it—to sinners and to little children.' 'The most fallen and lost in him found a father. It will never be known until the day when all penitents are saved, how many owe their souls to him.' Like 'his Master before him,' he was a friend to sinners. He might be seen, 'like his great Exemplar, hemmed in with children.'

[1] St. James v. 7, 8.

The speaker told of the closing scenes of life, the patience and childlike faith of the end. And then, in his peroration, he gave the last words of farewell :

We have lost a friend, a father, and a pastor, whose memory will be with us while life lasts. As one who knew him well said well of him, 'We are all lowered by his loss.' We have all lost somewhat which was our support, our strength, our guidance, our pattern, and our pride. We have lost him who, in the face of this great people, worthily presented the greatness and the majesty of the Universal Church. He has fallen asleep in the midst of the generous, kindly, just, noble-hearted sympathy of the people, of the public men, of the public voices of England ; a great people, strong and bold in its warfare, but humane, chivalrous, and Christian to the antagonists who are worthy to contend with it. He is gone ; but he has left behind him in our memories a long line of historical pictures, traced in the light of other days upon a field which will retain its colours fresh and vivid for ever. Some of you remember him, as the companion of your boyhood, upon the bare hills of Durham ; some, in the early morning of his life, in the sanctuaries of Rome ; some see before them now his slender stooping form, on a bright winter's day, walking to the Festival of St. Agnes out of the walls ; some again, drawn up to the full stature of his manhood, rising above the storm, and contending with the calm commanding voice of reason against the momentary unreason of the people of England ; some, again, can see him vested and arrayed as a Prince of the Church, with the twelve suffragans of England, closing the long procession which, after the silence of three hundred years, opened the first Provincial Synod of Westminster. Some will picture him in the great hall of a Roman palace, surrounded by half the Bishops of the world, of every language and of every land, chosen by them as their chief to fashion their words in declaring to the Sovereign Pontiff their filial obedience to the spiritual and temporal power with which God has invested the Vicar of His Son. Some will see him feeble in death, but strong in faith, arrayed as a Pontiff, surrounded by the Chapter of the Church, by word and deed verifying the Apostle's testimony, 'I have fought a good fight,

I have finished my course, I have kept the faith.' And some will cherish, above all these visions of greatness and of glory, the calm and sweet countenance of their best and fastest friend and father, lying in the dim light of his chamber—not of death, but of transit to his crown. These things are visions ; but they are substance. 'Transit gloria mundi,' as the flax burns in fire. But these things shall not pass away.

Bear him forth, right reverend fathers and dear brethren in Jesus Christ ; bear him forth to the green burial-ground on the outskirts of this busy wilderness of men. It was his desire to die and to be buried, not amid the glories of Rome, but in the midst of his flock, the first Archbishop of Westminster. Lay him in the midst of that earth, as a shepherd in the midst of his sheep, near to the Holy Cross, the symbol of his life, work, and hope ; where the pastors he has ordained will be buried one by one, resting in a circle round about him in death, as they laboured round about him in life. He will be among us still ; his name, his form, his words, his patience, his love of souls, will be our law, our rebuke, our consolation. And yet not so ; it is but the body of this death which you bear forth with tears of loving veneration. He is not here ; he will not be there. He is already where the Great Shepherd of the sheep is numbering His elect, and those who led them to the fold of eternal life. And the hands which have so often blessed you, which anointed you for the altar, fed you with the Bread of Life, are already lifted up in prayer, unceasing day or night, for us one by one, for England, for the Church in all the world.

The ceremonial was carried out with great care both in the church and at the grave. Immediately preceding the hearse, in the long procession, was a carriage in which a private Chamberlain from the Vatican—supported by Sir George Bowyer and Mr. Waterton—carried the historic 'Cardinal's hat,' and the mantles of Cardinal Wiseman's three equestrian orders—of the Grand Crosses of St. John of Jerusalem, of Charles III. of Spain and of St. Januarius of Naples.

The cemetery, as we learn from the 'Times,' was filled with a crowd ankle deep in mud. The spot of burial had been chosen by the Cardinal himself—the exact centre of the plot in which the London priests were buried. Here the 'Benedictus' was sung by the clergy, and the remains laid to rest.

In the choir of Moorfields the Cardinal had already placed the inscription he had written in 1860 recording his own death. The date was now filled in, and it ran as follows :

NE . DE . MEMORIA . DEVM . PRECANTIVM
MERITO . EXCIDERET
NICOLAVS . S . R . E . PRESB . CARDIN . WISEMAN
PRIMVS . ARCHIEPVS . WESTMONAST.
HVNC . LAPIDEM . VIVVS . SIBI . POSVIT
QVI . CVM . AB . INEVNTE . ADOLESCENTIA
APVD . ANIMVM . SVVM . STATVISSET
CHRISTIANAE . VINDICANDAE . RELIGIONI
FIDEI . CATHOLICAE . ILLVSTRANDAE
IVRIBVSQVE . ECCLESIAE . TVENDIS
VITAM . INSVMERE
AB . HOC . PROPOSITO . VSQVE . AD . EXTREMVM . SPIRITVM
SCIENS . NVNQVAM . DECLINAVIT
MERCEDEM . A . DEO . POTIVS . QVAM . AB . HOMINIBVS .
EXPECTANS
QVAM . AD . PEDES . PIENTISSIMI . DOMINI . HVMILLIME .
PETITVRVS
DIEM . SVVM . OBIIT
[XV FEBR. MDCCCLXV]
ORATE . PRO . EO

CHAPTER XXXI

THE EXCLUSIVE CHURCH AND THE ZEITGEIST

(*An Epilogue*)

CARDINAL WISEMAN'S life raises questions which have not at all diminished in interest at the present hour. They are far too large to be discussed at the end of a work already long enough. Yet a brief statement of some of them may not be without its value, in clearing the issues of current controversy And in stating them I shall avail myself of Cardinal Newman's more detailed exposition of some lines of thought, which Cardinal Wiseman barely sketched.

The chief positions maintained by both writers were two :

(1) They upheld the claim of the existing Church in communion with the Apostolic See to be the one exclusive Church. The Church had never, from the first, they maintained, included the totality of Christians of all varieties of opinion. One and only one society had claimed, throughout, to be the appointed guardian of the Christian revelation, and to determine the true lines of its exposition face to face with the advance of human thought. One and only one society makes such a claim in our own century—the Church in communion with the Papacy.

(2) They advocated within that Church a policy of conciliation, and, so far as might be, of alliance with the better tendencies of modern thought, and maintained that it was in accordance with the Church's true genius that it should assimilate all that is worthy, in the civilisations in which from time to time it finds itself.[1]

The theory of an exclusive Church is open to obvious objections, to which our own age is especially alive. It conveys at first sight a claim, on the part of one of many contending and competing religious parties, to a monopoly of truth. This has been an obvious objection against Christianity itself from the beginning. That all the moral genius of the non-Christian world should be regarded as in outer darkness, and that a claim to exclusive truth should be made by an ethical system, unquestionably beautiful, indeed, in some of its aspects, but which appears to many, when pressed to its logical conclusions, to cramp and crush the fulness of human nature, has been a reproach from the first. And the difficulties against the claim of the Christian records to give in substance the one true account of the history of the world are greater.

Again, as Christianity advanced and developed, the claim of the Church to exclude heretics for minute points of dogma, has also been open to exception. Carlyle used to laugh at the dispute

[1] Cardinal Wiseman's position on this subject has been fully exhibited in this work. Newman has written in the *Essay on Development* on the power of assimilation within the Church. See especially pp. 38 and seq., edition of 1890.

between the Orthodox and the Semi-Arians as a quarrel over a diphthong.[1] The insistence that the Blessed Virgin was nothing less than the *Theotokos*, the 'Mother of God,' was open to somewhat similar exception. 'It is madness,' wrote Theodore of Mopsuestia, 'to say God was born of the Virgin. Not God, but the temple in which God dwelt, was born of Mary.' Yet the exclusive Church, in spite of the apparent common sense of such a statement, insisted at Ephesus on the phrase 'mother of God,' as essential to orthodoxy. The objection was obvious, then as now, that to insist on such minutiæ of language, and thus to sow divisions between Christians, instead of all working together, on broad practical lines, to make mankind better, was narrow, sectarian and impossible. Each successive heresy, Arian, Nestorian, Monophysite, had much to advance on the score of reason. The Semi-Arians could unanswerably claim the language of early Fathers as in harmony with their own expressions.[2] Even the Fathers of Antioch had rejected the phrase *homoousios*, which the Council of Nicæa now ruled as obligatory. Why insist on phrases by which the early Fathers had not felt bound? Side by side with the expressions of the earlier Christian writers, the language of the Council of Nicæa seemed forced. The freedom of antiquity was being replaced by a cut-and-dried formula. So too with later Councils. The defini-

[1] Referring to the insistence of the Orthodox party that *homoiousios* could not be accepted as a substitute for *homoousios*. See his *Life in London*, vol. ii. p. 462.

[2] This point, a favourite one with Newman, has more recently been urged by Abbé Duchesne.

tions as to 'substance' and 'persons' in the Godhead, as to 'natures' and 'operations' in Christ, the decision that the Virgin was 'Mother of God,' grafted on the early spontaneity of Christian thought an element of metaphysical subtlety or of paradox which seemed alien to it. And the most forced and unnatural of the competing doctrines was in each case (it seemed) defined as being orthodox. Hume impatiently declared that Rome was always on the wrong side. The exclusiveness of the Church—its insistence on definition and anathema—lost for it whole countries. Arianism was rampant in the East in the fourth century, in the West in the fifth; nearly the whole of Asia east of the Euphrates, so far as it was Christian, was Nestorian later on. The Monophysites had almost the possession of Egypt, and at times of the whole Eastern Church.[1]

Still the policy of the exclusive Church was never changed. It still excluded: it still professed to be Catholic: although in many countries the excluded Christians were in an overwhelming majority. It had to be admitted, as we have seen, that the definitions which successively excluded the heresies, often held a language unknown to the earlier Church. But this was readily explained. The Church developed; and thought within it advanced. Speculative activity led to new deviations from the orthodox tradition. As these took form and became precise, the Church's own language, in order to exclude them, had perforce to become more precise. The formulæ were new, but the seeds of the doc-

[1] *Essay on Development*, pp. 273–4.

trines had been there from the first. Vincent of Lerins compared the consequent change of aspect in the Church, as time went on, to the development of the bearded man from the beardless child.[1] All civilised communities draw up, as they grow, with increasing precision, the rules which experience shows to be necessary for their preservation. And so the Church gradually protected its doctrine by formulæ of growing definiteness. It necessarily followed that language, allowable at an early stage of its history, became heretical later. The indefiniteness of thought which preceded discussion and definition led to a corresponding freedom in the use of language. 'In Christianity, opinion, while a raw material, is called philosophy or scholasticism; when a rejected refuse, it is called heresy,' wrote Cardinal Newman.

Here, then, is the first aspect of the action of the exclusive Church which Wiseman defended. The Church in communion with Rome is now, as at first, he maintained, one organism. It uncompromisingly and sensitively rejects what is in its nature incompatible with the normal growth and explication of the primitive teaching. It claims from its members an act partly of faith, partly of obedience, for its definitions:—that is to say, allowing that the definitions are inadequate to the full expression of supernatural truth, it exacts their acceptance, and the avoidance of language inconsistent with them, though such language may not *necessarily* convey an untruth, and may even have been allowable in earlier days. In

[1] See the present writer's essay on 'The Rigidity of Rome,' *Nineteenth Century*, November 1895.

this sense each Council has barred for ever the appeal to antiquity against its decisions, whilst maintaining that the true explication of antiquity was to be found in those decisions themselves. The existing Church prescribes the acceptance of its definitions as terms of communion; and, as Wiseman pointed out in his Essay on the Donatists, the question whether a local religious body belonged to the Church or not, has been throughout regarded as one of fact and not of theoretical argument. Did the Church admit it or did she not? Did the local body accept the essential formulæ prescribed by the Church or did it not? The appeal to antiquity had ever been made and had ever been disallowed. The language ruled to be obligatory in view of the existing position of theological thought, must, when once so ruled, supersede all discussion. Individual persons or churches must bow to this ruling of the central authority. Accept its decision, and you are within the Church; reject it, you are without.

The difficulties in allowing such claims are obvious. But Wiseman and Newman maintained that they are difficulties not against modern Rome only, but against the action of the Christian Church from the first, in preserving unity of polity and doctrine by the exclusion of heresy. If her claim so to act is indefensible, the reality of a visible Church with unity of doctrine ceases to exist.

Yet some of the difficulties in question are diminished by a little consideration. As to the general charge of narrowness in Christianity itself, Wiseman's second position—that the Church claims

affinity with, and assimilates, all that is best outside her—has its importance. Even in early days, St. Justin in a celebrated passage spoke of the great heathen—Socrates he instances—as his brethren in the faith 'All those who live according to reason' have, he says, really been Christians, even if they have been called atheists.[1] If Christianity has claimed to be exclusive, it has claimed also to be Catholic; and if many of its members have been false to the spirit represented by St. Justin, this is the fault of individuals and not of the system. The Christian ethics claimed to represent the ethical development at its highest, and to exclude only dangerous alloy, or pretensions to equality on the part of rival systems.

Then, again, as to the exclusion of heresy by the central authority, it has before now been pointed out that the dogmatic disputes, although they might be driven down to apparently minute issues, generally represented great principles. The heretic attempted, in general, that rationalising of the supernatural and mysterious, which in the long run is destructive of the faith. The Church foresaw the result, checked the process, and reaffirmed the mystery. Thus she successively opposed the attempts to qualify by rational explanations the startling doctrines that Christ was God, that Mary was Mother of God, and later on that Christ in saying 'This is My body,' meant that bread and wine were changed into the body and blood of Our Lord.[2]

[1] *Apology*, i. 46.

[2] Mr. Balfour, in an interesting note to the *Foundations of Belief* (pp. 260, 278), recognises this general character in the earlier definitions; but he appears to overlook it in the later ones which he

Time has shown that to rationalise on these questions, is to begin a process which cannot later be checked. Carlyle, who at first laughed at the Arian controversy, saw in the end that Christianity had really been at stake.[1] Hallam was impressed by the fact that historically the denial of transubstantiation issued in the belief that 'Holy Communion' was merely a commemorative act.

Again, is not the *method* of the heresiarch one strong ground for the Church's condemnation of him? He may even have a truth in his mind—a protest against some real abuse within the Church. And yet he may urge it by a rebellious course of action, which threatens the destruction of the unity of the Church. And if an organised spiritual polity is a great protection to society, this characteristic of heresy must be included in our estimate of the offence of its author. It is a case of the problem now familiar to us of 'the individual *versus* the State.' The heresiarch is assailing the constitution. Any organisation must, if it is to preserve its unity, have the power to prescribe the conditions of membership. And the acceptance of the Church's formulæ is one such con-

contrasts therewith. Surely the true account in both cases is that precision of language is so insisted on by the Church, that, *at first sight*, the new definition seems intended as an 'explanation'; but when the history of its genesis is studied, it generally turns out to be the negation of a rationalistic explanation of a mystery. 'Transubstantiation' is as little a final explanation as is 'homoousios.' This point was clearly put by Mr. Edmund Bishop in his recent correspondence in the *Guardian* with Mr. Birkbeck, on the Roman and Greek teaching.

[1] See his *Life in London*, vol. ii. p. 462. 'He told me now that he perceived Christianity itself to have been at stake. If the Arians had won it would have dwindled away into a legend.'

dition. Words allowable at an earlier time *in sensu Ecclesiæ*, may be condemned when used in a spirit deliberately opposed to the recognition of the principle of authority. Therefore many disputes on orthodox teaching became really, in the end, questions of submission to authority. The heretic had a truth in his mind; the Church ruled a formula to guard against an incidental error, or to protect wider interests which might be assailed by pressing the truth out of due proportion, or out of season.[1] It was the heretic's business to pocket his pride and submit—not to press the view he was urging, although it had in it some element of truth, against the larger view of truth of which the Church's ruling was the providential defender. The advocate of the 'rights of man' against the exaggerated upholders of aristocratic privilege, had no business so to urge them as to provoke a revolution. The duties of a society towards its rulers involve truths more fundamental than those which Tom Paine or Rousseau were stating, in a form which obscured those duties.

Definition thus became the insistence that the heresiarch should check his reasoning in a particular line. His reasoning was ruled to be dangerous to the general interests of the community. But did not this very method of Church authority imply also, as I have hinted, a danger to the interests of truth as well as of unity of polity? Did it not imply a philosophy as well as a policy? The analytical reason, as many

[1] Cardinal Newman in the *Apologia* records as one of his early generalisations from Church history, that 'the initial error of what afterwards became heresy was the urging forward some truth against the prohibition of authority at an unseasonable time' (p. 259).

thinkers have seen, is again and again unequal to justifying our hold on truths which, by common consent, we all refuse even to call in question. We all believe in an external world, yet how many have found, when they have pressed their analysis of the grounds of this belief, that the result is sceptical. Reid's 'philosophy of common sense' in the last century, and Hegelianism in this, are but two of the many forms of faith whereby men have striven to express in philosophical shape, a belief which certainly is not based in most men on the results of analysis, or on 'proof' in the ordinary sense. The same holds of our belief in the existence of our fellow-creatures. Tennyson has expressed the difficulty in the 'Ancient Sage':

> Thou canst not prove the world thou movest in;
> Thou canst not prove that thou art body alone;
> Nor canst thou prove that thou art spirit alone,
> Nor canst thou prove that thou art both in one.
>
> . . . . . .
>
> Thou canst not prove that I who speak with thee
> Am not thyself in converse with thyself,
> For nothing worthy proving can be proven
> Nor yet disproven.

The principles of morality afford another instance of the same fact. Luminously clear as some broad practical dictates are—that theft and lying and murder are wrong—they become more and more obscure and uncertain, when reasoned on and traced to their foundations. The various stages intervene, which separate our unhesitating decision that Fagin and his band were rascals, from the unsatisfactory conclusion arrived at after an intricate discussion on the community of

goods and Prudhon's 'property is robbery,' or after a reasoned analysis of the origin of the sentiment of moral approbation. When, again, has the analytical reason given a satisfactory account of our belief in the uniformity of nature?—the very foundation of science. Yet the external world, right and wrong, the existence of our fellows, the uniformity of nature, are all beliefs of which we are practically sure; and a speculative theory which made us really doubt them would be disastrous and misleading. The point comes in the attempted analysis, at which, in the interests of truth, we check the analytical reason. We break off and say, as Hume said of his belief in an external world, 'Though I can give no satisfactory reason for my belief, I do believe it.'[1] May it not be argued, then, that the exclusive Church is founded in accordance with a law of human nature and human reason? If she says once and again, 'Stop that line of speculation; its result will be that you will lose your hold of religious faith,' is she not saying, in her own sphere of the revelation consigned to her, what the practical man and the sober philosopher alike say in other spheres? Is she not in her own sphere the living embodiment of the 'practical reason,' which corrects the unduly negative conclusions of the speculative reason?

And a somewhat similar principle would explain her condemnation of critical, historical, and philosophical theories, at variance with the traditional theology. Her action here is less final, and the

[1] This, I need hardly say, was Brown's *résumé* of Hume's position;—that Hume shouted out that he could give no satisfactory reason for the belief, and then whispered, 'But I do believe it'; while his opponent Reid expressed the latter sentiment in a shout, the former in a whisper.

beliefs it affects are less fundamental. But she still says to the adventurous specialist, as she said to the heretic, 'To pursue this train of thought in given circumstances will destroy for the faithful their hold on the supernatural; therefore, cost what it may, I tell you to stop it.' The fundamental assumptions are somewhat parallel, in the action of human society in dealing with the beliefs of practical life, and in the Church's treatment of the religious beliefs of which she is guardian. In our belief in an external world, we are accepting what the current tradition (representing the primitive belief of mankind, however gained, and the experiences of the race) and the habitual interpretation of our sensations, suggest in the first instance, and what is actually found to work in practice. Given that the Church has a *prima facie* claim to preserve untainted the primitive revelation and the best experience of the race in matters spiritual,—given, that is, the cogency of the 'notes of the Church'—we do much the same in bowing to her decisions. We find them in practice beneficial to our moral life. To test them by the analytical reason may often lead to scepticism, mainly because it leads to that ultimate doubt which is the witness to the incompetence of the analytical reason in the particular subject matter.

If it be objected that, in practice, the result is the acceptance by the bulk of Catholics, of current traditions which are uncritical and incredible, and the rejection—at least for the time—of some true historical criticism, even here the parallel already suggested may be maintained. For the mass of men, to exclude

sceptical speculation on the external world, may be also to exclude the rectification of popular superstition, on many points, by science. Berkeley's argument, which was pressed by Hume to scepticism, began by pointing out that the colour, which the plain man regards as inherent in the tree or table, is in reality subjective – a sensation produced by the image on his retina. If we desire effectually to exclude the idealistic form of thought, as leading to scepticism in a certain class of minds, if the rage for philosophising makes such minds morbid, and idealistic scepticism paralyses their energies, we may find it necessary to divert them from its beginnings, although those beginnings are useful truths. The average man is ignorant or mistaken as to the true nature of that world which he knows so well in its practical relations with himself. The cook has never analysed chemically the curry which she turns out to perfection. That the soot on the sweep's face and the diamond in a ring are precisely the same element, appears to the plain man as astonishing as it is to the chemist undeniable. But we all retain our practical beliefs; conscious though some of us may be that they are only known practically, in their relation to ourselves, and not even physically in their ultimate analysis. The attendant ignorances or superstitions, —the explanations suggested by the imagination in its ignorance – are gradually eliminated, as science advances and becomes more generally known.

The constant pressure of practical life and the universal belief of the community, secure the beliefs of every-day use against demolition by the theorist.

We eat and walk and converse with our neighbours, we kick stones with Dr. Johnson, without being disturbed by the sceptical idealists.[1] Nor do we modify our habits, in deference even to the more practical theories of the man of science, until they are incontestably proved. Experienced consequences and the belief of the community have an imperious authority in practice, which speculation is powerless to gainsay. The Church claims a like authority with regard to the practical beliefs of the religious life. But the pressure she exercises is necessarily far less constant. And the evil consequences of neglecting her authority are less immediate. Neglect to eat on some new theory of digestion, and, like the horse whose owner maintained habit to be all in all, and gradually reduced its diet, hoping to accustom it to a straw a day, you promptly starve. Argue against the Trinity on the other hand; disbelieve in it and act on your disbelief, and no harm ensues. What has been regarded as the tyranny of the Church, has been due to her assumption that, in reality, obedience to her in spiritual matters is as important as recognition of the practical truths accepted by the society is in temporal matters. Her defence in her own eyes rests on her faith in invisible evil consequences to the soul now and hereafter. Her defence of herself to the man of the world, lies in her appeal to the prolonged experience of society, that to deny her the authority she claims, will ultimately be to destroy the normal means of

[1] I must not be taken as meaning that idealism *properly understood* could lead to any practical doubt as to the existence of the external world. Dr. Johnson never did understand it.

preserving religious faith, and that without religion society perishes.

The Church, then, like the society, will not relax her practical enforcement of truths, in deference to the questions of subtle intellects respecting their theoretical foundation. Provided the theorist does not shake the practical efficiency of the religious belief he is examining, he may go on with his investigations. And while chemists have been discovering in their laboratories the ultimate physical elements, which have in some sense taken the place of the old metaphysical *materia prima* ; while natural philosophers have been changing the interpretation of the sensations of mankind as they watched the movement of the stars ; the critics and theologians in the Church have been modifying their practical explanation of what she enforces in general language, in the narratives in her hagiologies, and in her statement that Scripture does not err.

But this must be a matter of time. The critics and men of science must gradually eliminate incidental error and superstition ; tradition and authority contesting the ground at each stage. If so inadequate an instrument as the analytical reason, on the other hand, claims to be supreme judge, and not merely to purify from alloy beliefs really resting as a whole on a higher principle of our nature, if it claims to dismiss not only what it disproves, but what it cannot prove, faith and superstition will fall together, and 'leave not a wrack behind.'

A discipline of the intellect, rather than an ultimate narrowness, an occasional submission on the

part of the specialist to temporary persecution, rather than an ultimate shutting of the door against any form of research, is, then, if this account be correct, the condition exacted by the exclusive Church of her members. Her dogmas are stages in the evolution of thought, as touching that sphere which can never be fully known in our present state. Her primary duty is to protect these dogmas, even though they be assailed by scientific truth, which appears for the time to overthrow them. Best, indeed, if she can at once effect a reconciliation between the two. But the inquisitor has no new revelations; and if he cannot reconcile, he must exclude the science which injures what it is his business to protect as the highest truth. Thus, as I have said, both the dogmatic fabric gradually erected against the heretics and enduring for ever, and the temporary inquisitorial incursions on critical or physical science, as practically dangerous to the faith of the multitude, are the results of one common principle.

Christianity brought a new and impalpable secret of faith and sanctity with its revelation. That mysterious secret was confided to the Church to be preserved from the inroads of the uncontrolled speculative intellect, alike in dogma, in history, and in criticism. In dogma proper the process is most vital and its results most permanent. Yet it is here that it is most open to the charge of triviality. The charge, however, in reality falls upon the speculations which led the Church to define, and not upon the Church herself. The speculative intellect was minute, and seemed therefore to be trivial in its questions and

attempts at analysis. The Church in the answers whereby she has barred the road, has had necessarily to take the minute form of the questions. An elaborate outwork was thus built up ; but its external form was determined less by the Divine Truth it secured, than by the various speculations it answered and checked. The heretical philosopher attempts his rational analysis, the Church reaffirms the mystery, using the terms of the philosopher. Thus, the Athanasian Creed, the Nicene definition, the decrees of Ephesus and Chalcedon, and, later on, the definitions on the Real Presence, take their terminology from the speculations of various ages, many of them now curiously obsolete. The questions were answered in the language in which the earlier of them were asked—of the Platonic or Aristotelian metaphysics ; and the disputants elaborated, in their Greek equivalents, the definitions of *Persona*, *Suppositum*, *Substantia*, *Accidens*, *Materia*, *Forma*, now used in our scholastic manuals.

And here we reach the explanation of what the modern Church of Rome is so often reproached with, —its multiplication of rigid formulæ.[1] The record of the theological controversies and of the consequent definitions swells in each succeeding age. This inevitably gives a mass of technical rules and formulæ to the later Church, which did not exist in the earlier. But to destroy this would be to destroy the quasi-personal continuity and identity of the Church. If we live long, successive experiences leave a vast

[1] 'The rage for defining' is what strikes Mr. Balfour in the sixteenth century. (*Foundations of Belief*, p. 260.)

accumulation of impressions stored in the mind, with concomitant brain modifications. And among these are the physical and mental habits of mature life. Sequences in experience frequently repeated tend to automatic repetition. So the modern Church in communion with the Apostolic See has, it may be, both a crowded store of recorded opinions on all the spheres she has touched in the past, and the set habits and forms of speech acquired in the course of her long history, even if she claims a Divine secret of perpetual youth which keeps off the stiffness of joint belonging to old age.

No doubt, where the self-protective measures and decisions of the exclusive Church appear to invade the domain of history and criticism, they are yet more eagerly challenged by the *Zeitgeist* than in metaphysics or theology. And yet here, too, the *rationale* is intelligible enough. It turns on the importance of religious faith to the *existing generation*, which must be weighed against the interests of the largest amount of truth attainable by all in the long run. In the long run historians doubtless get nearer to historical truth Yet, in the process, the most sceptical of their number—those, that is to say, who for the present reject the largest number of true facts as well as of errors—have an important place.

The doubter is good for the interests of the science, but not necessarily for those of immediate truth. The inhabitants of a village have, perhaps, for generations, been cured of a particular illness by simples, immemorially known to the village, and dispensed by the quack who has long ruled its medical destinies.

A new doctor comes, glowing in the radiance of St. Bartholomew and a degree. He scouts the simples which have cured so many. Fifty years later his successor—who has a turn for experiment—finds that they have true medicinal properties, discovered at last by repeated analysis. It is doubtless the analysis of sceptical doctors which has at last proved the truth, and established it on a speculative basis. But, meanwhile, for fifty years, a practical truth was lost, and villagers have died who might have lived. So, too, perhaps Niebuhr and Baur, sown broadcast as gospel, might have destroyed true beliefs for many who would not live to see their exaggerations corrected by their successors. So that, for the existing generation, the same protective action of authority may be needed in history, which is required more permanently and universally in Theological Metaphysics.

The Church claims to know that faith is a hold on the highest truth, though it may be as held by the multitude, mixed up with a mass of concomitant inaccuracy and superstition. If Biblical criticism at a given time tends to destroy the faith of numbers, the exclusive Church may, then, in the interests of the many, be hard on the Biblical critics. She may protect superstition for the time on the principle set forth in the parable of the Wheat and Tares. No doubt, such a policy will not serve its end if theologians do not in some degree keep pace with the criticism of the hour, and if they stand in fixed opposition to what is obviously true. For in that case truth will be generally discredited, and not protected, by tenderness for

its exaggerations. The protective action can only be safely carried on with an accurate knowledge of the point at which general discussion ought in practical wisdom to be checked. But the principle of repression, whether applied wisely or unwisely, is based here, as in the case of Metaphysics, on the fact that reasoning leads immediately, in certain circumstances, and in the concrete, to erroneous conclusions and not to true ones—temporary error being a necessary road to the secure establishment of truth; and that the highest truths are often preserved at a particular time by limiting freedom of speculation. In history and criticism, indeed, the specialists may be allowed to range freely enough, if they lock the doors of their libraries, and wait before publishing their results until those results are not subversive of faith among the many; but if they begin to preach on the turnpike road, the inquisitor comes as the beadle of the spiritual society, and, on Dr. Johnson's principles, puts them in the stocks.

On the fundamental assumption that the Church has, and knows it has, a sacred deposit of truth confided to it, and yet that it has not at its command, necessarily, a full intellectual analysis or defence of what outstrips the mind of the greatest theologian, or specialist knowledge equal to that of its assailants, it is difficult to find fault with this general principle. But naturally, to those who regard theological debates and decrees as the sum-total of the Church's possessions (and a very poor sum-total), rather than as outworks and defences, its procedure appears narrow, arbitrary, and opposed to the progress of truth. Why preserve

this motley collection of archaic formulæ, of no practical import (it may be asked), at the expense of the general diffusion of scientific inquiry? The latter at least educates and disciplines. Even if men of science, like other men, make their bad shots, where is the great harm? In time these are corrected. And the discipline of learning and correcting is valuable in itself. This is stopped—and for what? That all may chant, with no lingering distrust, the hymn whose refrain, is 'Every Humpty Dumpty is an Abracadabra. Whoso denies it let him be anathema.'

If the former view, however, be the true one, if the religious faith of the multitude, now and here, is known by the Church to be the securing for them of the most important truths, then the 'false shot' of the man of science does do great 'harm.' Admitting its ultimate value as an experiment, the Church may plead against it, as we should all plead against the wholesale vivisection of mankind in the interests of science. '*Fiat experimentum in corpore vili.* The benefit of human beings is the ultimate aim of all science. Do not, then, destroy those whom you would save.' So the Church says, 'the enlightenment of mankind is your ultimate object – do not begin by extinguishing for numbers the light of religious faith and hope.' And if the Church's postulate be right – that faith *is* the grasp, however inadequate, of a truth—the 'narrowness' of her action is simply the narrowness inseparable from necessary restrictions for the benefit of society.

This narrowness will seem greater in proportion as intellectual forces are in the air which need exclusion

because they threaten to destroy faith in the Church's claim to teach a supernatural revelation. The liberty of discussion allowed in mediæval times is proverbial; and it was allowed just because loyalty to the Church was so wide-spread, that confidence was general, that in case of collision between sacred truth and profane, the Church would prove right. *Therefore* speculation had *not* the same danger for the society. Moreover, in theology itself, much could be said in the 'ages of faith,' which, in other circumstances, would have been checked. Intellectual opinions were divested of the peculiar *ethos* which would have made them heretical. This falls in with Newman's suggestion, already referred to, that the essence of heresy has been the urging of what was in some sense true, at the wrong time, and in the wrong spirit, and in defiance of authority. It was the prevalence of the rebellious spirit which made dangerous, what in its absence would have been allowable. Thus it might be the *Zeitgeist* which made the heresy, and not the thing which the heretic said.

And perhaps a still more fundamental view lies at the root of this way of regarding heresy. The heretic is frequently spoken of by the Fathers of the Church as offending by pride, and regarding his intellect as the measure of truth. The vision of the mystic who saw the heretical theologian measuring the gate of Heaven with his tape, or St. Bernard's indignant account of Abelard, '*Posuit in cœlum os suum et scrutavit alta Dei*,' illustrates this. Such a view seems to go beyond the obvious conclusion that the heretic is putting his judgment against that of the Church. It

is not merely that the Church draws up one formula, the heretic another. There is a difference of view as to the value and functions of all formulæ of religious truth. A difference is revealed between two philosophical views of truth, which Newman once expressed by saying that the Protestant regarded Truth as 'entirely objective and detached,' while the Catholic regarded it as 'lying hid in the bosom of the Church, as if one with her.'[1] That is to say, the Protestant view, regarding truth as objective, clings to an individual supposed discovery, and embodies it in a formula, which it regards as *in itself* inherently sacred and absolutely true. The Church, on the other hand, regarding all discoveries of thought as only stages in the unfolding of the human mind to the truth, committed to her as a whole, but not fully known to any of her members, treats the urgency of her formulæ as due to their truth *in sensu Ecclesiæ*—to their being symbols, confessedly inadequate, whereby she expresses the truth she professes to hold. She finds error in any theological proposition which is advanced in a sense opposed to the *sensus Ecclesiæ*, or as claiming to be commensurate with reality.

If this be true, we have here suggested a contribution to the interesting speculation raised by Mr. Balfour in the 'Foundations of Belief,' on the different functions of religious formulæ, as terms of communion and as expressions of truth.[2] Insistence by the Church on a formula, to the exclusion of another formula advanced as true in defiance of the

[1] *Apologia*, p. 112.

[2] See *Foundations of Belief*, Part IV., Chapters II. and III.

Church, is primarily an insistence on certain definite terms of communion. The full truth is 'in the bosom of the Church,' and not in the formula. Those who reject the Church's ruling are denying not only the formula itself, but the claim of the Church to hold the truth. The heretical formula may be susceptible of an orthodox interpretation. But to insist on it, whether the Church will have it or no, is to advance a rationalistic principle of religious knowledge. Thus 'the rage for defining' in the sixteenth century, which Mr. Balfour criticises, alike in Reformers and in counter-Reformers, has a very different defence in the two parties. The more modest view of the exhaustiveness of single formulæ implied in the action of the Church, makes insistence on them far less taxing to the intellect. They must indeed be admitted as ruling a truth *in sensu Ecclesiæ*. But the explication of that *sensus* is confessedly gradual. Definition follows definition, each a step onward, none ultimate. The immediate appeal, then, of each definition is to the *obedience* of Catholics rather than to a reasoned acceptance of it; and perhaps it is the heretical spirit rather than the formulæ of the heretic which most effectually bars the road to its admission.

Athwart Wiseman's two lines of argument came the Anglican Movement. Beginning in the appeal to Catholic antiquity, it had for a time, in its patristic researches and its vindication of the idea of the Church, a definite intellectual direction, which kept pace with the noble enthusiasms it aroused. To restore the Church of the Fathers, to bring back to

the cathedrals and parish churches of England the Catholic worship of the Church of Augustine, was an inspiring thought, in which love of country and the associations of eager youth combined with love of those romantic Catholic ideals which for upwards of a century had been ruthlessly driven out of the Church of England. It was primarily a movement which concerned itself with England alone—not so much theoretical, or philosophical, as historical or antiquarian ; considering the Church of England in the various phases of its existence ; maintaining that the existing phase was most unsatisfactory, and advocating reformation, and the restoration of many Catholic doctrines and practices it had lost.

But when its leaders were driven to discuss what the claim of the Church of England to be rightfully Catholic involved—its claim to be still the Catholic Church of Augustine - the controversy with Rome began, which is not yet terminated.

The strong point of Anglicanism against Rome consisted in the detailed appeal to antiquity, and in its contention that Rome had unwarrantably added new doctrines and practices to those of the early Church. The asserted narrowness and exclusiveness of Rome gave to Anglicanism its opportunity of claiming a wider, a more comprehensive, a less sectarian position.

But as time went on, difficulties appeared in the very basis of this argument. Anglicanism claimed with one hand what she soon had to take away with the other. She claimed to be broad and tolerant where Rome was narrow ; yet when she appealed to

the Church of antiquity as her ancestor, she had to face the fact that just that intolerant exclusiveness of which Rome was accused, had been the ground of objection to the early Catholic Church. She declared Rome, and the Churches in communion with her, to be so unorthodox that England could not join them; and yet the 'antiquity,' which was her mainstay, showed that a local Church, by judging the rest of the Church unorthodox, proved itself to be schismatic. She appealed to antiquity against the new formulæ of the Apostolic See; but it appeared that this was precisely what Monophysites, Semi-Arians and Nestorians had done before her. She was driven to claim that it was all in all to be the National Church, and that actual communion with the rest of the Catholic Church was not essential to belonging to it; and yet when reminded that Luther had urged a somewhat similar claim in his maxim, 'Cujus regio illius religio,' and that Lutherans were in a majority in Prussia and elsewhere, the High Church Party could not acknowledge them: for to do so would be to make little of one of the few Catholic ideals which the Church of England had actually preserved—that of the Episcopal Succession.

High Church Anglicanism has ultimately rested in the position that just what it claims to have—no less and no more—is essential for belonging to the Catholic Church; not exclusiveness of doctrine, as the Greek Orthodox Church maintains, for Anglicanism tolerates Protestantism and Latitudinarianism within the National Church; not the fact of representing the religion of the nation, for it will not acknowledge

the German Lutherans; but simply the Episcopal Succession and the absence of obligatory formulæ which can by no conceivable stretching be interpreted in the Catholic sense. And in addition it has to face the fact that none of the Churches which it recognises as Catholic allow that it *has* the Apostolic Succession, or that its teaching *is* orthodox, or that it does belong to the Catholic Church. So slender is the thread on which its special claims theoretically hang.

I say theoretically, because it is unlikely that the ablest minds really rest on such grounds. It is rather because Rome seems to them to have gone so far wrong that the old constitution of an exclusive Church is destroyed; that it has indeed in former times been once and again suspended; that perhaps oneness of polity has never been essential; and because, in such circumstances, Providence would specially guard an Apostolic Succession which was seriously imperilled, as the Anglican Succession had been, and which the mere theologian and historian might effectively assail; and because Rome appears now to be pressing exclusiveness to the point at which it becomes a travesty; because it not only develops, but goes in the teeth of the past: it is probably for these and other such reasons, that many stand where Newman once stood. The more Rome presses and relies upon its theory of a Church, the more they must fall back on the contention that she does not recognise the actual anomalies in history, or the contrast between the ideal and the actual.

The real solution of the existing difficulties appears to them, perhaps, to be a *via media*, which, owning

that the English Reformers went too far in their opposition to tradition and to the sacramental system (superstitiously developed by Rome), is content to redress this exaggeration of English Churchmen of the sixteenth century, and for the rest to remain a somewhat anomalous Church in an anomalous Christendom.

This position appears to many, as it did to Newman, to issue necessarily in Latitudinarianism. In spite of all objections to her pretensions, the exclusive Church seems to them to be the only effective guardian of religious faith. The appeal to anomaly might at any time have been made with plausibility. It is not now more valid than heretofore. The broad fact remains that the exclusive Church has not ceased to exist, and therefore still maintains her claims, however unpleasant and even intolerable such claims may be to those outside her. Her functions may have been apparently suspended now and again in the past, but reappearing life shows that there has been no essential change. And the persistency of its reappearance is more remarkable than the periods of suspended animation. Part with the exclusive principle, and all heresy becomes unimportant, and to denounce it is certainly an unwarrantable breach of the peace. It is only the special claims and signal advantages of the one continuous religious organism, which can render tolerable the harshness of the anathema. And actually, in the existing Anglican communion, the general wish for 'peace,' beautiful in itself, and the drawing near to Dissenters as well as to Rome, which we constantly witness, has verified this necessarily latitudinarian

tendency of the High Church position. Its most effective attacks on Rome consist in its claim to a breadth, which the out-and-out liberal thinker can claim far more effectually. It catches at, and is fascinated by, the gentle spirit of Catholic devotion, but shrinks from the iron walls and spiked palisades of anathema and definition, which are really necessary in the long run to preserve the life of devotion within from the inroads of free thought.

That definition and anathema are singularly uncongenial to the *Zeitgeist* of our own day, is unquestionable. But so, too, is the exclusive character of the Christian morality. Many men are conscious of the different impressions which suggest themselves in different moods on the latter subject. The wide æsthetic sympathies of a mind, sensitive to all influences, by reason of the very multiplicity of the ideals it delights in—which revels in art and in Greek beauty, is stimulated and interested in the excesses on the one hand of the Bacchante and on the other of the Fakeer, worships in alternate moods Power, Military Glory, Beauty, Love, Religion, and Philosophy—are fatal to the stern Christian exclusiveness which such a mind nevertheless admires, from the outside, as one among many interesting pictures. Christ is included in the Pantheon of the modern thinker ; but the Crucifixion is a subject for art, and not an object of imitation. À Kempis was never more popular as literature—greatly because such literature leads so much less imperatively than it did in the Middle Ages, to any corresponding action. The breadth of sympathy of the modern

thinker unfits him for the suffering of either martyr or monk.

Whether the ascetic Christian be right or wrong, whether he has seen a beacon light or an *ignis fatuus*, his view of the relative importance of things is diametrically opposite to that of the man of the world. And the exclusive Church stereotypes that opposition in its circle of fixed ethical traditions, and rules, and dogmatic definitions—the standing record of its resistance to the inroads of the secular reason. The strength and consistency of the Christian character, with its comparative paucity of ideals, with its deep realisation of those which it believes to be really worthy, are moulded and supported by the fixed positions laid down and maintained by the Church. And the world in one generation laughs at the Church's senile superstition, in another reluctantly admires her strong organisation. Few look for her secret in the preservation of the primitive Christian *ethos* within that ugly wall of defence, made of bricks of different shapes and dates, the dogmatic theology.

Heine, near the end of his life, bore witness to the strength of the Church—but with little abatement of his disparagement of her members:

> I know too well [he writes in his Confessions] my own intellectual calibre, not to be aware that, with my most furious onslaughts, I could inflict but little injury on such a Colossus as the Church of St. Peter. . . . I was too familiar with history not to recognise the gigantic nature of that granite structure. Call it, if you will, the Bastille of intellect; assert, if you choose, that it is now only defended by invalids; but it is, therefore, not the less true that the Bastille is not to be easily captured,

and many a young recruit will break his head against its walls. As a thinker and metaphysician I was always forced to pay the homage of my admiration to the logical consistency of the doctrines of the Roman Catholic Church.

The Benedictines have a beautiful device, 'Pax,' encircled by a crown of thorns. The peace of virtue comes by self-denial, and Catholic devotion thrives under the ægis of discipline and obedience. The harsh but necessary discipline of the circle of dogmatic truths, holds, it may be, a position similar to the Benedictine circlet. The idea of appropriating the *ethos* resulting from a system, without accepting the inexorable conditions which have been in the past essential to its life, is tempting, but is encompassed with difficulty, and cannot finally succeed. And this, according to Wiseman and Newman, is what Anglicanism has, to a great extent, attempted, and what in the nature of the case cannot prove finally practicable. High Church Anglicanism is in its essence an experiment, which must issue in something other than itself,—in Latitudinarianism or in Catholicism. It contains the seeds of both. With Latitudinarianism it practically rejects all existing authority as final, either within the Catholic pale or within the Anglican. With Catholicism it professes to accept the Authority of the Church, and really admits many beliefs based on the teaching of the Church in the past.

The parting of the ways which led Newman in one direction, and his disciples, Froude and Pattison, in the other, is intellectually significant. Towards which of the two results the bulk of the present High

Church party will ultimately tend, it remains to be seen.

So much may be said as to the subtler *ethos* of the High Church movement. As to its professed analysis, it is obvious that, on the lines of Wiseman's contentions, it is untenable. The Apostolic Succession has been allowed to numbers of heretics. It has never been the crucial test of belonging to the Church. That test has ever been the acceptance of the faith as taught by the ascertainably existing Catholic Church, and of the Authority of that Church, not in phrase only but in fact and in action ; although doubtless the localisation of that Authority in the See of Rome has, like other Catholic doctrines, become more definite in process of time. The definition of transubstantiation as clearly decided a point of the highest importance to the faith, as the definition of 'consubstantial.' And while the Real Presence and the Divinity of our Lord may be held in some sense apart from either definition, the belief in transubstantiation has been found practically to be the only security in the one case, as the Nicene definition has in the other. If the essential constitution of the Church is still what, in the eyes of Wiseman, it was in the early ages ; then an admitted attempt at an ambiguous compromise on this great issue of the sixteenth century, was as fatal to orthodoxy as Semi-Arianism in the fourth. And this was precisely the conclusion at which Newman reluctantly arrived.[1] The recent

[1] See *Apologia*, p. 139. 'I saw clearly that in the history of Arianism the pure Arians were the Protestants, the Semi-Arians were the Anglicans, and that Rome now was what it was then.'

letter of the Archbishops which is admitted to go far in the direction of the High Church position—only emphasises this conclusion.

Tennyson says of Faith, 'She brightens in the clash of "yes" and "no"'; and except for those who look on the whole of dogmatic theology as spinning cobwebs, it seems tolerably clear that deliberate ambiguity in essentials may have very unfortunate results. Transubstantiation is not a matter of academic debate, but a doctrine affecting as deeply as almost any belief the whole Christian life. It decides the question whether or no Christ be really and objectively present on the altar. And even the High Church 'British Critic,' in 1826, denied that such presence was tenable by one who accepted the Anglican formularies, though it maintained a Real Presence at the moment of communion. There is perhaps no single doctrine which has had so deep a practical effect on all classes—from the orders of Perpetual Adoration, to the average French boy, to whom the day of his first communion is a memory which not infrequently restores faith after years of irreligion. Its extraordinary effect is due to that keenness of belief which Trent protected by 'transubstantiation,' as Nicæa protected belief in our Lord's divinity by 'homoousios.' The other doctrines, from 'consubstantiation' to a merely commemorative character in the bread and wine, have as visibly tended to dissipate the aureole which surrounds the Catholic communion, as the rejection of our Lord's divinity has made paler and paler the aureole round the head of the Christ, until our own day has seen the Unitarianism

of Dr. Martineau's earlier years give place to that of Robert Elsmere. And yet it is on such a question as this that 'the clash of yes and no,' so urgently called for, has been so conspicuously absent. The toleration of recent Catholic developments in the Established Church has left an ambiguity in allowable interpretations of its formulæ, ranging along the whole line which separates the merely commemorative ceremony allowed by the extreme Low Churchman, from the objective presence and the Mass of Mr. Lacey and Father Puller.

Closely connected with this question is that of the beliefs, concerning the functions and powers of the Anglican clergy, entertained by the various interpreters. And whatever may be said as to the policy of condemning the Anglican orders, the Bull 'Apostolicæ Curæ' was distinctly characteristic of the action of the exclusive Church from the beginning. It showed that, when driven to make a decision, the Church knew its own mind, and did not, for the sake of winning more general good will, take refuge in the generalities of compromise. Whether or no it were wise to press for a decision, the Orders could not possibly have been admitted in the face of the past history of Anglicanism, without abandoning the jealous fear of error which has been from the first the pride and the reproach of the Church. No Roman Catholic theologian maintained, while the question was under discussion, that the Church could regard the Orders as valid.[1] In point of fact, Rome

[1] I need hardly say that the point at issue among them was whether the Church should regard them as of certain or of only doubtful invalidity.

reaffirmed the traditional view of three centuries, that they are, on Roman principles, not only doubtful, but certainly invalid. And the consequent charges of arrogance and ignorance, which were very old charges ten centuries ago, are not likely now to startle or discourage the Apostolic See.

But the Anglican Movement holds a position quite apart from the controversy as to Anglican claims. Statically it may be little worth arguing; but dynamically it is of very high importance. As a position it may be logically weak; but as a movement it is very strong. A large mass of the religious and intellectual power of England is reverting to great Catholic principles which were assailed at the Reformation. The movement is gradually instilling into whole masses of Englishmen those devotional and sacramental ideals which had been partly expelled from England in the sixteenth century, and almost wholly since the Revolution. Cardinal Wiseman would, indeed, have been gratified beyond his most sanguine expectations, could he have foreseen the spread of nine-tenths of the beliefs or religious habits he contended for against overwhelming odds. Belief in the Real Presence, in honour to the Saints, in the impossibility of maintaining the principle of private judgment, is steadily making its way with large masses of Englishmen, and displacing the Protestant principles of an earlier time. If Anglicanism has taken shelter under theoretical principles, which tempt its exponents to shrink from consecutive argument, unwelcome facts, or comprehensive dialectic, all its ethical enthusiasm and strength are with the Catholic ideals it is restoring.

The importance and strength of the High Church Movement does not, then, lie in its polemic. It arises from the fact that historical memories and Catholic devotion are uniting with religious zeal and self-denial, in promoting an enthusiasm for the Established Church, and enabling its ministers to represent much of that religious life of the country which was formerly represented by dissent of various forms. Those who expect to overthrow it by logic may gain barren victories; for many of its informing spirits act practically on the fundamental assumption that no logical theory is satisfactory; that logical *criteria* professing to show that Anglicans are not Catholics will not stand the test of history; that as God is a hidden God, the action and condition of His Church may be at times inscrutable; that the broad claim on their allegiance, that they are born English Churchmen, is a strong *prima facie* call to remain in the Church of England; and that fidelity to the unmistakable Catholic principles of happier and less perplexing days, has been and is still open to an English Churchman. For the rest, a comprehensiveness which lives and lets live in the Church of England, is (in their eyes) the wisest immediate policy; and the religious life within her pale affords to such a policy the justification of results. Without saying, with the late Mr. R. H. Hutton,[1] that Newman's theory of the *via media* has 'for practical purposes failed,' it is not insisted on, by such thinkers, in detail, as more than a somewhat tentative speculation as to the lines of further advance.

[1] See Hutton's *Cardinal Newman*, p. 75.

If this view of the true strength of Anglicanism be correct, the more detailed positions taken up by some Anglican writers, owing to the exigencies of controversy, are not likely to survive. The Roman premisses they presuppose are inseparably linked to the Roman conclusions. A more indeterminate position (resting on a sense of the anomaly of Christendom), and a consequent toleration of all parties in the Anglican Church, are perhaps essential, if the road to Rome is to be ultimately barred. At all events such considerations as have been here set down appear to the present writer really to underlie the writings of the strongest Anglican thinkers; while their most effective work is in detailed critical and historical research, rather than in directly theological speculation or generalisation.[1] The great *prima facie* objection to such a position is that the Church has not in the past been tolerant of such positions of suspense or of compromise.

And now for a word as to Wiseman's second position—his desire that the Church should assimilate and adapt herself to the civilisation in which she lives. It may plausibly be said, Why assert claims to exclusive truth, to speak of which may irritate others, when in fact the Church has been dethroned from her supremacy, and must, if she is to do good on any large scale, work hand in hand and on equal terms with other religious bodies? And undoubtedly the tendency to obtrude or exaggerate the Church's claims, in the presence of those who do not accept

[1] The last chapter of Dean Church's *Oxford Movement* gives the key-note to the position I have sketched.

them, was as uncongenial to Wiseman as it was to Newman. Yet for Catholics to disown or conceal them, would be simply to be false to the convictions for which they have sacrificed life and property, and to surrender a principle which they believe will prove in the long run the only effective defence against the final dethronement of Christianity. The Catholic Church, in the countries in which she has been dispossessed of her power, if she has life and energy, naturally acts like the capable scion of many a Royalist family in France. He will be the last to admit revolutionary principles; but on the other hand he loves his country and would work for her. In his intercourse with his fellow-countrymen he will not be foolish enough unnecessarily to obtrude claims, which he does not mean to regard as practical. He is aware that if a Royalist rising is feared, he may be sent into exile, and be unable to serve his country, as he desires to do, as a citizen of the republic. He refuses still to admit theoretical principles, as to the lawfulness of revolution, which nullify the claims of his party. He may believe that such principles must be in the long run subversive of all social order. He may hope against hope that circumstances may gradually win over so many to recognise this danger, that the will of the people will ultimately restore a dynasty whose claim rests in his opinion on higher grounds. But he consents, in action, to accept accomplished facts. Thus, too, Catholics may work effectively for the social and religious welfare of their countrymen, on a footing of equality with their neighbours; and yet may believe that to accept the *theory*

of religious equality would be to make their grandchildren Latitudinarians; and that Latitudinarianism has only a sentimental and traditionary, and not an intellectual, separation from religious negation.

And this line of conduct will seem to many to have its bearing on the much-vexed question of the Reunion of the Churches. To contemplate Reunion as a practical prospect, on a basis which surrenders the organic unity of the Church, with its central authority, would be to abandon what Catholics regard as the essential principle which they have, through good and evil repute, preserved. To use plain language, it would be to accept a purely Protestant basis of Reunion, as the word 'Protestant' is understood by those who have remained united with the Apostolic See. Even the Newman of 1839, who desired union with Rome, and far more nearly accepted the Roman doctrine concerning the unity of the Church than do most of the modern exponents of the movement, held that practical negotiations for Reunion were Utopian—that they presupposed a state of opinion, even among advanced Anglicans, which did not exist, except in words.[1]

But it by no means follows that the attitude of those who recognise this, must be hostile towards the Established Church, or that while we endeavour to

[1] To the present writer the least hopeful sign of an ultimate tendency in the present Anglican Movement towards Rome is the coincidence of a growth of Roman doctrine with a diminution of all effective belief in Church Authority. In Newman's eyes, for a long time, it was only because Roman doctrine was inadmissible that a position of isolation was lawful. The new movement appears to have lost the intellectual coherence of the old.

work for good on common ground with all the numerous religious parties in the country, we may not feel the special bonds of sympathy between ourselves and the High Church party, or even hope in the long run for the corporate reunion of the party on a Catholic basis. Such were indeed the sentiments which prompted Cardinal Wiseman's Letter on Catholic Unity.

To sympathise and co-operate in good work done among Anglicans, and to recognise to the full the importance of the remnant of Catholicism which they have preserved, and of the considerable element of Catholicism which is being introduced among them, to feel with gratitude the common ground thus created between the two communions, to hope that Catholic doctrines may lead ultimately to the idea of the Church as one organism—as respiration is restored to the inanimate body, by producing artificially the movements which normally accompany it,—appears to many to be quite consistent with the fullest admission of the claims of the Apostolic See. Whereas to refuse such recognition or co-operation on common ground, may be as impracticable as the action of the French Royalists before Leo XIII. created the *ralliés*.

Co-operation and intercourse, both with Anglicans and with others, may also prove to be the only means whereby English Catholics can gain any influence on the public mind, or win real attention for their own principles. The intellectual activity of a great nation has its natural channels. Nothing but a miracle could prevent any small body from suffer-

ing intellectually, if it is shut off from communication with these channels. The very best intellectual endowment, when thus isolated, will spend itself on efforts, which appear to the general public to be sectarian and purely controversial—whose tone and form make the ablest arguments unpersuasive.

Then, again, among the uneducated especially, there is, almost inevitably, a danger lest belief in the exclusive claims of the Church should lead to intellectual self-sufficiency. Just as a child regards his parents as omniscient, so an uneducated man may expect to find the ablest guidance, even in secular attainments, among those teachers who in his eyes represent the Church;—forgetting that the first infallible guides were uneducated fishermen. The expectation is the less preposterous on the face of it, because in Catholic times the national wisdom was found to be largely in the hands of persons representative of or approved by the Church. It need hardly be said that the handful of English Catholics, however exceptional might be their endowments, could not claim to occupy any such position. Yet there were those in Cardinal Wiseman's time, who appeared to think that, being members of an infallible Church, they could have little to learn from their neighbours. This tendency —which may from circumstances extend to the educated—will be regarded by most as detrimental to the efficiency of Catholic citizens.

Moreover, nothing can more effectively bar the way to any attempt on the part of the Exclusive Church to obtain serious consideration for her principles, from

a public which has disowned her sway. Mr. Balfour has said that 'to describe (when using language strictly) any scheme of belief as wholly false which has even imperfectly met the needs of mankind, is the height of arrogance,' and that 'to claim for any beliefs which we happen to approve that they are wholly true is the height of absurdity'; and if the latter statement be applied to any scheme of belief as practically held by any body of men, the remark is indisputable. And yet this is precisely the frame of mind which the self-sufficiency of a clique tends to create. It ignores both the incompleteness of theology—the fact that it is ever only tending towards a still distant accuracy—and the obligations of Catholic thought itself towards outside influences. The whole Metaphysic of the mediæval schoolmen—on which their theology was largely based—was itself based on Aristotle, whom earlier and narrower Christians had denounced; and arguments long ascribed to the genius of the 'Angel of the Schools,' are now found to have been borrowed by him from the pages of one less familiar to our modern scholastics – the Jew Maimonides.

Wiseman's early Roman career, when in philological and Oriental studies he strove to teach the members of the Exclusive Church what he had learned from outsiders, secured him against this form of narrowness. Should it exist in any quarters at the present time, it is probable that training at the national universities will gradually exclude what is only a form of intellectual provincialism.

I am aware that the ideal combination of intel-

lectual life and freedom with alert obedience to the central religious authority, appears to some to be only an ideal; and that excessive obedience is apt to make authority too exacting for freedom to survive. There has always been a partial answer to this objection, in the combination of loyalty and love of freedom in great individuals, and in the beneficent and tolerant rule of great popes. In the century in which Papal Infallibility has been proclaimed, among the greatest names have been those of Newman and of Lacordaire—both in different ways apostles of the union between the two.[1] And the number of lesser names illustrating the same phenomenon, is at the present time very large. It would be difficult to bring more vividly before the imagination the existence of this union, on a large and increasing scale, than it was brought before those who have recently had the privilege of attending the International Congress at Fribourg, the motto of which was, *Freiheit und Autorität*. Amid surroundings more absolutely suggestive of mediæval times than any which the present writer ever witnessed, in a city celebrating, with a joy which seemed personal to all the inhabitants, the tercentenary of the death of its patron, and with the sanction of the Apostolic Blessing, 700 Catholics—the large majority men of exceptional attainments and learning—assembled for a week, and, under the shadow of the Feast of the Assumption, carried on debates on matters of History,

[1] I need hardly say that Newman's opposition to religious 'liberalism' was explained by him as being perfectly consistent with his championship of a large measure of intellectual freedom. See *Apologia*, pp. 285 *sqq*.

Philosophy, Biblical Criticism, and problems of Social Life. The freedom of opinion manifested, was as noteworthy as the peculiarly Catholic atmosphere of the *locale*. It is the fashion just now, among a group of English controversialists, to say that Rome is more narrow than ever. But Rome speaks in the long run as the voice of the Catholic world. And I do not think that anyone who was present and heard what was publicly said and unanimously accepted at the Congress, would credit that very representative assembly, with any tendency to undue restriction of the field of discussion or renunciation of the intellectual life.

It is impossible to forget, while writing on this subject, that to many readers mental narrowness and the provincialism of which I have spoken, appear to be, in some degree, inseparable from the profession of Catholicism. The very acceptance of the Papal claims is regarded by many as fatal to real enlargement of mind, and to intellectual advance. Strongly as one may dissent from such a conclusion, it would carry the present chapter too far afield to discuss it more fully. The duty of diffidence as to the finality of the speculations of a given age, the necessity for temporary restraint of the adventurous intellect, and not any desire for the ultimate diminution of its conquests, have been, if the account given in this chapter be correct, the true moral to be drawn from the action of Church and Papacy. At least, this rather than repression for its own sake, may be recognised as the true *rationale* of their action, even by those who regard particular measures as tyrannical.

But, be this as it may, in summing up results as a whole, one cannot omit the gain—to balance temporary intellectual losses—of a spiritual ideal so different in kind from that which we find elsewhere, that of an actually existing spiritual polity, the *Civitas Dei*. It has always appeared to the present writer noteworthy, that it was not in the early days after Newman's conversion, but in the very years in which he suffered most from the uncongenial attitude taken up by many influential Catholics, that the great Oratorian used language which was so scornful and yet so deliberate, as to the bare suggestion that one who had known the Catholic Church from within could think seriously of quitting it for another. 'Return to the Church of England!' he wrote in 1862. 'No! The net is broken, and we are delivered. I should be a consummate fool (to use a mild term) if in my old age I left the land flowing with milk and honey for the city of confusion and the house of bondage.' [1]

And two years later he wrote of his feeling, when once he had seen the Church from within. 'I recognised at once a reality which was quite a new thing with me. . . . I was sensible that I was not making for myself a church by an effort of thought. . . . I had not painfully to force myself into a position, but my mind fell back upon itself in relaxation and peace, and I gazed at her passively as a great objective fact. I looked at her—at her rites, her ceremonial and her precepts; and I said, "This *is* religion."' [2]

[1] See Jennings' *Life of Newman*, p. 103.

[2] *Apologia*, pp. 339-40. The whole passage is remarkable from Newman's evident reluctance to say what he feels bound in candour to say.

Renan, even when he had renounced the Church, bore a witness which has its significance. 'Catholicism, like a fairy circle,' he wrote, 'casts such a powerful spell upon one's whole life, that when one is deprived of it everything seems aimless and gloomy.'[1] Manzoni, a freethinker in early life, on studying carefully the controversies between the Roman Catholic Church and Protestantism, became a Catholic, awed and convinced by the 'majestic attitude' of the Church. *Incessu patuit dea.*[2]

The peculiar feeling for *Sancta Mater Ecclesia*, which is entirely irrespective of the National sentiment, is naturally to be especially looked for in the one communion in which the phrase 'the Church' corresponds to the reality of an international polity claiming a Divine origin. I appeal to it here only as a phenomenon not to be overlooked. The less the reader can understand or sympathise with the sentiments of Newman, Renan, or Manzoni, the more may he be urged in fairness to conclude that there may be truth in Cardinal Wiseman's favourite saying, that Catholicism, like a window of stained glass, is very different according as it is viewed from without or from within the Church.

To many men of intellectual eminence, indeed, in these later days, the Church, even as seen from without, has appealed with a power which the divided bodies cannot have. When the Romantic Movement in Germany brought from fifty to sixty distinguished German thinkers and scholars into the

[1] *Recollections of my Youth*, p. 292 (Chapman & Hall).
[2] See Lord Blachford's *Letters*, p. 69.

Catholic Church, it also led many more to hold that, if ever again religion could be established on a firm basis, that basis must be Catholicism. The same phenomenon has been visible in its degree in France. 'Le Catholicisme,' says M. Freyssinet, in his 'Pensées Grises,' 'avec la vénérable série de ses pontifes, la liaison raisonnée de ses doctrines et de ses dogmes, sa tradition antique qui perce les âges et va se nouer aux premiers jours du monde, le Catholicisme, s'il n'est pas l'explication, est une explication.' M. Brunetière and M. Pressensé in our own time are probably spokesmen for a large number on lines partly similar.

The continued existence of the Church as one worldwide organisation, bearing in its theological literature, liturgy, and rites the records of its unbroken past, is what gives to it its *prima facie* strength. And its unity of organisation and doctrine is, as Bossuet saw, in spite of his Gallicanism, practically dependent on the Apostolic See. In our time, quite as much as in Cardinal Wiseman's, Catholics feel the need of multiplying the points of contact between this ancient citadel and the outside world. They cannot do away with the Papacy, which is the keystone of the arch. But many of them desire and need, as far as possible, to understand better the civilisation with which they have quarrelled, and which, in its failure to find an effective defender of social order apart from religion, and of religion apart from the Church, seems, in some parts of the world, more than half disposed to come to terms with her.

I say 'in some parts' and 'half disposed,' and I will

add one final suggestion as to why the disposition is not more general and complete. Strength of organisation, religious vitality, continuity of principle, are widely recognised in her. But the actually existing Church in communion with Rome appears to many to be in fact *not* assimilated with the civilisation around her. It has been compared to the Chinese Empire. The Papacy appears to embody the wiry strength of a persistent, wilful old age, which has got into its unalterable groove; and not merely the principle of oneness in the organism which makes it capable of lasting and assimilating. Thinness of life appears to coexist with almost preternatural vigour. *In fact* (it is said) civilisation has outstripped the Papal Church, though we may admit, as Carlyle did, its good work in the Middle Ages. This impression among Englishmen comes doubtless in part from a want of familiarity with the working of the Roman Catholic Church among races more congenial to Englishmen than the Latin races—among Germans, or among Swiss, or among Austrians. But, for argument's sake, I will admit its justice.

I will only suggest in reply, Is not the modern world starving the Church, and then reproaching her with not being fat? If the analogy of an organism is more than an analogy—if Newman could learn by applying it to the Church as much as Herbert Spencer could learn by applying it to other social organisms,—this suggestion may deserve consideration. The actually existing society within the Church is made up of human beings who have clung to the faith which has been here spoken of as the secret of her

persistency and vitality. But health, strength, and fulness of life come to us living beings from assimilating what is around us—fresh air and food, and from the action of the various stimuli of this varied world. Restrict these unduly, and life may continue; but the full capabilities of the human frame can never be realised. So, too, if the Church is persecuted and driven on its own centre, its one all-important secret of life may be kept, in the faith, but its career necessarily becomes that of the much-enduring and steadfast recluse, whose life of seclusion is enforced, and who can never fully realise his social capabilities. It is no answer to assert that the Catholic body proves now and again unequal to dealing with society in circumstances to which it is unaccustomed. The greatest social gifts cannot in an instant be brought into play after years of retirement. To show the richness of intellectual life which she showed in the Middle Ages, the Church must have the same opportunities which she then had. She must be able safely and freely to hold intercourse with secular culture. It cannot be a matter of surprise that she does not open her arms to a civilisation which has not really ceased to despise and reject her. And yet this is the necessary condition of the full life I speak of.

These remarks, as to the bearing on present controversies, of lines of thought traced in this work, are necessarily undeveloped, and need much addition and qualification. They are not intended to be taken dogmatically, but rather as suggestions which may more or less commend themselves to others. If in religion the practical has no relation to the specula-

tive, they are worthless. But on such an hypothesis the Exclusive teaching Church also is a wanton disturber of the peace. For then, what is, if it is good at all, is probably best, as being in possession. The hypothesis assumed in this epilogue is the opposite one. I have assumed that there is a secret whereby the mind retains its hold on religious truth, and I have suggested that the Exclusive Church is in possession of that secret, which has been partially or wholly lost elsewhere; —that she alone practically recognises the functions of Authority, by the very constitution of the human mind, in preserving our hold on fundamental truths,[1] and acts upon this recognition in the case of the revelation committed to her. There may have to be great changes within the Church before the separated bodies can again recognise her. But if no other principle, except that which she has retained, can ultimately withstand the inroads of religious negation, may we not hope that forces on all sides will eventually tend towards the desired reunion? The central Authority, as a fact, and not a mere name, is an essential part of the Church thus conceived. But its practical claims and action may vary in the future as they have in the past.[2]

Our own countryman, Roger Bacon, was the first

[1] I may remind the reader of the celebrated passage in St. Thomas's work *Contra Gentiles*, in which he points out that practically even Theism would not be known to the human race unless it were taught by Authority. (See Book I, Ch. IV.)

[2] I need hardly cite the instance which will occur to everyone, of the Deposing Power. The Papacy long claimed it and acted on it. When the changes in European civilisation made it impracticable to act on it, it became a dead letter. Eventually popes ceased to claim it even in theory. We can probably as little prophesy what changes might

to suggest a beautiful mediæval dream, of a golden age in religion. Papa Angelico, the ideal pope, was to come some day—a pope of wisdom and of holiness. He was to heal schisms, to encourage science, to win all peoples to trust in his comprehensive wisdom and respect for his beneficent authority. He was to be a pope of 'peace,' but not of the 'peace' of indifferentism or sentimentalism. His was to be a reign of wise and tolerant rule on the one part, and of grateful obedience on the other.

A century of revolution has done something towards renewing mediæval dreams. We have not seen the end of the revival of the Romantic School of Novalis, the Schlegels and Chateaubriand. Will Europe ever again pray for a Papa Angelico?

occur in the position of the Papacy, as Catholics could in the fourteenth century have guessed the vast changes which have already come about in its practical position since that time.

APPENDICES

APPENDIX C

THE following is the text of the Ecclesiastical Titles Bill passed in the circumstances described in Chapter XIX :

An Act to prevent the Assumption of certain Ecclesiastical Titles in respect of Places in the United Kingdom. [*1st August*, 1851.]

Whereas divers of Her Majesty's Roman Catholic Subjects have assumed to themselves the Titles of Archbishop and Bishops of a pretended Province, and of pretended Sees or Dioceses, within the United Kingdom, under colour of an alleged Authority given to them for that Purpose by certain Briefs, Rescripts, or Letters Apostolical from the See of *Rome*, and particularly by a certain Brief, Rescript, or Letters Apostolical purporting to have been given at *Rome* on the Twenty-ninth of *September* One thousand eight hundred and fifty : And whereas by the Act of the Tenth Year of King *George* the Fourth, Chapter Seven, after reciting that the Protestant Episcopal Church of *England* and *Ireland*, and the Doctrine, Discipline, and Government thereof, and likewise the Protestant Presbyterian Church of *Scotland*, and the Doctrine, Discipline, and Government thereof, were by the respective Acts of Union of *England* and *Scotland*, and of *Great Britain* and *Ireland*, established permanently and inviolably, and that the Right and Title of Archbishops to their respective Provinces, of Bishops to their Sees, and of Deans to their Deaneries, as well in *England* as in *Ireland*, had been settled and established by Law, it was enacted, that if any Person after the Commencement of that Act, other than the Person thereunto authorized by Law, should assume or use the Name, Style, or Title of Archbishop of any Province, Bishop of any Bishopric, or Dean of any Deanery, in *England* or *Ireland*, he should for every such Offence forfeit and pay the Sum of One hundred

Pounds : And whereas it may be doubted whether the recited Enactment extends to the Assumption of the Title of Archbishop or Bishop of a pretended Province or Diocese, or Archbishop or Bishop of a City, Place, or Territory, or Dean of any pretended Deanery in *England* or *Ireland*, not being the See, Province, or Diocese of any Archbishop or Bishop or Deanery of any Dean recognized by Law ; but the Attempt to establish, under colour of Authority from the See of *Rome* or otherwise, such pretended Sees, Provinces, Dioceses, or Deaneries, is illegal and void : And whereas it is expedient to prohibit the Assumption of such Titles in respect of any Places within the United Kingdom : Be it therefore declared and enacted by the Queen's most Excellent Majesty, by and with the Advice and Consent of the Lords Spiritual and Temporal, and Commons, in this present Parliament assembled, and by the Authority of the same, That—

I. All such Briefs, Rescripts, or Letters Apostolical, and all and every the Jurisdiction, Authority, Pre-eminence, or Title conferred or pretended to be conferred thereby, are and shall be and be deemed unlawful and void.

II. And be it enacted, That if, after the passing of this Act, any Person shall obtain or cause to be procured from the Bishop or See of *Rome*, or shall publish or put in use within any Part of the United Kingdom, any such Bull, Brief, Rescript, or Letters Apostolical, or any other Instrument or Writing, for the Purpose of constituting such Archbishops or Bishops of such pretended Provinces, Sees, or Dioceses within the United Kingdom, or if any Person, other than a Person thereunto authorized by Law in respect of an Archbishopric, Bishopric, or Deanery of the United Church of *England* and *Ireland*, assume or use the Name, Style, or Title of Archbishop, Bishop, or Dean of any City, Town, or Place, or of any Territory or District, (under any Designation or Description whatsoever,) in the United Kingdom, whether such City, Town, or Place, or such Territory or District, be or be not the See or the Province, or co-extensive with the Province, of any Archbishop, or the See or the Diocese, or co-extensive with the Diocese, of any Bishop, or the Seat or Place of the Church of any Dean, or co-extensive with any Deanery, of the said United Church, the Person so offending shall for every such Offence forfeit and pay the Sum of One hundred Pounds, to be recovered as Penalties imposed by the recited Act may be recovered under the Provisions thereof, or by Action of Debt at the Suit of any Person in One of Her Majesty's Superior Courts of Law, with the Consent of Her Majesty's Attorney General in *England* and *Ireland*, or Her Majesty's Advocate in *Scotland*, as the Case may be.

III. This Act shall not extend or apply to the Assumption or Use by any Bishop of the Protestant Episcopal Church in *Scotland* exercising Episcopal Functions within some District or Place in *Scotland* of any Name, Style, or Title in respect of such District or Place: but nothing herein contained shall be taken to give any Right to any such Bishop to assume or use any Name, Style, or Title which he is not now by Law entitled to assume or use.

IV. Be it enacted, That nothing herein contained shall be construed to annul, repeal, or in any Manner affect any Provision contained in an Act passed in the Eighth Year of the Reign of Her present Majesty, intituled *An Act for the more effectual Application of Charitable Donations and Bequests in* Ireland.

APPENDIX D

Extracts from the statement and appended documents placed before the Cardinals of the Special Commission of 1860, by Dr. Errington, Archbishop of Trebizond, referred to in Chapters XXV. and XXVII.

Da poco tempo soltanto è nata una positiva questione di trasferirmi o di togliermi la futura successione; ma il primo di questi due partiti non può essere da me accettato, se non accettando al medesimo tempo tutte le imputazioni che hanno dato luogo a tale controversia. Prima di propormi questo temperamento Mons. Talbot mi dichiarava ch' io ero *gallicano*, *antiromano*, *opposto per progetto ad ogni opera buona*, *terrore del clero*, *distruttore di tutto il bene che avrei trovato* per opera dell' Emo Arcivescovo. SU QUESTE BASI fu proposto il trasferimento: e su queste basi, e su quelle innalzate da S. Emza, col ricorso a Roma, io non avrei fatto altro che sanzionare le accuse mosse contro di me: accuse non segrete, ma da Mons. Talbot manifestate ad altri PRIMA che io le conoscessi, e note da qualche tempo a tutto il clero d'Inghilterra. Se Dio vorrà che io soccomba, sarò condannato semplicemente, ma potrò sempre allegare quelle discolpe e quei fatti che sottopongo alla S. Sede. Se accettassi un altro partito, nello stato di pressione, al quale Sua Emza mi ha condotto, sarei condannato da me stesso, al cospetto di tutto il clero che ho governato, e di quello che sarei chiamato a governare.

In the following passage Dr. Errington describes the objections he raised at the outset to his nomination as Coadjutor:

Io immediatamente affacciai le obbiezioni che mi sembravano sufficientemente forti onde impedire il mio consenso a tale proposta. Io osservai che noi per ben due volte eravamo stati officialmente uniti per lo passato, e tutte e due le volte non ci era riuscito di agire in armonia: una volta quando egli era Rettore ed io Vice-Rettore del Collegio Inglese in Roma, e la seconda volta quando egli era presidente del Collegio di Oscott, ed io Prefetto degli Studj. Soggiunsi che le medesime cause le quali aveano impedito di operare concordemente insieme in allora produrrebbero, e vi era buona ragione di temerlo, i medesimi risultati, se noi dovevamo operare insieme come Vescovo e Coadjutore. Queste cause, io ripresi, eran prima la differenza delle nostre opinioni sopra alcuni punti importanti, e secondariamente il pernicioso intervento di altri fra di noi. Questo verrà meglio compreso leggendo la narrazione delle precedenti nostre relazioni portate nell' Appendice.

Sua Eminenza rispose che la prima di queste due cause non esisterebbe nel caso presente, perchè noi non avremmo lavorato nella medesima sfera, poichè egli attenderebbe all' opera della provincia, ed alla corrispondenza con Roma, lasciando a me il lavoro Diocesano; aggiunse poi che la seconda di queste due cause non era a temersi, mettendoci noi a vivere insieme e separati dagli altri, dai quali poteva temersi una tale intromissione. . . .

He speaks of his difficulties at St. Edmund's as follows:

Fui diretto in primo luogo ad intraprendere ciò che concerneva il Seminario. Nel progresso di quest' opera vennero elevate alcune difficoltà dal Professore di Teologia, Dottor Ward, che la dottrina e l' ingegno non commune collocavano in moltissima stima presso il Cardinale, e che esercitava una grande influenza nelle cose appartenenti al Collegio. . . .

Questo affare del D. Ward siccome io fui informato da molte persone nella Diocesi, e fuori, era generalmente considerato come uno sperimento d' influenza sul Cardinale tra me stesso ed un partito rappresentato dal Dottor Ward, e il risultato veniva considerato come un trionfo sopra di me, e come lo stabilimento della preponderanza [dell' influenza] del D. Ward nel collegio sopra della mia. . . .

Durante il corso dell' estate seguente io seppi da Sua Eminenza che egli voleva permettere che la visita si facesse nel modo da me proposto, e durante il mese di Giugno del medesimo anno 1856 egli m' informò in occasione di una visita che io feci a Londra, che il Dottor Ward andava a lasciare il Collegio di Old Hall. Così io stimai che le due difficoltà

essenziali, che mi facevano ripugnare di ritornare a Londra erano sparite. . . .

Nessuna di queste però produsse a quel tempo alcuna discordia; poichè eccettuandone quelle connesse con la Congregazione degli Oblati di Westminster, le quali rimasero nelle proprie sue mani, . . . venimmo ad una determinazione pratica intorno alle medesime. . . .

He writes thus of Dr. Manning's proposal to found the Congregation of the Oblates of St. Charles:

Nei primi del 1857 il Dottor Manning venne a parlarmi su questo proposito. La sostanza della nostra conversazione su questa materia si trova nell' appendice. Da questa conversazione io compresi che la nuova Congregazione doveva avere missioni onde educarvi giovani preti: non che l' amministrazione del comune Seminario delle due Diocesi di Westminster e di Southwark; e che infine il Vescovo non doveva essere investito del diritto di disporre dei preti della Congregazione, ma bensì il Capo dalla Congregazione medesima. Dalla previa cognizione, che io avevo delle idee del Cardinale sulla Congregazione che egli desiderava di vedere in Inghilterra, del che io lo avevo inteso parlare varie volte, e dalla esposizione fattami della attuale idea nella summenzionata lettera di sua Eminenza mi persuasi che il Dottor Manning non si era ben penetrato de' desiderii del Cardinale, e questa mia opinione la palesai al Cardinale Prefetto di Propaganda, a Monsignor Talbot, e all' in allora Rettore del Collegio Inglese, con i quali parlai del soggetto in questione. . . .

Al mio ritorno in Inghilterra nell' aprile 1857, accennai al Cardinale quello che io avevo udito a Roma, e quello che avevo detto relativo alla nuova Congregazione, mi diffusi particolarmente sopra l' impressione ricevuta che il Dottor Manning non aveva sulla Congregazione idee conformi a quelle del Cardinale, e su i pericoli di affidare il seminario ad una tale Congregazione. Il Cardinale mi disse che egli aveva inteso quanto si era detto da me in Roma: che egli conosceva bene le idee del Dottor Manning, e la natura della Congregazione, che le mie apprensioni relative a questo corpo, quando la regola sarebbe confermata, erano senza fondamento e nate da mio pregiudizio contro il Dottor Manning: che io non aveva capita la natura della Congregazione; che questa era pienamente sotto la sua dipendenza, e finalmente che se si trovasse esistere qualche difficoltà reale, vi era tempo di correggerla prima che la regola venisse approvata. Questa approvazione, siccome io capii, dovea domandarsi tra due anni. Dal tuono e tenore di questa conversazione, io rilevai che questo era un soggetto da evitarsi, finchè

non si presentasse una occasione molto favorevole, o circostanze urgenti non rendessero necessario che io tornassi a parlarne. . . .

Le istituzioni, ossia il piano della struttura della Congregazione, eransi stampate a Roma nella primavera di quell' anno. Nè io, nè alcuno degli attuali Vicarii Generali del Cardinale, nè alcuno del suo Capitolo eravamo stati fatti consapevoli di questi documenti ; nè eravamo stati consultati sull' importante misura di sopra citata. E solo casualmente verso il Natale di quell' anno 1857 ebbi notizia dell' esistenza di quei documenti ; e furono le discussioni che insorsero un anno dopo ciò che indusse il Dottor Manning a comunicarne copie ai membri del Capitolo. . . .

Il tempo che mi presentò la vacanza di Natale lo impiegai nella collazione della regola di S. Carlo con quella degli Oblati di Westminster. Il risultato di questo studio vien portato nell' Appendice dove si fa un parallelo fra le due Congregazioni. . . .[1]

Nel Capitolo era stato fatto Canonico e Prevosto il Superiore Generale della nuova Congregazione, dopo la rinunzia del molto Rev. Dott. Whitty. Il Cardinale veramente non si rivolse alla Santa Sede per conferire al Dott. Manning questo posto distinto ed influente. Sua Eminenza disse, nell annunziarne la nuova, che era stato del tutto sorpreso da questa nomina, poichè egli aveva desiderato ed aspettato di vedere nominato a questa Dignità vacante il Canonico Maguire, suo Vicario Generale. Mediante questa nomina il Capitolo avrebbe l' equivalente al Capo di un Ordine religioso per suo Prevosto, subitochè venisse approvata la nuova Congregazione. Nel Seminario furono già ascritti il Vice-Presidente, due Professori, ed uno studente, e fu ivi stabilito un Oratorio per gli esercizii della Congregazione, e sembrava più che probabile che il Seminario dovesse mettersi sotto la direzione della Congregazione. Le ragioni di questa opinione vengono anche portate nell' Appendice.

Lo studio della natura e della posizione della Congregazione mi indusse a parlarne di nuovo al Cardinale dopo Natale, e poi un' altra volta alcun tempo dopo. Ma mentre il Cardinale ascoltava quello che io diceva, la sua risposta fu solamente in sostanza una ripetizione di quello che mi aveva detto nell' Aprile del 1857 nel mio ritorno da Roma : cioè che io era in errore per pregiudizio contro il Dott. Manning ; che egli aveva esaminato bene la questione egli stesso ; che egli aveva piena confidenza nel Dott. Manning. Le medesime risposte mi furono date su dei rispettivi soggetti, su cui io chiamava la sua attenzione relativamente ai provvedimenti circa le missioni della Congregazione che io trovai nella S. Visita.

[1] This parallel runs to seventy-five pages, including the account of the history of Dr. Manning's congregation.

Fu questa illimitata confidenza del Cardinale nel Dottor Manning, e l' influenza di questo Dignitario presso il Cardinale, la quale sembrava aumentarsi continuamente, che mi fece finalmente conchiudere che non sarebbe di alcuna utilità per me di parlare intorno a qualunque cosa nella quale quegli avesse parte, fuorchè quando il mio silenzio sarebbe stata una positiva negligenza di dovere ; e scansai, per quanto fu possibile, questa materia dopo la Pasqua del 1858. . . .

I Canonici avevano veduto nell' anno 1857 collocato alla loro testa come Prevosto il Dott. Manning. Questa cosa in sulle prime aveva comparativamente eccitata poca attenzione perchè non avevan sentito molte cose relative alla nuova Congregazione, se non che quello che si diceva pubblicamente, vale a dire che i membri semplicemente si davano illimitatamente alle opere della diocesi sotto più perfetta autorità del Vescovo, e si dedicavano ad una vita di un ascetismo più grande di quello dei preti secolari ordinarii. Gradatamente però che il soggetto attraeva maggiore attenzione, e i canonici venivano ad esserne maggiormente informati da casuali sorgenti, trovarono ragione di dubitare se in caso che la Congregazione venisse approvata, essi non si trovassero con un Prevosto, il quale in vece di essere un ordinario sacerdote secolare missionario simile a loro stessi si trovasse essere superiore di una Congregazione simile a quelle che in molti riguardi sono indipendenti dal Vescovo. Essi avevano veduto il graduale sviluppo della Congregazione nel possesso delle missioni e della proprietà sotto altre condizioni, e molto differenti da quelle nelle quali queste sono tenute dagli ordinarii sacerdoti missionarii. Essi vedevano la posizione tenuta dagl' Oblati nel seminario, e gli effetti che vi produceva una divisa amministrazione, e sentivano dire che intendevasi collocare il Seminario sotto la sola amministrazione del nuovo corpo, il quale, venendo approvato, verrebbe così ad avere la permanente amministrazione del Seminario, se non rimosso da Roma. Al tempo medesimo essi vedevano che si andava incoraggiando, sotto ogni apparenza autoritativamente, per fare delle reclute per la nuova Congregazione nel Seminario, e fra i Missionarii. Gli officiali della Diocesi non potevano non accorgersi della preponderante influenza esercitata e nel Seminario e fuori di esso dalla Congregazione mediante la sua importanza col Cardinale. Ciò non ostante con fiducia si credeva che Sua Eminenza non avrebbe mai collocato nella posizione occupata dai nuovi Oblati alcun corpo di persone che non fossero perfettamente sotto la sua direzione e a sua disposizione. Si pensò in conseguenza che se si potessero liberamente e chiaramente esporre a Sua Eminenza i dubbii relativi alla natura della nuova Congregazione sarebbero subito rimossi i pericoli temuti. . . .

Naturalmente le circostanze e la posizione della nuova Con-

gregazione erano una materia della nostra conversazione, e l' influenza apparentemente esercitata dal superiore della medesima sullo spirito del Cardinale, e le ragioni che ci facevano credere che Sua Eminenza era stato guidato a disconoscere la reale natura della Congregazione dal supporla la stessa che quella di S. Carlo. . . .

Essi consideravano il modo come fare intendere la cosa a Sua Eminenza, e impedirlo dall' essere condotto in errore, e la diocesi in pericolo da consiglieri non officiali. Noi tutti eravamo stati lungo tempo, e fedeli al suo servizio. La nostra pace e il nostro conforto dipendeva dall' essere noi bene con lui: noi non avevamo da guadagnare nessuna cosa terrena mediante opposizione, anche supponendo che le nostre coscienze fossero divenute dure. Non è di uomini in queste circostanze che si formano i cospiratori. . . .

Non solo gli altri canonici ma anche i Vicarii Generali e gli altri officiali del Cardinale nel Capitolo, nonchè io, immaginammo che il Cardinale veniva fuorviato in una materia di grande importanza per la Diocesi, mentre un' influenza maggior della nostra sembrava rendere inutile che qualunque di noi ne parlasse ulteriormente. Una petizione del Capitolo per avere i deputati capitolari sembrò potesse offrire un rimedio convenevole. Questa petizione, la quale il Capitolo stimò e legittima e rispettosa, fu fatta ed accompagnata da una ingenua esposizione delle ragioni, perchè era stata fatta questa petizione. Il modo, con cui fu ricevuta, e sembrò essere rigettata, parve non lasciasse alcun altro mezzo, ad una spiegazione soddisfacente, o al conseguimento dell' oggetto in parola, fuorchè una petizione a Roma; questa fu fatta, esponendo tutto alla Santa Sede. Non vi è dubbio che vi furono degli sbagli, e non vennero osservate tutte le formalità in questi come nella maggior parte di altri procedimenti del Capitolo per mancanze di cognizioni, ma in sostanza non vi fu mai alcuna cosa di male, molto meno un premeditato errore, o mancanza di venerazione o di rispetto verso il Cardinale. Nelle private conversazioni con i Vicarii Generali ed altri Officiali, miei ordinarii compagni e collaboratori, io concorreva in quanto che io considerava giusto ed utile quello che si faceva e diedi a queste persone il vantaggio della mia cognizione in quanto alle forme per la esecuzione. Io non eccitai i Canonici. Io non comunicai col Capitolo come tale. . . .

Of his early intimacy with Cardinal Wiseman he writes thus:

Le relazioni che esistevano fra i nostri genitori [sc. la mia famiglia e quella di Cardinale Wiseman] ci avevano resi intimi

amici fin dalla fanciullezza. Dal 1814 al 1818, in cui il Cardinale portossi a Roma, noi fummo insieme alla scuola nell' Inghilterra.

Nel 1821 io lo seguii a Roma, e nel 1828 egli fu nominato Pro-Rettore, ed io Vice-Rettore del Collegio Inglese in detta Capitale. Per due anni noi agimmo insieme in armonia. Gradatamente mi parve ch' egli era troppo facile nella disciplina, e nella finanza, la cura immediata di ambedue le quali egli aveva a me affidato : e che atteso questo motivo, e atteso quello che sembravami influenza d' altri io non fui sostenuto nel mettere in pratica quello che avevamo stabilito d' accordo in congresso. Le discussioni nascenti da questa fonte minacciavano d' impedire il bene dello stabilimento, e nel 1831 essendomi consigliato in proposito, ero preparato a rinunziare il mio posto, quando mi venne ordinato di partir da Roma a causa di una bronchitide, la quale mi tenne fuori delle fatiche regolari, per molti anni nella Francia. Questo risultato non mi privò per molto tempo del buon volere di Sua Eminenza, nè della sua confidenza. Quando egli credette nel 1836 ch' egli era per essere, come Coadjutore del Mr. Walsh, rimosso da Roma, si compiacque di scrivermi che era necessario per il Collegio che io dovessi venire ad essergli successore. Nel 1837 ripeteva che non lascerebbe nessuna pietra senza muoverla per avermi per successore. Io ritornai a Roma come un invalido nel 1837 o 1838, e passai ivi alcuni inverni, principalmente nel Collegio, fino al 1843 quando avendo molto migliorato nella salute sull' invito del Cardinale io rimasi in Oscott, dove egli allora era Presidente, insegnando Teologia, e ajutandolo ne' conti della Diocesi. Nel 1844 io fui fatto Prefetto dei Studj da lui, e continuai nella sua confidenza sino al 1847 quando atteso il rinnovellamento delle stesse cause che produssero il nostro allontanamento in Roma nel 1831 io m' indussi a rinunciare e partii nelle vacanze estive.

Sua Eminenza in questo tempo portossi a Roma, e quindi ritornò a prendere la cura del Vicariato di Londra dopo la morte del Mr. Griffiths nel Novembre. Egli credeva che attesa la sua cattiva salute il Dr. Grant sarebbe per rinunziare alla Rettoria del Collegio Romano, ed all' Agenzia inglese, e mandò persona a trattar meco onde persuadermi a divenir successore di questi. Sentendo ch' erasi ciò disposto lasciai Dublino e mi portai a Londra, ma dopo breve dimora in quella Città, conobbi che la idea della rinunzia del Dr. Grant era prematura.

Sua Eminenza allora ebbe la bontà di domandarmi di esser Vicario Generale di Southwark. Per prevenire il rinnuovamento delle primarie difficoltà io dimandai se avendo egli posto nelle mie mani una commissione Sua Eminenza si crederebbe in libertà d' impiegare un altro Vicario Generale ad eseguire il medesimo affare o una porzione dello stesso al tempo medesimo indipendentemente da me. Sulla risposta di Sua Eminenza,

ch' egli non poteva consentire ad una tale disposizione come io vorrei, declinai la offerta e mi feci a servire da Missionario in Liverpool e poi in Manchester.

Nei primi di Settembre del 1850, mi scrisse da Roma, ove egli allora era impegnato a porre le cose in ordine per la Gerarchia, dimandandomi di raggiungerlo quivi a fine di ajutarlo a preparare quanto occorreva pel Sinodo. Nella medesima lettera, dopo aver menzionato esser prossima la pubblicazione della Gerarchia, mi dice che in un modo, o nell' altro, come suffraganeo, o Coadjutore, o Vescovo di mezzo Distretto egli avrebbe bisogno di un ajutante : che la elezione, da quello che vedeva, avrebbe da farsi da lui e conseguentemente che mi dava notizia che, in qualche qualifica, o in altra io dovessi portarmi a Londra. Mi ricusai d' andare a Roma assegnando per ragione che io aveva avuto troppo esperienza di posizioni indefinite. Fui nominato Vescovo della nuova Sede di Plymouth nella primavera seguente, ove io rimasi finchè il Cardinale fece istanza che io venissi trasferito alla Sede Arcivescovile di Trebisonda, per Coadjutore col diritto di futura successione alla Sede di Westminster. . . .

Going back once more to the difficulties at St. Edmund's, he writes thus :

La investigazione delle circostanze, e della condizione del Collegio, e l' esame degli studenti camminò soddisfacientemente per alcuni giorni, mentre si esaminarono le classi di Umanità, e di Belle Lettere. Fra i Professori eravi il Dottor Ward, signore di gran dottrina e di forte ingegno, il quale dimorava con moglie e figli in una casa contigua al Collegio, e insegnava Teologia, e una parte della Filosofia, e possedeva una considerevole influenza nella generale amministrazione del Seminario. Questo Professore fece difficoltà che gli Scolari delle sue classi si esaminassero altrimenti che secondo una formula preparata da lui medesimo, e richiese altresì di sapere senza indugio quali cangiamenti eransi contemplati riguardo alla sua posizione nello stabilimento, e nel nuovo sistema di studj teologici ch' egli aveva introdotto. Io gli risposi che l' oggetto del nostro esame richiedeva che noi esaminassimo nella maniera che sembrar potesse la più efficace per noi medesimi, e che noi non potevamo venire subito ad una immediata conclusione in quanto alle future disposizioni finchè finiti gli esami e le investigazioni non avessimo avuto tempo da riflettere.

Il Dottor Ward communicò col Cardinale, e procurò da Sua Eminenza una lettera per me raccomandandomi di accontentare i desiderj del Dottor Ward, per timore che contradicendolo, la sua salute venisse a soffrirne a causa del suo particolare tem-

peramento nervoso. Questa communicazione venne accompagnata da un piano proposto dal Dottor Ward pel corso futuro delle sue classi, e per i regolamenti di ogni ulteriore esame da farsi da Monsignor Grant, e da me.

Io mi portai subito dal Collegio a Londra e rappresentai a Sua Eminenza la inconvenienza della posizione in cui venivamo collocati io e Monsignor Grant, e la futilità di ogni nostra ulterior opera nel Collegio, se noi dovevamo adottare i limiti della nostra discrezione nell' esaminare proposti dal Dottor Ward, e sanzionare senza ulteriore investigazione, o considerazione il piano di studj teologici ch' egli voleva. Il Cardinale mi autorizzò di procedere come erasi da prima proposto, e il Dottor Ward susseguentemente rinunziò il suo Professorato. Debbo quì osservare, che io fui tanto meno in aspettazione delle difficoltà che nacquero per l' esame dei Teologi, perchè il Dottor Ward mi aveva scritto che sebbene i Teologi probabilmente non sarebbero preparati per un esame su tutto il corso dell' anno, se venissero esaminati prima delle vacanze, pure nella sua parte del loro corso eglino sarebbero prontissimi.

Durante le seguenti sei settimane di vacanze io seppi che io non possedeva più la confidenza del Cardinale sul subbietto del Collegio. Poichè sebbene egli parlasse, e scrivesse, dandosene la occasione, come se il Collegio fosse ancora sotto la mia cura, ciò non ostante, le sue communicazioni con me su questa materia si ottenevano con difficoltà ed erano molto riservate. Alla fine delle vacanze trovai ch' egli aveva cambiato il Vice-Rettore, ed aveva ripristinato il Dottor Ward, abbenchè pochissime modificazioni fossero state fatte, tanto nella posizione ch' egli aveva pretesa, quanto nel corso ch' egli aveva proposto, ed a cagione del quale, come si è già detto non essendo stato accettato, egli aveva rinunziato.

Io venni dipoi informato che il Dottor Ward considerava che gli era stato dato ad intendere che la mia missione al Collegio in Giugno 1855 fu per lo scopo di dar mano ad eseguire il nuovo sistema ch' egli aveva adottato o proposto che si adottasse, nell' insegnamento, e nella gen. amminist. del Seminario. . . .

Ebbi moltissimo timore che il caso di Ward andasse a finir male. Mi accorsi che andava levandosi un partito, fra i Convertiti specialmente, per sostenerlo, di modo che, siccome io conosco le inclinazioni del Cardinale, non credevo ch' egli mi sostenesse in quello che aveva fatto. Il mio proprio sentimento su questa materia è questo, che se Ward fosse un secondo S. Tommaso di Aquino come Teologo, e un S. Carlo Borromeo per la disciplina Ecclesiastica, è una sì grande anomalia che un secolare, e maritato governi un Seminario Ecclesiastico colla influenza del suo talento, che io non credo che un tal ordine avrebbe la benedizione di Dio. . . .

The following is the text of the correspondence referred to in vol. ii. p. 337 :

Mia cara Eminenza,

Dublino, 22 Maggio 1859.

La lettera di Vostra Eminenza del 10 da Cossey non mi giunse se non che dopo un considerevole tempo dalla sua data. Le marche Postali di Moorfields ch' essa portava fecero supporre a mio fratello che io non fossi più in Londra, e non me la inoltrò colà.

Mi rincrebbe rilevare da quella lettera che la nostra conversazione dell' ultima Domenica a otto era stata una sorgente di tal penosa rimembranza, e prego che Vostra Eminenza mi permetta di dimandar scusa per qualche espressione che potè dare offesa, e di ritrattare qualunque parola, che non era convenevole a quella occasione, o alla relazione fra di noi. Al tempo medesimo io spero che Vostra Eminenza voglia accettare la mia assicurazione che l' uso di qualunque siffatta parola, o espressione fu totalmente impremeditato, e nato dall' impulso del momento, e l' abitudine acquistata da una intimità per lo spazio di quarant' anni di parlare quando noi siamo stati perfettamente soli, come eravamo nella occasione a cui si è avuto rapporto, di parlare con più attenzione alla franca communicazione delle mie idee, che alla convenevolezza del linguaggio.

I miei sentimenti furono feriti profondamente. Erasi fatto ricorso a Roma onde rimuovermi senza essermi intimato che era in contemplazione una tale risoluzione. Questa misura era stata adottata contrariamente a ciò che la mia memoria mi diceva essere stata un espressa assicurazione di Vostra Eminenza. . . .

Io non fo menzione di ciò per giustificare l' uso di una parola, che io non aveva diritto sotto qualunque circostanza di usare con Vostra Eminenza, ma per offrire un qualche palliamento, e per rimuovere qualunque idea dell' aver io mantenuto alcuna cosa incompatibile con la dichiarazione di Vostra Eminenza.

Credo esser meglio limitarmi a questa espressione di dispiacere, e di scusa, che desidero sia presa nel senso piu amplo possibile : poichè il resto della lettera di Vostra Eminenza appena può esser trattato soddisfattoriamente durante il presente grado del ricorso a Roma intorno a me, e mentre la lettera che io dissi a Vostra Eminenza di aver perciò scritto a Propaganda rimane senza aver risposta.

Se nulladimeno fosse più aggradevole ai sentimenti di Vostra Eminenza che io non risieda a York Place io non avrò difficoltà di concorrere nel necessario aggiustamento al mio ritorno in Londra.

Ho l' onore di rimanere

Di Vostra Eminenza rispettosissimo,

GIO. ERRINGTON.

Mio caro Arcivescovo,

Londra, 30 Maggio 1859.

Benchè sembri superfluo di scrivere, non posso astenermi dal farlo, onde assicurarvi che la Vostra lettera del 22 fu molto bene arrivata e soddisfattoria, e naturalmente pone un termine a tutte le cose, alle quali la medesima ha relazione. Considero per conseguenza dover ritornare *tutte* le cose com' esse erano primachè tenessimo la nostra ultima conversazione ; e spero che in qualunqe circostanza non si cangieranno i buoni sentimenti di lunghi anni.

Differenze di principj in materie di alto dovere possono essere inconciliabili, ma spero non saranno così irreconciliabili, volanti, e false intelligenze, ove sono involti principalmente dei sentimenti.

Son sempre

Vostro Affmo fratello in Cristo,

NICCOLA CARD. WISEMAN.

I subjoin Dr. Errington's further account of his fears as to Dr. Manning's design in founding the Oblates :

Una mattina venne il Dottor Manning sul principio del 1857 a parlarmi relativamente al soggetto della Congregazione, la quale egli era occupato a formare, ed a chiedermi di assisterlo onde trovar potesse dei Professori.

Da ciò che da lui ascoltai, intesi che la Congregazione dovesse ottenere alcune Missioni (quasi Parrocchie) nelle quali addestrar potesse i giovani Sacerdoti, dicendomi il Dottor Manning che se non avesse dette Missioni, egli non avrebbe potuto intraprendere tale incarico. Io compresi ancora che il Dottor Manning colla nuova Congregazione era per ottenere l' amministrazione del Collegio di Old Hall (Sant' Edmondo), il Seminario comune delle Diocesi di Westminster, e di Southwark. In risposta alla mia osservazione, cioè che io non vedeva com' egli potrebbe trovar Professori ; egli mi rispose dimandandomi se potesse esser peggio provvisto di quello che era al presente, vedendo le dissenzioni che esistevano fra i due Professori di Teologia, in Sant' Edmondo, cioè il Dottor Ward ed un Professore straniero. Onde poter capire bene il carattere della nuova Congregazione relativamente alla Diocesi, dimandai chi avrebbe a disporre dei Sacerdoti per le Missioni (quasi Parrocchie) ; ed il Dottor Manning rispose, che ciò sarrebbesi accomodato fra il Vescovo, ed il superiore della Congregazione. Insistendo io nell' argomento, e dimandandogli chi avrebbe il diritto di disporre in caso di disparità di opinione fra il Vescovo ed il Superiore dell' Ordine, fui accertato alla fine, che non sarebbe bene che ciò fosse nel potere del Vescovo, perchè egli potrebbe con esercitar questo rovinare la Congregazione.

Allora rimarcai che la nuova Congregazione sarebbe essenzialmente simile a quella dei Filippini, e che il consegnare il Seminario sotto quella, sarebbe lo stesso che porlo sotto i detti Filippini; che io non pensava, che sotto quelle circostanze fosse utile che il Seminario avesse ad esser sotto la Congregazione.

Il Dottor Manning chiedendomi di nuova prima che mi lasciasse, se io volessi a ciò cooperare, io replicai la mia opinione; ma soggiunsi che avrei consultato intorno a questo soggetto.

Nel Memoriale ho detto che alla Congregazione era stato permesso, ed era stata incoraggiata a reclutare nel Seminario, e che già vi erano stati annessi in quella tre Sacerdoti ed uno studente, e fatto un Oratorio per le prattiche divote ec. degli Oblati.

Il primo di questi membri fu un giovane pio Sacerdote,[1] che il Cardinale aveva sostituito come Vice-Rettore nel 1856 in luogo di uno che in allora ne adempiva l' ufficio. Il nuovo Vice-Rettore non agì come Professore, ma principalmente attese alla direzione spirituale, e godè molto la confidenza del Cardinale. Egli preso non aveva il giuramento della missione, ed era uno di quelli che avevano fra i primi cercato la sanzione dal Cardinale per formare la Congregazione. Gli altri due Sacerdoti erano Professori, i quali avevano preso il giuramento di Missione. Un altro Professore di poi si è unito a loro. Lo studente il quale erasi unito a loro, educato co' mezzi delle Rendite Diocesane, è stato dipoi inviato a Roma; due altri studenti avevano dimandato l' ammissione; ma la loro accettazione è stata differita.

La esistenza di tale stato, cioè di permesso di reclutare, e di avere due classi di Superiori, Professori e studenti produsse naturalmente gli inconvenienti, i quali potevano aspettarsi per la mancanza di quella unione, che è si essenziale pel ben essere di un Seminario. Il male era più sentito in conseguenza dell' essere il Seminario commune alle due Diocesi di Westminster, e Southwark, nell' ultima delle quali gli Oblati non esistono.

Il sentimento a questo proposito era più forte, perchè era generalmente supposto che il Collegio a gradi a gradi sarebbe posto del tutto sotto la cura degli Oblati. Questa opinione facilmente insorgeva dalla circostanza della unione delle due classi di persone nella amministrazione: incongruenza la quale non potrebbe supporsi che fosse volontariamente lunga pezza continuata. Ma ivi erano altre forti ragioni per questa opinione. In quanto a me mai aveva dubitato relativamente all' affare a cagione di ciò che aveva inteso dal D. Manning in

[1] This was the present Cardinal Vaughan.

Roma, e per aver sempre parlato in questa ipotesi con Sua Eminenza, senza ch' egli facesse mai alcun commento su di ciò, come avrebbe fatto se questa mia opinione fosse stata erronea, essendo i miei argomenti basati principalmente su quella ipotesi. Tale era anche la opinione del Presidente del Seminario, e di altri i quali dovevano essere bene informati. . . .

Alla fine del 1857 quando il D. Ward era per lasciare il Collegio, egli desiderava di lasciare la sua casa alla nuova Congregazione. . . .

Nello stesso tempo la influenza che la Congregazione, e specialmente il Superiore di essa sembrò possedere col Cardinale, apparve indicare, che qualunque misura potesse essere richiesta per rinforzare ed avvantaggiare la posizione fino allora assicurata, sarebbe stata prontamente adottata da Sua Eminenza.

È difficile esprimersi in parole una esatta, o perfino approssimativa idea delle varie circostanze dei fatti i quali lasciano nelle menti di coloro che vivono nel mezzo di essi la convinzione della influenza di un uomo coll' altro. I Vicarj Generali, il Segretario, il Presidente del Collegio, ed io stesso, che eravamo occupati nei diversi affari della Diocesi, ed avevamo la migliore opportunità di giudicarne, credevamo che vedessimo, e sentissimo abbondanti ragioni per convincerci della influenza sudetta del D. Manning con Sua Eminenza. Ciò manifestavasi per la differente posizione la quale il D. Manning sembrò occupare nella considerazione di Sua Eminenza paragonata a quella degli altri, sia per la maniera da parlare seco lui, e di lui, sia della inosservanza relativamente a lui degli ordinarj usi dei giorni ed ore di udienza, sia nel peso delle sue parole, sia nella estensione alla quale le sue commissioni sembravano poter giungere, sia nella maniera nella quale i suoi interessi sembravano esser protetti. . . .

L' altro esempio successe ancora relativamente al Seminario il di cui Rettore espone i fatti. A cagione della divisa amministrazione, già menzionata nel corso di questa nota, di tempo in tempo insorsero dispiacevoli, e mal' intese cose fra il Presidente e Vice-Presidente, specialmente perchè il Presidente era anzioso di avere il permesso da Sua Emza di richiamare il Prefetto degli Studj di sopra mentovato, il luogo del quale, come Professore, non poteva efficacemente supplirsi, ma il di cui ritorno sembrava includere il ritiro dal Collegio del Vice-Presidente, il quale nè insegnava, nè ancora era d' accordo col Prefetto stesso degli Studj. In una occasione quando il Presidente chiedeva da S. E. il ritorno del Prefetto degli Studi, menzionò al Cardinale un' impressione fra gli studenti relativa al Vice-Presidente, la quale egli considerava esser pregiudiziale all' influenza del Vice-Presidente fra gli allievi. Il Cardinale

alcuni mesi dopo commissionò il Dott. Ward, il quale aveva una casa vicino al Collegio, onde iscoprire esattamente dagli studenti i più provetti se l' esposto fosse corretto. Dott. Ward venne da Ryde, sua presente abitazione, nel Novembre 1858 ; passeggiò e parlò cogli studenti, com' egli era stato uso di fare quand' era Professore, e raccolse dagli studenti ciò ch' egli desiderava per informarne il Cardinale. Esso ritornò nel Maggio 1859, ed allora menzionò la sua prima commissione ed il suo risultato ad alcuni studenti, quali ne parlarono al Presidente. Il Presidente era molto dispiacente per essere stata fatta questa inquisizione in segreto, e le testimonianze raccolte senza che i testimonj conoscessero ciò ch' essi stavano facendo, e da un uomo il quale era un amico dichiarato e ammiratore del P. Vaughan e degli Oblati, ed il quale non facea segreto della sua opinione che il Presidente avrebbe ben fatto di rinunziare, e cedere il posto onde il giovane Oblato Vice-Presidente od altro potesse divenir Presidente. . . .

The following is the text of the petitions of the Westminster Chapter to the Holy See, with the appended documents :

Petizione Prima

Beatissime Pater,

Cum bonum spirituale cujusvis Dioecesis et Seminarii in quo Clerus secularis instituitur administratione plurimum pendeat, voluit Concilium Tridentinum ut in ea gerenda et curanda consulerentur nonnulli ex Capitulo Cathedrali, atque ex clero desumpti, quorum opera Episcopus uti deberet.

Huic decreto innitens Eminentissimus Cardinalis Archiepiscopus Westmonasteriensis nominavit duos Canonicos (Jan. 10 1853) qui Deputati Collegii Dioecesani essent, praecepitque ut Capitulum aliorum duorum electioni provideret quos exinde elegit Capitulum. Praeter hanc deputationem caruit huc usque Decretum Tridentinum sua executione tum quoad nominationem Deputatorum complendam, tum quoad eorumdem operam adhibendam. Unus insuper Deputatorum olim ab Emo nominatorum in Societatem Jesuitarum receptus jamdiu Dioecesim reliquit.

Petiit perinde Capitulum (15 Sept. 1858) ut Emo placeret deputationem integram reddere, atque efficacem. Huic petitioni rationes adjunxit Capitulum, cum hoc praesertim tempore vel maxime necessaria videretur hujus Decreti observantia.

Resolutio Capitularis hunc libellum supplicem decernens, nullo dissentiente facta est. Quamvis enim admodum Rndus Dns Praepositus Capituli, utpote caput Congregationis de qua

in libello fuit mentio, resolutioni favere non supponeretur, noluit tamen, contra omnes caeteros Canonicos assentientes, votum contrarium dare. Huic petitioni annuere non credidit opportunum, jus illam offerendi Capitulo negans, Eñus Archiepiscopus.

Animo proinde revolventes Canonici Sanctitatis Vestræ legem in restituenda Hierarchia editam cujus vi scilicet praescripta juris communis in omnibus servanda sunt : 'Verum in sacro Cleri populique regimine atque in caeteris quae ad pastorale officium pertinent, Archiepiscopus, et Episcopi Angliae jam nunc omnibus fruentur juribus, et facultatibus quibus alii aliarum gentium Catholici Archiepiscopi et Episcopi ex communi Sacrorum Canonum et Apostolicarum Constitutionum ordinatione utuntur, et uti possunt, atque obstringentur pariter iis obligationibus, quae hos Archiepiscopos, et Episcopos ex eadem communi Catholicae Ecclesiae disciplina obstringunt' (*Universalis Ecclesiae*, 29 Sept. 1850) ;

Atque perpendentes sanctiones Concilii Tridentini debere semper ad viridem observantiam adduci, nullasque consuetudines, etiamsi in Anglia jam existerent, posse earum auctoritatem imminuere, propter Sanctitatis Tuae voluntatem in ea Constitutione declaratam ;

Atque considerantes rationes quae petitionis Eño Archiepiscopo oblatae opportunitatem necessitatemque demonstrabant in dies magis magisque patere, enixe postulant Capitulum et Canonici Cathedralis Westmon. ut Decretum Synodi Tridentini super deputatorum nominatione atque interventu in rebus Seminarii administrationem et curam respicientibus executioni tradatur.

Dignetur Sanctitas Vestra Benedictionem Apostolicam largiri.

Humillimi et obsequentissimi filii

Westmon. 3 Xmbris 1858.

Praeposit. et Canonici
Ecclesiae Metropolit. Westmon.
JOANNES CAN. MAGUIRE
GEORGIUS CAN. LAST, Secretarius.

L. S. Renitente Praeposito.

SSño Dño Nostro
Pio PP. IX.

SUMMARIUM

Nicolaus miseratione Divina etc.

Dilectis Nobis in Christo adm. RR. DD. Praeposito et Canonicis Nostri Capituli. Salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Vobis per praesentes notum facimus quod Nos Sacrosanctae Tridentini Synodi sapientissimo Decreto (Sess. XXIII. Cap.

15 de Ref.) inhaerentes elegisse, et eligere RR. adm. DD. Robertum Whitty vestrum Praepositum et Joannem Maguire Canonicum Theologum, qui consilio suo in rebus quae ad Seminarii Nostri rectam constitutionem spectant nos ad annum adjuvent. Volumus insuper ut haec nostra significatio ipsius instrumenti electionis et deputationis vim et effectum obtineat.

Valete in Doñno.

Datum Westmon. die decima mensis Januarii 1853.

N. Card. Archiep.

De mandato etc.

Franciscus Can. Searle, Secretarius.

Nicolaus Miseratione Divina Tit. Sanctae Pudentianae S. R. E. Presbyter Cardinalis Wiseman Archiepiscopus Westmon. etc. etc. Dilectis nobis in Christo adm. RR. DD. Praeposito et Canonicis Nostri Capituli salutem in Doñno sempiternam.

Cum a S. Tridentina Synodo (Sess. XXIII. Cap. 15 de Refor.) sapientissime sancitum fuerit duos esse Canonicos a Capitulo deputandos qui Episcopo assistant in accipienda ratione reddituum Seminarii:

Vobis per praesentes in Dñno injungimus ut cum primum Capitulariter conveneritis duos Sacerdotes a vestro gremio seligatis huic officio deputatos: Nosque de eorum electione rite effecta certiores faciatis.

Valete in Domino.

Datum Westmonast. ex aedibus Residentiae Nostrae hac die decima Januarii 1853.

N. Card. Archiep.

De mandato etc.

Franciscus Cañcus Searle, Sečrius.

In sessione habita in Aula Capitulari feria IV 15 Septembris 1858 facta est, nemine contradicente, resolutio ut infra.

Delegandos adm. RR. Canonicos Maguire, O'Neal, Searle, Oakeley, ut exponant Emo Cardinali Archiepiscopo Capituli desiderium ut quae a Concilio Tridentino de administrando Dioecesano Seminario sunt constituta in observantiam deducantur. Censere Capitulum adjumenta, et praesidia ad bonum statum Seminarii quae in adhaerendo regulis sapienter a Concilio provisis comparata sunt hoc praesertim tempore requiri ut obviam eatur incommodis provenientibus, et verosimiliter amplius exorturis ex eo quod Professorum coetus apud S. Edmundum constet partim ex Sacerdotibus ut passim et pro more saecularibus utriusque Dioeceseos, partim ex sodalibus Congregationis quae longe alia ratione ad Dioecesim spectat. Illa adjumenta, et praesidia, eo magis necessaria sunt si vera

sunt quae dictitantur, habitam fuisse aliquam expectationem fore ut novae Congregationi Seminarium committeretur. Etenim quamvis ista Congregatio insigniatur S. Caroli nomine reapse alia est ab illa quam S. Carolus instituit quoad causas quarum intuitu suum Seminarium Oblatis S. Ambrosii tradidit dirigendum: ipso scilicet S. Carolo testante quantumvis alias idonei essent ad regimen Seminarii ii religiosi viri qui tum temporis illud gubernarent, requiri tamen ad hujus munus officii homines nullo prorsus modo ab Episcopi regimine exemptos. Omni quo par est officioso obsequio memorat Capitulum, S. Ambrosii Oblatos fuisse sub S. Carolo qua Episcopo haud minus perfecte quam ceteri de saeculari Clero, licet ab ipso dependerent etiam qua religioso superiore, nimirum quatenus Congregationis Sodales. E diverso S. Caroli Oblati qui in Dioec. West. suam sedem habent ab immediato regimine Ordinarii remoti sunt quatenus nempe sodales sunt Congregationis. Proinde cum maxima reverentia insinuatur si novae Congregationi administratio Seminarii tradatur vel intromissio in admñem concedatur perinde fore ac si pro tanto a regimine Ordinarii Seminarium subtrahatur.

Nicolaus miseratione Divina etc. Dilectis nobis in Christo filiis RR. DD. Praeposito et Canonicis Capituli Cathedralis Westmonast. salutem in Domino sempiternam.

Resolutio vestra Capitularis die 15 Sept. p. p. data ad nos pervenit per quam sensum vestrum Nobis panditis de meliore nostri Seminarii regimine, de regulis ac statutis Congregationis Oblatorum S. Caroli a Nobis approbatis, nec non de ejusdem idoneitate ad officia in dicto Seminario exercenda.

Cum Nobis pro munere nostro incumbat videre ut nostra et nostrorum successorum jura sarta tecta custodiantur, et impedire ne quisquam, cujuscumque dignitatis sit, se in jurisdictionem Ordinarii vel in Dioecesis regimen intromittat, diligenter ponderavimus utrum haec Vestra resolutio limites excesserit competentiae vestrae, et pro valida haberi possit.

Totam igitur quaestionem ad trutinam revocavimus, viros doctrina, praesertim in jure Canonico, graves, Emos et Illmos Collegas nostros variis in Regionibus Dioeceses suas et Seminaria magna cum laude regentes per literas consuluimus, et nihil omisimus quo debile nostrum ingenium ad justa et aequa decernenda erigatur et dirigatur.

Insuper fusis ad Deum humillimis precibus, aliorum etiam orationibus suffulti, Spiritus Sancti divinum lumen efflagitare non cessavimus.

Voluimus etiam rem totam oretenus et facie ad faciem vobis Dilectis filiis proponere, si forte, emendato consilio, remedium aliquod apponere liceret, et Decreti hujus emissio impediretur.

Cum vero hoc nostrae benevolentiae signum a vobis acceptatum non fuerit, neque ullam conciliationis artem nobis patere videatur:

Nos auctoritate nobis confisa ac de jure pertinente, moerente animo, utentes, declaramus vos capitulariter agentes et inquirentes de regimine et administratione Dioecesani Seminarii ac de Regulis Congregationis Presbyterorum saecularium Oblatorum S. Caroli, limites jurium competentiae et officii vestri excessisse, ac propterea declaramus omnes deliberationes, discussiones et interrogationes (si ullae fuerint) his supra negotiis esse et fuisse irregulares et abnormes; omnesque definitiones, deductiones et resolutiones ex ipsis provenientes irritas esse et ab initio fuisse ac nullius prorsus valoris, veluti etiam abusivas et extra competentiam Capituli ac usurpatorias jurium episcopalium.

Volumus etiam et expresse jubemus ut hoc nostrum Decretum ad verbum in Librum Capitularem transcribatur, ita ut originale hoc archetypum in Archivio Dioecesano conservetur.

Datum Westmon. in Capitulo die 1 Dec. 1858.

L. S. N. Card. Wiseman.

Petizione Seconda.

Beatissime Pater,

Capitulum et Canonici Ecclesiae Cathedralis Westmonasteriensis ad pedes Sanctitatis Vestrae provoluti eo quo par est obsequio exponendi veniam petunt nonnullas difficultates quae ex interpretatione statutorum Capitularium a primo Concilio Provinciali Westmonasteriensi conditorum, et a S. Sede approbatorum ortae sunt. Hujusmodi enim difficultates in exordiis novi rerum status ex benignitate Sanctitatis Suae per restitutionem hierarchiae inducti fere necessario enasci videntur, cum unusquisque debeat sua jura dignoscere atque tueri ne posteris imminuta tradantur. Dubia proinde exsurgentia quae jurium Capitularium vim atque extensionem respiciunt debent S. Sedis judicio submitti, neque periculum est ut in iisdem exponendis deficere videatur in Canonoricum animis alte defixus sensus filialis reverentiae immo et admirationis erga virum virtutibus, et doctrina et meritis in Capitulum ipsum, vere Eminentissimum, Cardinalem nimirum Archiepiscopum.

Difficultates quas judicio Sanctitatis tuae submittimus ortae sunt occasione libelli supplicis Eminentiae Suae oblati, quo petebatur executio Decreti Concilii Tridentini super Deputatis Seminarii Episcopalis constituendis, additis rationibus quae moverunt Capitulum et Canonicos ad hunc libellum offerendum hoc praesertim tempore. Prima difficultas est circa

jus libellum supplicem offerendi. Dicit ex una parte Emus Archiepiscopus Capitulo jus minime inesse hujusmodi libellos supplices proprio Episcopo exhibendi, quia per eos se intromittunt in res ad Episcopum solum spectantes. Canonici ex alia parte arbitrantur hoc sibi licere, immo obligationem esse impositam jura ipsis competentia per debitam Episcopo oblatam postulationem vindicare. Sublata enim potestate ad Episcopum recurrendi, Canonici deberent semper, atque in omni rerum eventu, Episcopo minime rogato, Sanctae Sedis auctoritatem invocare ut jus sibi proprium sed nondum admissum vel saltem in praxim non deductum obtinere valeant. Minime vero intendunt Ordinarii jura sibi usurpare, nec credunt se nominationem Deputatorum petendo, et rationes exponendo eos ad petendum moventes, se in Dioecesis administrationem immiscere ut Capitulum. Secunda difficultas oritur ex interpretatione Statuti 50 Capitularis I. Synodi Prov. Westmon. quod decernit copias resolutionum capitularium esse subministrandas Episcopo requirenti.

Verba sunt :

'Copiae resolutionum Capitularium Episcopo requirenti, utpote cui incumbit invigilare et cognoscere, ne quidquam per Capitulares decernatur contra juris dispositionem vel in praejudicium Ecclesiae, a Canonicis denegari non possunt, illasque a Canonicis Episcopus exigere valet sub poenis et censuris ; non obstante quod aliquando adesse possint lites inter Episcopum et Capitulum ; nedum quia ibi non panduntur motiva et merita et secreta causa, sed eo magis quia, licet tali casu Episcopus interventum habere nequeat in Capitulo ne tollatur Canonicis libertas votandi, facta tamen resolutione ex hoc capite ei negari nequeunt hujusmodi Capitulares resolutiones.'

Jam vero Capitulum Ecclesiae Westmonasteriensis duos tenet libros, in quorum uno Capituli proprio usui destinato non tantum resolutiones Capitulares inseruntur, verum etiam nonnunquam discussiones quae earum occasione vel aliter habitae sunt in Capitulo et singulorum etiam nominatim Canonicorum sententiae et rationes aliquando exhibentur ; in alio vero omnes et solae resolutiones Capitulares Capituli describuntur.

Eminentissimus Cardinalis dicit non tantum librum resolutionum, verum etiam librum omnia ut supra descripta referentem sibi esse exhibendum. Canonici e contrario credunt librum resolutionum tantum Episcopo esse exhibendum, vel copias resolutionum ex ipso extractas esse dandas. Quam quidem sententiam Canonici veram demonstrari credunt tum ex ipsis Statuti citati verbis, quam ex ratione allata in ipso Statuto cum talis resolutionum exhibitio non praejudicat libertati discussionis, et votandi, quia scilicet ex exhibitione resolu-

tionum, non panduntur motiva et merita, et secreta causa ejusdem.

Humillime igitur petunt Capitulum et Canonici ut Sanctitas Vestra dignetur decernere atque declarare :

1. An Capitulo liceat libellum supplicem, de quo in precibus, Emo Ordinario offerre ?

2. An Capitulum teneatur exhibere Emo Ordinario copias dumtaxat resolutionum, vel etiam librum continentem praeter resolutiones Capitulares etiam discussiones in Capitulo habitas juxta Statuta Capitularia nostra ?

Dignetur Sanctitas Vestra Benedictionem Apostolicam largiri

Humillimis et Obsequentiss. filiis
Praeposito et Canonicis
Ecclesiae Metropolitanae Westmon.
JOANNES CANONICUS MAGUIRE
GEORGIUS CANONICUS LAST, Secr.

Westmonast. 3 Decemb. 1858.

L. S. Renitente Praeposito

Londini Nov. 12 1858.

Adm. Rev. Carissime Praeposite Manning,

Accepi jampridem postulationem oblatam a Canonicis nonnullis delegatis Capitulum Dioecesanum representantibus.

Responsum distuli, ob causas ipsis deputatis significatas. Nunc quoniam fert animus ut si fieri possit alterutro ex proxime insequentibus diebus Capitularium Sessionum respondeam, et comperio opus esse perspectas habere resolutiones atque rerum adjuncta quibus innixa sit postulatio, te rogo ut arcessas et mihi remittas librum Capitularem in quibus eae Resolutiones sunt relatae.

Adm. Rev. et cariss. Praeposite
Addictissimus in Xto Servus
N. CARD. ARCHIEPISCOPUS.

Responsio Emi ac Rmi Card. Praef. S. C. ad Capitulum.

Rme Dne,

Quas literis die 3 Decembris elapsi anni ad me datis D. Tua istius Capituli Metropolitani transmisit supplicationes de nonnullis exortis quaestionibus circa Collegium S. Edmundi, eas una cum documentis omnibus quae ad ipsas referebantur SSmo D. N. Papae submittendas curavi in audientia habita die 30 Decembris praedicti. Porro SSmus D. Noster, omnibus perpensis, decrevit ut petitiones illae nec non aliae similes in proxima Synodo Provinciali discutiantur, ad tramitem praescriptionum quas S. C. de Propaganda Fide circa Cleri educationem

Eño Archiepiscopo Westmonasteriensi communicaverat literis ad Eum datis die 17 Junii 1855 ; quaeque ob peculiares causas, tunc temporis executioni mandari non potuerunt. Haec habebam quae Dom. Tuae Capitulo significanda rescriberem, ac Deum rogo ut Tuae Dom. fausta quaeque largiatur. Romae ex Aedib. S. C. de Pr. fide die 7 Januarii 1859.

D. Tuae

Addictissimus
Al. C. Barnabò, Praef.

Revño D. Joanni Maguire
Cañco Eccl. Metrop. Westmonaster.
Westminster

Cajetanus Archiep. Thebae, a Secretis.

I cite here the correspondence of 1859 between Monsignor Talbot and Dr. Errington :

Vaticano, 13 Genn. 1859.

Mio caro Mons. Searle,

Circa l' affare del quale voi mi scrivete, io non ho tradotto la vostra lettera per la Propaganda, perchè siccome si è rimesso tutto l' affare al prossimo Sinodo Provinciale di Oscott, o Westminster, si è rifiutato di ricevere alcuna ulteriore communicazione.

Ciò non ostante io non posso far a meno di dare la mia opinione riguardo a tutto l' affare, la quale io ho sospesa finchè potessi penetrare al fondo del soggetto, ed avessi sentito ambe le parti della questione, che mi è stato possibile di fare pienissimamente, e di fatto, io ho veduto alcune imparzialissime persone, che non appartengono nè all' una parte nè all' altra, le quali mi hanno palesato la candida loro opinione.

Io credo con fermezza che l' animo di tutto il movimento contro il Cardinale è lo spirito retrogrado Anglo-Gallicano, che ancora regna nel vecchio Clero di Londra. Essi hanno trovato che il Dr. Errington simpatizzava colle loro vedute, e il Dottor Errington ha trovato che quelli simpatizzavano colle sue, e in conseguenza di ciò essi hanno formato una intesa cordiale di disfare tutto ciò che il Cardinale ha fatto in Londra nello spazio degli ultimi undici anni. Io son d' avviso che l' animo di tutto il movimento è radicalmente anti-romano, e mi dispiace di vedere che il Dr. Grant di Southwark siasi unito in questo, ma non mi sorprende ciò, perchè si sa che egli è l' istromento del suo Capitolo Gallicano, il quale gli fa fare ciò che vuole.

Il povero Cardinale Wiseman è stato abbandonato da tutti i suoi amici, e non ha alcuno in Londra, in cui egli possa metter fiducia. Il Dottor Grant, il Dr. Errington, Stonor, e tutto il suo

Capitolo hanno sollevato il loro calce contro di lui. Egli è senza amici, solo, desolato, e in conseguenza povero, e miserabile, non avendo nessuno più bisogno di qualche vero amico per simpatizzare con lui e per consolarlo, che egli medesimo.

E cosa propriamente compassionevole il vedere un tal uomo, com' egli è, sì pieno di cuore, e di affezione per gli altri, condannato a incontrare cotanta, non temo di dire, ingratitudine da quei, ch' egli amava, e caricò di favori. Esso mi fa ricordare di S. Gregorio VII, il quale dopo aver sopportato il forte della dura battaglia, ch' egli ebbe a combattere per difendere le libertà della Chiesa, negli ultimi suoi giorni fu abbandonato da tutti i suoi amici, e morì in esilio a Salerno.

In quanto a me, avrò sempre per lui i sentimenti della più grande gratitudine e venerazione per gl' immensi benefici, ch' egli ha recato all' Inghilterra coll' infondere in quella chiesa qualunque attaccamento ch' essa ha alla Santa Sede.

Credetemi,

Mio caro Monsig. Searle,
Sincerissimo vostro,
GIO. TALBOT.

Vaticano, 29 Genn. 1859.

Riservata e confidenziale.

Mio caro Lord [Vescovo di Southwark],

Scrivo poche linee in risposta all' ultima vostra lettera nella quale voi sembrate offeso ad una espressione, che io usai in una delle mie lettere, nella quale, come amico, *e per regola*, come dicono quì, vi feci conoscere, che vi è generale impressione che i poveri sono negletti a San Giorgio.

Altri Vescovi, se ho dato loro un amichevole avviso di tal fatta, mi sono stati molto obbligati, perciò io non posso comprendere perchè voi sareste stato offeso, specialmente essendo io stato sempre vostro amico, dacchè siete a S. Giorgio, ed avendo io fatto tutto ciò che potevo onde fare che il Cardinale Wiseman aggiustasse le difficoltà pecuniarie di cui vi lagnate.

Se io gli ho parlato una volta, io ho parlato a lui, all' Arcivescovo di Trebisonda, e a Monsig. Searle dieci volte sul soggetto in parola, e più di una volta gli ho scritto intorno alla medesima cosa, ed egli ha sempre mandato per le lunghe questa questione. Io son sorpreso che il Dr. Errington e Monsignor Searle, invece di accomodare questa importante questione, abbiano al contrario eccitato guerra contro il Cardinale in cose che loro non appartengono.

Scusatemi, mio caro Dr. Grant, se ritorno su San Giorgio, perchè avendo io ivi lavorato con zelo in qualità di Missionario, ho naturalmente un grande interesse per quella Congregazione. Si ha sempre un peculiare attaccamento ai primi frutti delle

proprie fatiche come Missionario. Tale l' ho io e l' ho sempre avuto per San Giorgio. Ho passato ivi i tre più felici anni di mia vita, e mi costò il più gran dolore, che io abbia mai sentito, l' abbandonarlo ; se non fosse per questa ragione, non direi una parola, essendo io avversissimo dal mischiarmi cogli affari degli altri, eccettuato quando sono obbligato di farlo, come lo sono costantemente in conseguenza della posizione che io occupo a Roma, e la quale è una posizione totalmente opposta ai miei desiderj, ed alle mie inclinazioni. Vorrei ben più volontieri essere un Prete di dura fatica a Londra.

In primo luogo io cordialmente confesso, che la ragione della generale impressione che i poveri sono malamente trattati a S. Giorgio, mi sembra essere gli assurdi annunzii intorno alla musica, le ridicole lettere del Dr. Doyle, e quello che il pubblico vede la Domenica nella Messa cantata. Io credo che tutto viene da queste tre ragioni, perchè quei che trovano difetti, in generale non sono membri della Congregazione, e non veggono l' opera settimanale dei Sacerdoti.

Nulladimeno io debbo dirvi in confidenza che alcuni della miglior gente della Congregazione sono dolenti che non si è fatto di più per eccitare la popolazione di circa 12,000 Cattolici che circondano la Chiesa di S. Giorgio. Essi dicono : 'Il Dottor Doyle è un buon uomo, ha fatto i suoi lavori nella sua vita, e non possiamo aspettare da lui più di quello che fa attualmente. In fatto per la sua età egli fa molto. In quanto al Pad. Cotter egli è un uomo attivo, e fa molto bene nell' alleggerire i bisogni materiali dei poveri. Riguardo al P. Danell egli è un piacevolissimo compagnone, ma non fa niente di più di quello a cui è assolutamente obbligato. È vero che egli visita i suoi infermi, e nel Mercoledì, nel Venerdì, e nel Sabato la sera è generalmente nel Confessionale, ma in quanto all' aver l' occhio sul popolo, al sapersi trovare in mezzo di essi, e provare di evangelizzare nei loro cortili, e nei loro viali, al formar scuola, o qualche altra cosa, oltre di quello che è assolutamente obbligato di fare, è una cosa che mai gli entra in testa.'

Ora io ho detto quello che dovevo dire. Molte cose in San Giorgio mi piacevano questa volta immensamente. L' essere le scuole poste sotto le Suore di Nôtre Dame, e l' essersi stabiliti i Cappucini a Peckham, sono due cose che sono state fatte dacchè io ho lasciato S. Giorgio, e che mi consolano immensamente. Mi piacque anche molto quello che Wenham ha fatto nel Borgo, ma io non son cieco alla verità, ch' egli ha fatto quello ch' era opera dei Sacerdoti di S. Giorgio, e la sola ragione, perchè io lo sostengo mandandogli quanto posso somministrargli per la sua scuola, cioè dieci Lire Sterline all' anno, è perchè se egli non facesse quest' opera, nessun altro la farebbe.

Ora, mio caro Dr. Grant, vengo a conchiudere la mia

lettera, e dico che io veggo le grandi difficoltà da cui voi siete circondato da per ogni parte. Io vi ho sempre compatito. Non una delle vostre più piccole difficoltà è il Dr. Doyle, e il vostro Capitolo Gallicano, ma ciò non ostante io penso, che se il Canonico Danell venisse mandato a qualche Missione da se stesso, e voi avreste in suo luogo due giovani Sacerdoti *attivi* a S. Giorgio, verrebbe ivi a succedere uno stato di cose molto differente. Se voi faceste un appello ai Cattolici d' Inghilterra, dicendo quale è il debito di S. Giorgio, e che voi desiderate di liquidarlo per poter fare che le migliaja di poveri Cattolici intorno di voi la riguardino come loro Chiesa, e la frequentino, colla influenza che voi avete sopra i ricchi d'Inghilterra, voi potreste superare le difficoltà di cui vi lagnate.

Spero che mi perdonerete se ho fatto uso in questa lettera di qualche espressione che vi dispiace, ma vi dico con tutta semplicità che nello scrivervi io ho in mira solamente la maggior gloria di Dio, e la salvazione delle anime. Credetemi

Vostro sincerissimo,

GIO. TALBOT.

15 Febb. 1859.

MIO CARO MONSIGNORE [Talbot]

Se io concepissi una convinzione meno ferma di quella che ho del vostro sincero desiderio di esser verace e giusto, non vi avrei incomodato con questa lettera, perchè in questa supposizione io potrei solo far male collo scrivere, senza produrre alcun corrispondente bene : perchè, io potrei annojarvi, ma non potrei sperare nè di provvedere a un rimedio per lo passato, nè d'impedirvi di ripetere a Roma o qui l' erronee asserzioni su cui io desidero chiamare la vostra attenzione. Quindi io mi sarei limitato alla protezione officiale del carattere provveduto per tutti noi dalla paterna cura, e sapienza della Santa Sede, e semplicemente a dimandare che la S. Congregazione di Propaganda non accettasse senza prove le asserzioni che voi poteste fare, e nei casi nei quali tali asserzioni attaccassero seriamente il mio carattere, mi permettesse anche di parlar di quelle prove, prima che venissero ammesse.

Certamente, quando vi esiste differenza d' opinione su importanti punti prattici, si aspetta di sentire durante l' eccitamento le erronee asserzioni dei fatti e dei motivi che più o meno seriamente si allontanano dalla verità e dalla giustizia, fatte da quei che rappresentano vedute differenti dalle proprie, e siamo preparati a passarle come inosservate ed inevitabili, e comparativamente di poco momento.

Ma il caso è molto differente quando tali asserzioni, le quali sono gravi accuse contro Vescovi per difetti incompatibili colla convenienza per il ministero Vescovile, non solamente sono

patrocinate, ma anche accolte e mantenute, come se fossero provate, da persone nelle vostre circostanze. Perchè la delicatezza della vostra posizione così prossima a Sua Santità, e del vostro officio come Consultore di Propaganda, sembrerebbe richiedere una guarentìa che non si formasse, e molto meno si pronunziasse alcun giudizio seriamente pregiudizievole ad altri, meno che sopra prove equivalenti a quelle richieste in una Corte di giustizia ecclesiastica, o civile. Le medesime osservazioni si possono fare nel loro grado riguardo alle scorrette e pregiudizievoli insinuazioni e indirette accuse.

Come esempio di tali erronei giudizj fatti e pronunciati da voi, che contengono dirette accuse contro di me, vi citerò una vostra lettera a Monsig. Searle scritta nel mese passato. In quella lettera voi dicharate esser vostra ferma convinzione, formata dopo la più diligente investigazione che io sono un fautore dell' Anglo-Gallicanismo, che io partecipo dei sentimenti radicalmente anti-Romani, e che io son risoluto di disfare tutto ciò che il Cardinale ha fatto in Londra in questi ultimi undici anni. Queste gravissime accuse (calunnie se false) sono contradette dalle tendenze della mia educazione, dalla pratica testimonianza della mia vita, e dalla mia espressa dichiarazione della loro falsità.

Se voi realmente avete con tanta diligenza studiato il soggetto, non sarà difficile il dimostrare i fondamenti della opinione, la produzione dei quali come prova supposta, io credo che voi mi permetterete di pretendere in caso siffatto. Se all' incontro nel volerne provare la esattezza, voi trovate che il giudizio è stato formato senza la sufficiente scienza e considerazione, e pronunciato contro la verità e la giustizia, voi probabilmente abbraccerete il mio parere del suo carattere ed obbligazione.

Come esempio di scorretta insinuazione, o accusa indiretta, io vi citerò una vostra lettera al Vescovo di Southwark. In questa lettera voi insinuate che io son da biasimare per l' indugio nell' aggiustamento della questione finanziera fra Westminster e Southwark. Ora da quello che mi diceste in una conversazione che avemmo sulla materia in parola l' estate passata, voi conoscevate tanto quanto io il vero stato di quell' affare, stato incompatibile colla supposizione dell' aver io da far qualche cosa coll' indugio nell' aggiustamento.

Era dunque giusto o conforme alla verità, giustizia od onore, fare una insinuazione la quale, se le spiegazioni non erano state dimandate, avrebbe facilmente portato a ingiuriose supposizioni, se non a sentimenti niente amichevoli fra il Dottor Grant e me?

Da quel che dissi nel principio di questa lettera, confido che sarete soddisfatto, che io non ho idea che voi siete stato a bello studio inesatto nelle asserzioni, o ingiusto nelle insinuazioni.

Credo ancora che voi siete animato dal più fermo desiderio di promuovere gl' interessi della Religione in Inghilterra, da sincero buon volere per tutti noi, e dalla prontezza di prestare a ciascun di noi un buon servigio offerendosene l' occasione. È sulla forza di questa credenza che io non ho esitato di manifestare le mie doglianze, che mi pare non vi sarebbe stato mai occasione di fare, se l' aver avuto un po' più di tempo, e più opportunità per le investigazioni, vi avessero assicurato contro gli inganni delle ciarle, e le erronee rappresentazioni delle parti.

Sono ec.

G. ERRINGTON.

Vaticano 23 Febb. 1859.

Mio caro Dr. Errington,

Sebbene quando io scrissi una lettera confidenziale a Monsig. Searle, io non feci mai pensiero che certe espressioni da me usate riguardo a V. Grazia venissero a capitare sotto i vostri occhi, perchè la mia esperienza del mondo m' insegna che pochi uomini perdonano mai quello che è stato detto contro di loro, appena mai lo dimenticano, e mai trattano quell' uomo, che lo disse, nel modo medesimo, in cui lo trattavano per lo innanzi. Perciò rarissimamente io nomino gli individui per timore di farmi reo di aver violata la carità. Ciò non ostante non mi dispiace che voi conosceste la mia opinione di voi, si nel carattere privato, che nel carattere officiale, e in conseguenza ve la dirò prontamente, perchè io amo di agire apertamente, e fu per *questa* ragione, quando io dal tuono della lettera di Monsignor Searle a me diretta mi accorsi, ch' egli opinava che io stava abbracciando la parte del Capitolo contro il Cardinale, che io desiderava essere aperto, e mostrare che sebbene gli altri avessero potuto abbandonare il Cardinale e la sua politica, che io intendeva di rimanere a lui ed alla sua politica fedele come sempre gli sono stato. Ciò non ostante io lo aveva quasi offeso colla maniera imparziale colla quale io mi era diportato in tutto quest' affare.

Ora quello che riguarda voi. Io vi ho sempre immensamente ammirato nel vostro carattere privato. Io credo che voi avete un sol fine in tutto quello che fate, cioè di promuovere la maggior gloria di Dio. Credo che siete un uomo Apostolico, mortificato, e non vi è nessuno con cui io ami più associarmi qual compagno che voi medesimo. Io nemmeno adesso non attribuisco qualche motivo sinistro a qualunque cosa voi avete fatta, sebbene io sospetto che voi non avete affatto agito in modo diritto verso il Cardinale.

Forse egli ed il Papa sono i soli uomini sulla terra che voi temete. Voi avete consigliato Monsignor Searle, ed altri membri

del Capitolo di agire contro il Cardinale, perchè non avete avuto il coraggio di parlargli arditamente da faccia a faccia.

Voi vi adombrate per aver io detto che voi siete 'un fautore dell' Anglo-Gallicanismo.' Mi è forza dire che da varie sorgenti ho motivo di credere, che il movimento contro il Cardinale proceda da un antipatia profondamente radicata alle idee romane, ch' egli per undici anni ha faticato per introdurre in Londra, e voi vedreste che se il Capitolo fosse riuscito a guadagnare adesso il suo punto, non avrebbero cessato finchè non avrebbero riportato la Diocesi a quello stato in cui era a tempo del Dr. Griffiths.

Voi vi siete offeso per aver io detto che voi partecipate radicalmente ai sentimenti anti-Romani. Nella *teoria* io credo che voi siete in tutto e per tutto romano. Credo che voi siete dommaticamente convinto che la teoria Romana della Chiesa è la sola vera teoria, e in conseguenza di ciò credo che voi avete il più profondo rispetto e venerazione per la Autorità di Roma ; ma nondimeno io sento che praticamente i vostri sentimenti sono anti-Romani, perchè sono antagonisti a quelli del Cardinal Wiseman, che io considero come un modello di un Vescovo Romano.

Ne volete le prove. Esiste a Roma un proverbio : 'Superior omnia videt, multa dissimulat, pauca castigat.' Il Cardinal Wiseman ha sempre agito secondo questa massima. Nondimeno io ho molte lettere de' Preti in Londra le quali dicono, che quanto forte eglino lavorino, essi non ricevono il più piccolo incoraggimento da Vostra Grazia. Un Prete il quale ha lavorato a morte e fa una immensità di bene, è ritrovato colpevole, perchè non può fare quasi dell' impossibile, o possono esservi forse alcune piccole imperfezioni liturgiche nella sua Chiesa, che gli costerebbe non poco alterare. Tutti i Convertiti eccettuato forse Oakeley, non ostante il loro zelo, sono trattati con freddezza solamente perchè sono convertiti. Ogni istituzione di recente stabilita in Londra è scorraggiata soltanto perchè è nuova. Tutte le Monache tremano al sentire il vostro nome per paura che voi ignoriate tutto il bene ch' esse hanno fatto e stanno facendo, e che solo le visitiate per trovarvi dei difetti. Tutte le *extra* divozioni, come per esempio la Benedizione del Santissimo Sagramento vi sono scoraggiate. L' extra zelo per parte dei Preti, in vece di esser lodato, nemmeno è mai osservato. Anche il visitare gli infermi la notte è scoraggiato se non è fatto per regola : 'se la gente va all' inferno, non importa, quante volte vi ci va per regola, è l' affare d' Iddio.'

Ora, mio caro Dott. Errington, non son questi segni di un radicale spirito Anti-Romano? Per nove anni io ho accompagnato il Papa ovunque egli ha visitato Chiese, Conventi, Scuole, Monasterii, istituti di ogni specie. Quante volte egli ha

veduto dello zelo, lo ha encomiato. Ogni cosa nuova egli la incoraggisce, purchè non siavi in essa essenzialmente del male. Se un Prete sceglie di avere delle divozioni ogni sera nella sua Chiesa, chi penserebbe d' impedirnelo? In somma lo spirito Romano è uno spirito di carità ad imitazione dell' esempio di Nostro Signore, il quale durando i tre anni del suo Ministero 'Omnia vidit, *multa* dissimulavit, pauca castigavit.'

Voi l' avete con me perchè ho alluso al vostro non aver fatto cosa alcuna per aggiustar l' affare del Dott. Grant. Io avrei [preferito] che il contrasto col Cardinale fosse [accaduto onde poter aggiustare un affare di giustizia, piuttosto che di essere stato mosso] intorno a un negozio di poca importanza, come quello degli Oblati di S. Carlo, [riguardo ai] quali debbo dire che nessuno puo vedere qual *male* essi possono fare alla Diocesi di Westminster. Se essi riescono, nessuno dubita che sarà una buona cosa pel Clero l' avere qualche cosa più [conforme allo] spirito di S. Carlo ; se poi cadono, non credo che si sarà fatto del male con tentarlo. Credo che questo sia il modo Romano di veder tali cose.

Ora passo a trattare di una materia più delicata. Tre anni fa mi dimandaste d' impegnarmi a vostro favore, ed ottenervi il trasferimento a qualche altra Diocesi, avendo voi sentimento di non poterla durare col Cardinale Wiseman in Londra. Fin dal mio ritorno dalle Indie occidentali, ho desiderato, che in vece di essere in Londra, voi foste in Trinità, ma il Cardinale non avrebbe mai consentito alla vostra rimozione. Ora le cose sono cambiate. Credo che egli vede che non potete durarla insieme. Due anni fa voi vi offeriste di andare in Demerara ; Trinità è una posizione che molto più invita. Voi sareste Arcivescovo di Porto di Spagna, e probabilmente Delegato Apostolico di tutte le Indie Occidentali. Voi avreste un gran campo da fare del bene. Sebbene io non penso che voi siate adattato per Londra, io credo che voi siete per l' appunto l' uomo per le Indie Occidentali. Sinceramente credo che voi amereste la posizione, e la preferireste a Londra. In Trinità voi avreste una bella Cattedrale, ed un salario di 1000 lire sterline all' anno a vostra disposizione, che non è una cosa da disprezzarsi in un paese, ove uno desidera di rendersi utile. Credetemi,

Mio caro Dott. Errington,
Sincerissimo vostro,
GIO. TALBOT.

P. S. Voglio aggiungere che io desidero esternarvi il mio dolore, se qualche cosa da me detta vi rechi del dispiacere.

Vaticano, 15 Marzo 1859.

Mio caro Dott. Errington,

Ho risoluto di scrivere di nuovo a Vostra Grazia onde manifestare il mio dolore, se io dissi qualche cosa nella mia lettera

privata a Monsignor Searle, che ha offeso i vostri sentimenti, e nello stesso tempo per ripetere quello, che dissi nell' ultima mia, cioè che non credo che voi siete anti-Romano nella teoria o nei principj, ma che vi ho sempre creduto tale nello spirito, e nella pratica, ed è per questa ragione che non credo che possiate accordarvi col Cardinale Wiseman, e son d' avviso, che voi non siete adattato per Londra, che richiede uno spirito libero, e generoso, il quale io credo essere il vero spirito Romano di cui il Cardinale Wiseman è tanto in possesso, ed è stata la causa dell' immenso progresso, che Londra ha fatto nello spazio degli ultimi undici anni.

Ciò non ostante io sinceramente, e fermamente credo che voi siete appunto la persona per governare la Chiesa nelle Indie Occidentali, la quale richiede un uomo del vostro carattere, per combattere col Governo, e mantenere il Clero nell' opera sua.

In Londra il Clero è in generale buono, e zelante, e solo ha bisogno d' incoraggiamento, mentre nelle Colonie ha bisogno di essere invigilato, e guardato, ciò che io credo essere la vostra linea, ed è per questa ragione che io son tanto anzioso che voi siate fatto Arcivescovo di Porto di Spagna in Trinità.

Non avrei mai pensato di proporvi questo, se voi non mi aveste esternato un desiderio, tre anni or sono, di andare nelle Colonie. Se voi accettate questa Diocesi, voi avrete un campo libero innanzi a voi per fare del bene. Le isole di Trinita, Grenada, S. Vincenzo, S. Lucia sarebbero sotto la vostra giurisdizione, ed avreste una popolazione Cattolica di quasi 100,000. Essi sono il popolo più docile della terra, se solamente voi conoscete come maneggiarli. Io non posso pensare ad altra persona più adattata di voi per siffatta missione, e siccome io continuo ad avere un interesse per le Indie occidentali, desidero che voi l' accettiate. Per quanto è in mio potere io vi somministrerò qualunque aiuto. In Trinità voi avreste Monsig. Farfan, uno dei vostri vecchi amici, per Vicario Generale, e vi sono molto altri Preti sull' isola, i quali vi potrebbero servire.

Se voi non accettate questa missione, io non so chi vi sia in Inghilterra capace di occupare una situazione tanto importante, e per alcuni punti di vista cotanto difficile.

Vi prego rispondermi presto perchè sono anziosissimo di comporre questo affare. Io non aspetto che voi incontrerete alcuna opposizione per parte del Cardinal Wiseman, perchè io credo esser egli convinto che voi non potete vivere insieme in Londra.

Io vi ho parlato apertissimamente perchè amo di esser franco. Se io volessi agire sottomano in Roma, io potrei portare a porto quasi qualunque cosa vorrei. Ma io amo di

essere aperto, e di dire alle genti esattamente quello che io penso di loro. Vi sono quelli che scrivono lettere adulatorie al Cardinale Barnabò, e ad altri officiali di Roma, per ottenere quello che desiderano, ma io non simpatizzo con questo modo di agire.

Io ho le cento volte detto al Cardinale Wiseman, e a molte altre Autorità esattamente quello che io penso di loro, e della loro politica, e delle loro azioni, perchè io ebbi a vile di parlare contro di loro dietro le spalle, e adularli alla di loro presenza. Addio.

Mio caro Dott. Errington, credetemi
Sincer. V. in Cristo,
GIORGIO TALBOT.

Il Revmo Dott. Errington,
Arciv. di Trebisonda ec. ec.

Londra, 30 Marzo 1859.

Mio caro Monsig. Talbot,

Io ho debitamente ricevuto la vostra risposta del 23 Febbrajo, ed ho poi ricevuto l' altra del 15 Marzo.

La prima mi sembrava portare naturalmente un termine alla nostra corrispondenza sul noto argomento; e se non fosse sopraggiunta la seconda lettera io avrei supposto che dopo matura riflessione Voi aveste abbracciato un eguale opinione. Perchè la vostra lettera del 23 Febbrajo non era in rapporto alcuno colla mia a cui pretendevate rispondere, onde io non avrei potuto sperare alcun buon risultato da ulteriori spiegazioni. Io aveva scritto per lamentarmi con voi dell' aver voi fatto contro di me gravi e false accuse, e suggestioni, e voi rispondevate come se io avessi scritto solamente sopra qualche affare in cui voi innocentemente aveste detto qualche cosa di urtante a miei sentimenti.

Solo in un punto voi mettete avanti una giustificazione delle vostre assertive, e questa giustificazione consiste primieramente nel dare un significato alla parola *Anti-Romano* intieramente differente dal significato offensivo sotto cui è inteso da chiunque, e quindi allegando che voi l' avevate giustamente applicato a me per ragioni fondate in parte nei falsi rapporti di quelli la cui opinione coincideva colle vostre proprie, in parte nel supporre fatti che io aveva detto a voi quando qui eravate, non esser veri, e parte in induzioni derivanti da vostre particolari opinioni.— Non val la pena di tentare di riconciliare delle idee così discordanti come quelle delle due lettere (la vostra e la mia) con ulteriori scritti. Nè sotto tali circostanze io credo dover avere con voi una corrispondenza officiosa su una materia officiale qual' è l' altro argomento mentovato nella vostra lettera.

V. sinc. GIORGIO ERRINGTON.

Carissimo Arcivescovo [di Trebisonda],

Vaticano, 13 Aprile 1859.

Scrivo di bel nuovo per manifestarvi il mio dispiacere se qualche espressione, di cui mi servii nella mia lettera privata a Monsignor Searle, vi ha contristato, ed anche al medesimo tempo per dirvi che io nella mia lettera del 23 Febbrajo non intesi mai di alludere a qualche atto di sospensione, che io fermamente credo non aver voi posto in esecuzione, sebbene qualcuno a voi meno sospetto mi abbia detto che voi lo avevate fatto. Naturalmente, siccome io ho piena confidenza nella vostra veracità, non dubitai per un momento della vostra parola, quando mi negaste i fatti l' estate passata.

Ripeto che ho la più alta stima del vostro carattere personale, altrimenti non sarei tanto anzioso che voi accettaste l' Arcivescovado di Porto di Spagna, il quale sinceramente credo che vi piacerebbe, e dove ho sentimento che potreste fare una immensità di bene.

Vi dico candidamente che io non credo che Vostra Grazia potrà mai accordarsi col Cardinal Wiseman. Il suo spirito e il vostro sono antagonisti. La sua politica in Londra è stata d' incoraggiare ogni cosa nuova, finchè non vi fu niente di male e fu intesa a promuovere la maggior gloria di Dio.

Egli ha riconosciuto un *potere* negli Ordini Religiosi, e se n' è servito. Nei Convertiti, sebbene egli non avesse simpatia col loro manierismo, e peculiarità, egli riconobbe un *potere*, li ricevette a braccia aperte, e ne utilizzò. La conseguenza è stata che io credo non esservi Diocesi nel Cristianesimo, nella quale la Chiesa ha fatto tanto gran progresso nello spazio degli ultimi undici anni, quanto in Londra. Tutte le moderne divozioni, la frequente Comunione, il costante predicare, gli esercizj spirituali, le Missioni sono aumentate decuplicatamente dal tempo di quel buon uomo, ma di poco spirito, del Dr. Griffiths.

Forse mi sbaglierò, ma, mio caro Dottor Errington, dalle vostre frequenti conversazioni con me, non credo che voi simpatizzate col Cardinale in questa sua politica. Io ho una grande antipatia come voi allo spirito dei Convertiti, ma non posso fare a meno di dire, che gli Oratoriani, e anche il Dottor Manning stanno facendo una cosa grande in Londra. — Guai a quell' uomo che arresta l' opera di Dio! In Londra un Vescovo, io sono di sentimento, deve adottare il modo largo, di grande aspettazione, ed indulgente che usa il Cardinale nel governare la Diocesi, non già il modo fastidioso, e sospettoso di alcuni Vescovi Francesi.

Non ostante la vostra ripulsa io sulla vostra bontà presumo permettermi di pressarvi ad andare a Trinità. Ne ar questo

voi fareste un gran favore alla Santa Sede. In Trinità voi siete l' uomo adattato. Voi avrete dei Preti da mantenere al loro lavoro, abbenchè vi sieno alcuni buoni fra di loro, come Farfan. In Trinità avrete a combattere col Governo nella questione della educazione.

Si richiede un uomo del vostro fermo carattere per batterli, lo che farete essendo in vostro favore due terzi della popolazione.

Avendo il Cardinal Wiseman scritto al Santo Padre pregandolo di trasferir Vostra Grazia da Trebisonda a qualch' altra Sede, io vi scrivo per dirvi che *officiosamente* io sarò contentissimo di servirvi, come ho fatto più d' una volta per lo passato. Io voglio porre in buon ordine questa faccenda con la maggior quietezza possibile, e per evitar lo scandalo. Mi spiacerebbe assai, se la vostra rimozione dovesse riguardarsi come un atto di severità per parte della Santa Sede verso di voi, o anche di dispiacere. Sarebbe molto meglio che sembrasse, che voi non potete accordarvi col Cardinale, e che il Santo Padre fosse contentissimo di avere un uomo sì buono come voi per fargli supplire il posto di Spaccapietra in Trinità.

Ripeto che non avrei mai pensato d' inframmischiarmi in questo affare se non avessi la vostra lettera nella quale mi dimandate di esser rimosso a qualunque parte del Mondo piuttosto che rimanere in Londra.

L' avervi rimosso a quel tempo, quando appunto eravate recentemente nominato, sarebbe stato un gran scandalo. Ora il Cardinale stesso ricorre per la vostra rimozione.

Credetemi

Vostra sincerissimo,

G. Talbot.

Carmo Monsignor Arcivescovo [di Trebisonda],

Vaticano, 19 Aprile 1859.

Sua Eminenza il Cardinal Barnabò, Prefetto della Sagra Congregazione di Propaganda, mi ha richiesto che io scrivessi a Vostra Grazia per dirvi ch' egli ha ricevuto una lettera dal Cardinal Wiseman, contenente un' altra per Sua Santità, nella quale Sua Eminenza dice che gli è impossibile di continuare ad amministrare la sua Diocesi finchè voi rimanghiate suo Coadjutore, perciò egli prega il Santo Padre di trasferirvi a qualche altra sede Arcivescovile, e nomina come posizione convenevole a Vostra Grazia l' Archidiocesi di Porto di Spagna nell' Isola di Trinità.

Il Santo Padre è anzioso di liberare il Cardinal Wiseman dal suo presente imbarazzo, e perciò ha graziosamente acconsentito di condiscendere alla sua richiesta, ma al tempo mede-

simo egli non vuole far alcuna cosa che possa produrvi un inutile dispiacere : il Cardinal Prefetto mi ha perciò ordinato di scrivervi onde conoscere se voi avete qualche opposizione alla Sede di Trinità, la quale attualmente è vacante in conseguenza del richiamo di Monsignore Spaccapietra a Roma.

Appena ho bisogno di dirvi che la Santa Sede ha avuto ricorso a questa misura, non già affatto per censurare la vostra condotta, perchè io posso fare testimonianza della stima, che le Autorità di qui hanno pel vostro carattere zelante, infatigabile, coscienzioso, Apostolico, e mortificato, ma per togliere lo scandalo di un Coadjutore ch' è in dissensione col proprio Arcivescovo Coadjuto, e per accontentare i desiderj di Sua Eminenza il Cardinal Wiseman, il quale ha resi tali immensi ed inapprezzabili servigj alla Chiesa in Inghilterra.

Per quanto io mi trovo mischiato in questo tristo affare, debbo dire, che io avrò sempre piacere di servirvi ora e per lo avvenire in qualunque modo che possiate suggerirmi, e sebbene noi molto differiamo in opinione in molti punti, pure nulladimeno non ho permesso, che un solo pensiero mancante di carità o di amicizia per voi abbia influito su di me.

Il mio difetto è di essere troppo aperto, e anche di essere troppo franco, poichè altrimenti se io avessi agito, come fanno molti, sottomano, la nostra ultima dispiacevole corrispondenza non avrebbe mai avuto luogo. Avrei finto di essere della vostra opinione, e al tempo medesimo agito contro di voi segretamente, siccome la esperienza che ho acquistato del mondo dal trovarmi proprio in mezzo di esso m' insegna, che così spesso accade.

Credetemi, caro Dr. Errington,

Sincerissimo V. in Cristo

GIORGIO TALBOT.

P.S. Vostra Grazia deve riguardar questa lettera come una comunicazione semiofficiale di Propaganda, poichè il Santo Padre, che ha piena fiducia nella vostra virtù, e spirito ecclesiastico, desidera di comporre questo negozio colla possibile quietezza, onde impedire lo scandalo per aver ricorso a misure più rigorose.

G. T.

Vaticano, 14 Maggio 1859.

Mio caro D. Errington,

Non avendo voi risposto alla mia ultima, che dalla più alta Autorità Ecclesiastica mi fu ordinato di scrivervi a fine di agire con Vostra Grazia con la più grande bontà, mi prendo la libertà di accludervi una copia della vostra lettera, che voi mi scriveste in un tempo, in cui io credeva che voi avevate ragione nel fare rimostranze al Cardinale nel suo modo di agire riguardo al Signor Ward.

Se vi ricordate quando io venni a farvi una visita a Clifton nel mio ritorno dall' America, mi proponeste anche allora di andare a Demerara, ed io dissi che la cosa non andrebbe mai perchè sarebbe stata una troppo grande caduta dall' essere Arcivescovo all' essere semplicemente Vicario Apostolico con giurisdizione Vescovile, ed aggiunsi che in caso che non avreste potuto andar d' accordo col Cardinale, io vi avrei proposta per la sublime posizione di Arcivescovo di Porto di Spagna, che vi avrebbe data una certa autorità per tutte le Indie Occidentali Inglesi. Questo ho fatto, ed ambedue, il Santo Padre cioè, e il Cardinale Barnabò, approvano altamente la proposta.

In tutta la faccenda io ho fatto tutto ciò che posso per agire con cortesia verso di Vostra Grazia Io ho lodato il vostro carattere personale, tanto col Papa, che col Cardinal Prefetto di Propaganda, sebbene la vostra propria lettera confermi la mia opinione, che le vostre vedute rapporto all' amministrazione degli affari ecclesiastici in Inghilterra, sono antagoniste con quelle del Cardinale, e credo che il Cardinale ha ragione.

Se voi acconsentite di andare a Trinità, non dovete partire da Londra prima di Ottobre per arrivar colà sul principio della buona stagione. Il clima di Trinità e eccellente, e non molto caldo, e colà voi non avrete il lavoro mentale, ch' è la causa del vostro presente cattivo stato di salute.

Siccome nella vostra lettera a me diretta, non vi è altro che ciò ch' è altamente onorevole a voi stesso, e similmente non vi è niente da offendere il Cardinale, ne ho mandato una copia anche a sua Eminenza, per dimostrare che tre anni fa voi manifestaste il desiderio di esser mandato dalla Sante Sede in ogni luogo che piacesse al Santo Padre di proporre, e mi è stato detto che mentre foste a Roma, manifestaste ad altri lo stesso desiderio, di modo che non veggo perchè a Vostra Grazia sembri una durezza, se il Papa vi prenda sulla vostra parola per rimuovere lo scandalo, che ha esistito a Londra per quasi un anno, di un Coadjutore che si oppone al suo Coadjuto.

Ripeto la mia offerta di ajutarvi in ogni modo, e dichiaro, che in quest' affare, che è stato per me la sorgente di gran dispiacere, io ho agito semplicemente per la maggior gloria di Dio, per la esaltazione ed espansione della Chiesa in Inghilterra, e per la salvazione delle anime. Verso voi io ancora ho gli stessi sentimenti di amicizia, e di stima, che sempre ho avuto.

Resto ec.

Sua Grazia,
Il Rmo D. Errington,
Arciv. di Trebisonda,

Sincer. Vro. in Cristo,
GIO. TALBOT.

Vaticano, 21 Maggio 1859.

Mio caro D. Errington,

Ho ragione di credere che voi vi credete, che il Santo Padre è dispiacente con Vostra Grazia: io perciò scrivo per dirvi che non lo è. Io ho profittato di ogni occasione per dirgli, ed egli sa benissimo, che voi siete un Vescovo zelante, faticosissimo e mortificato, altrimentinon penserebbe mai di mandarvi altrove ad una missione importante.

Sebbene voi ve la siate rotta con me, ripeto che io ho per voi la medesima stima ed amicizia che sempre ho avuta, sebbene io differisca da voi [nel modo di pensare intorno a] cose di amministrazione ecclesiastica.

Non ostante quello che è avvenuto, io avrò piacere di servirvi in qualunque occasione, e son pronto a dimenticare ogni disgusto che abbia avuto luogo fra di noi, di modo che possiamo essere nella medesima traccia, che fummo per lo innanzi.

Credetemi, mio caro D. Errington,

Sincer. V. in Cristo,

GIO. TALBOT.

P.S. Nessuna negoziazione che io ho avuto a fare nella mia vita mi ha cagionato tanto dolore quanto questa, poichè niente mi fa tanta pena quanto il dar dispiacere agli altri, e temo che voi abbiate avuto molto a soffrire, sebbene siate assicurato, che il vostro carattere non ha per niente affatto sofferto, e il Santo Padre desidera solo di trasferirvi a Trinità, perchè voi non potete andar d' accordo col Cardinale, e non ha nessuna persona fidata che voi stesso, per mandare a quella sede importante. Egli mi ha offerto di farmi Arcivescovo e mandarmi a Trinità, ma lo pregai di scusarmi, poichè, ogni qual volta che mi si darà l' opportunità, sarò contentissimo di rinunziare ai miei onori, e ritirarmi a Londra per lavorare da Prete semplice. Se nulladimeno Egli avesse voluto, io partirei domani ed offrirei il sagrificio a Dio. Credo che voi potreste fare lo stesso, ed essere il mezzo per salvare migliaja d' anime, le quali hanno bisogno di un Arcivescovo come voi.

G. TALBOT.

Illmo e Revmo Signor,

Appena ricevetti l' ultimo suo foglio cui diede occasione la lettera direttale da M. Talbot, ebbi cura di umiliarlo al S. Padre, che degnossi prenderlo in benigna considerazione, ritenendolo eziando presso di se. Ora poi sono autorizzato a dirle che sua Santità ha stimato avere V. S. concepito una soverchia apprensione per le cose scrittele dal lodato Monsignor, e ch' è desiderio della medesima Santità Sua ch' Ella

si tranquillizzi. Intanto il S. Padre avendo veduto che V. S. desidera recarsi in Roma, non solo non vi mette alcun ostacolo, ma in vece la vedrà con piacere in questa Capitale. Tanto aveva a significarle per sua quiete, e prego il Signore che la conservi lungamente, e la prosperi.

Roma dalla Pñda: 4 Giugno 1859.

Di V. S.

Affmo per servirla
A. C. Barnabò, Pref.
G. Arciv. di Tebe, Seg.

M. Giorgio Errington, Arcivescovo di Trebisonda,
Coadj. dell' Emo Arciv. di Westminster, Londra.

Riservata, e confidenziale.

Vaticano, Festa di Nostra Signora di Monte Carmelo 1859.

Mio caro D. Errington,

Sebbene Vostra Grazia non si sia degnata di rispondere a nessuna delle mie lettere, non posso astenermi dallo scrivere di nuovo per dirvi, che la vostra lettera in risposta alla mia, che voi scriveste al Cardinal Prefetto di Propaganda sorprese tanto il Papa che il Cardinale Barnabò.

Non avendovi io mai incolpato di quello che voi dite a mio carico, ho dovuto spiegar loro che tutta questa tirata contro di me fu in conseguenza di alcune espressioni, di cui mi servii in una lettera da me scritta a M. Searle nostro comune amico, la quale egli vi mostrò, e la quale è stata causa di una corrispondenza fra di noi, nella quale procurai di dimostrare che io non credevo aver voi quel generoso spirito Romano, ch' è caratteristico del Cardinal Wiseman ; ed assegnai le mie ragioni col citare quello che aveva udito, e quello che mi era stato scritto da Preti di tutte le parti in Londra, non solamente dai Convertiti, come voi supponete.

Se voi v' immaginate che io vi ho accusato alle Autorità di qui, voi interamente vi sbagliate. In una occasione, il Papa mi disse che aveva inteso esser voi un Gallicano. Io risposi : ' Questo è perfettamente falso : egli non è un Gallicano ; egli ha vedute molto differenti da quelle del Cardinale, ma non è un Gallicano. Egli ha un carattere peculiare suo proprio, e non potrà mai andar d' accordo col Cardniale.'

Io son vostro amico, non ostante che voi mi avete calunniato, e avete sparlato di me. Io non avrei scritto questa lettera, se non fosse che probabilmente vi sarà qualche tempo prima che venghiate in Roma. Altrimenti io credo, che se noi avessimo un' abboccamento, e potessimo spiegarci meglio, tutto sarebbe aggiustato. Voi vi siete immaginato che il desiderio del Papa di trasferirvi da Londra a Trinità sia in conseguenza dell' aver

io accusato il vostro carattere. Questo è affatto falso. Il Papa naturalmente sa che voi non potete andar d' accordo col Cardinale, perciò gli piacque di avere per offrirvi una Sede sì importante, come Porto di Spagna, ove io son convinto che voi potrete fare una immensità di bene, mentre, se rimanete a Londra, non vi saranno che continue dispute, e noie continue per la Santa Sede. Essendo Arcivescovo di Porto di Spagna, e Delegato Apostolico delle Indie Occidentali, avrete un gran campo da far del bene, e non avrete la dura fatica, che ha danneggiato la vostra salute in Londra.

Vi dico in *confidenza* che se io potessi dire al Santo Padre, che voi mi aveste scritto per dirmi che Vostra Grazia consente di andare a Trinità, questa notizia gli recherebbe una gran consolazione. Per gli ultimi cinque anni Trinità è stata per lui una gran molestia dovuta all' eccentricità di Monsig. Spaccapietra, il quale non vuol restar colà. La sua anzietà sarebbe subito calmata, perchè avrebbe colà sul luogo di chi potrebbe fidarsi. Lo ripeto, voi non potete concepire, che cosa sia stata per Lui la discordia tra voi ed il Cardinal Wiseman. Io son persuaso che se io dicessi 'L' Arcivescovo di Trebisonda consente a lasciar Londra,' al Papa si toglierebbe un gran peso dal suo spirito.

Mio caro Dr. Errington, se mai vi ho offeso o vi ho dato dispiacere, perdonatemi ; ma io non vi ho accusato. Per parte mia, il vostro carattere è chiaro d' innanzi alla S. Sede. Anche dinnanzi al pubblico io procurerò di far conoscere che voi andate all' Indie Occidentali per mettere in ordine quella parte importante della Chiesa. Anche Haiti sarà sotto la vostra giurisdizione.

Addio ! Credetemi

Vostro sincerissimo,
GIO. TALBOT.

Vaticano, 22 Decembre 1859.

Mio caro Dr. Errington,

Avendo inteso da varie parti che Vostra Grazia ha parlato contro di me tanto in Inghilterra che in Irlanda, e mi ha inoltre accusato alla Santa Sede, per comune giustizia io vi domando una udienza privata affinchè io possa rispondere a qualunque accusa voi avete a fare contro di me.

Io ho sempre agito con la più ingegnosa carità a vostro riguardo. Sento per voi gli stessi sentimenti di amicizia che ho sempre avuto, e son pronto a servirvi in tutto quello che potrò, in qualunque modo che io credo possa tendere alla maggior gloria di Dio, alla esaltazione della Santa Sede, ai sublimi interessi della Chiesa, ed alla salvezza delle anime.

Se voi fisserete qualunque tempo, godrò di portarmi da voi. Credetemi

Sua Grazia
Il Rmo Dr. Errington,
Arciv. di Trebisonda

V. rispettos. e sinceris,
G. TALBOT.

Minerva, 24 Dicembre 1859.

Mio caro Monsig. Talbot,

Le allusioni che voi fate nella vostra lettera sono troppo generali e vaghe onde io possa intenderle.

Se però qualche comunicazione relativa al loro scopo si stimasse conveniente, sarebbe a mio credere a preferirsi una comunicazione in iscritto a qualunque altra particolare, e verbale.

Io non ho mai dubitato, come voi stesso dite, che tuttociò che voi avete fatto, non l' abbiate fatto che con la idea ch' era giusto.

Sono vostro sinceramente,
GIORGIO ERRINGTON.

Vaticano, giorno di Natale 1859.

Mio caro Dr. Errington,

Per dir la verità io non posso imaginare quali sieno le speciali accuse che Vostra Grazia ha fatto contro di me.

Soltanto ho inteso da varie parti che voi avete criticato la mia condotta in verso di voi sì nell' Inghilterra, che in Irlanda, mentre la mia coscienza solo mi accusa di aver urtato i vostri sentimenti con dirvi qual' è la mia opinione della vostra politica nel modo il più aperto e franco, mentre molti altri hanno creduto lo stesso che io, ma non ve l' hanno detto nel viso.

Io vi dichiaro, che sebbene io differisca intieramente da voi nella linea da seguirsi per l' avvanzamento della Chiesa in Inghilterra, pur nondimeno io ho il più profondo rispetto per le vostre intenzioni, e credo che voi non fate mai un' azione se non per un principio.

Non son io che vi ho accusato alla Santa Sede. Io sono stato un' umile istromento nelle mani degli altri, e ho dovuto portare sulle mie spalle l' odio di tutta la contesa, piuttostochè compromettere il nome del Papa, e della Santa Sede.

Questa non è la prima volta che ho dovuto riparare il Santo Padre dall' odio di fare un' atto disaggradevole. Ogni giorno ho da ricusare favori, rigettare petizioni, ed incorrere l' accusa di essere un' uomo di cattivo umore e severo, piuttostochè compromettere il Papa.

Se voi soltanto sapeste tutta la *secreta* storia del tristo affare che vi ha portato a Roma, son certo che cesserebbero tutte le vostre impressioni contro di me, ma io non desidero nominare

alcuni individui, e gittare su di essi [la responsibilità di] qualunque detrazione contro di me.

Noi differiamo in opinione su materia di principio, ma non son uomo da desiderare di rompere un' amicizia di sedici anni, che ha esistito fra di noi, perchè io credo che la politica del Cardinal Wiseman sia più Romana e più generosa della vostra.

Vi dimandai di accordarmi un' udienza privata per intenderci l' un l' altro ; poichè dacchè sono stato a Roma ho veduto più bene fatto mediante un' *abboccamento*, che mediante cento lettere ; ma giacchè voi non lo volete, io più non insisto su questa cosa.

Riguardo all' importante obietto pel quale voi siete venuto a Roma, avendo il Santo Padre riservato a se tutto l' affare, io non desidero d' immischiarmi, perchè Egli griderà come ha detto questa mattina nel rispondere al complimento, ' Domine, fac ut videam,' e agirà siccome lo Spirito Sancto lo ispirerà di fare.

Vi auguro un' allegro Natale, e un felice capo d' anno, e resto

Sua Grazia
Il Rmo Dr. Errington,
Arciv. di Trebisonda

Vostro sincer. in Cristo,
GIO. TALBOT.

The following is the memorial presented by Dr. Errington to Pius IX. with his *Scrittura*, asking the Pope, in consequence of its length, to have it examined by a commission of Cardinals :

Memoriale umiliato alla Santità di N. S. ai 14 *Marzo* 1860.

Beatissimo Padre, – Giorgio Errington, Arcivescovo di Trebisonda, e coadjutore dell' Emo Arcivescovo di Westminster, prima di esporre con sincera umiltà i suoi pensieri in obbedienza al venerato comando della Santità Vostra, intorno alla rinuncia dell' attuale Coadjutoria, sente tutto il bisogno di esprimere il suo profondo dolore al solo dubbio che alcuna parola meno conveniente all' augusta presenza del Vicario di Cristo siagli sfuggita dal labbro allorchè la S. V. si compiacque ammetterlo al suo cospetto. Iddio sa quanto il cuore dell' Oratore fosse turbato vedendo, da un canto come l' onore e tutti i più cari interessi gli additavano, nella rinuncia la sua irreparabile rovina, e dall' altro canto come a questo atto venisse invitato dalla S. V. alla quale vorrebbe con ogni sagrifizio procacciare soddisfazioni e conforto, massime nelle dolorose attuali circostanze.

Ma nella Santità Vostra la carità di Padre regna sovrana su tutti gli altri affetti, e l' Oratore spera che le sue rispettose osservazioni verranno benignamente accolte.

Sembra all' Oratore che la proposta rinuncia possa esaminarsi sotto due rispetti che l' hanno principalmente motivata : cioè per la incompatibilità dei caratteri, e per qualche segreta imputazione.

Quanto alla incompatibilità, siffatto ostacolo sarebbe essenzialmente temporaneo, e quindi non proporzionato al temperamento della rinuncia, la quale, trattandosi di una coadjutoria con futura successione, implica un' effetto perpetuo e duraturo anche allorquando l'inconveniente sia cessato. Inoltre l' ostacolo medesimo potrebbe (ove alla S. V. piacesse provvedere alla opportunità, senza ledere gl' interessi dell' umile oratore) essere rimosso col più efficace rimedio, ammessa pure ad ipotesi la esistenza di una incompatibilità reale. Il rimedio sarebbe posto nell' arbitrio dell' Emo Coadjuto, il quale potrebbe concentrare nelle sue mani tutti gli affari, non essendo obbligato a servirsi del Coadjutore. Ma quand' anche si volesse dall' Emo una sicurezza maggiore, l' oratore è disposto a promettere che non risiederà nella Diocesi di Westminster.

Ma il punto più vitale per l'oratore, e più grave per ogni rispetto, è il secondo : quello cioè di segrete imputazioni contro la sua condotta. In questo punto egli ha compreso tutta la dolcezza della squisita carità adoperata dalla Santità Vostra nell' accennare appena di volo, e quasi con lievissima importanza alcuni capi : e l' oratore ne porta scolpita in cuore la più profonda riconoscenza. Egli però mancherebbe a se stesso, e forse anche darebbe luogo a giusti sospetti se non supplicasse, siccome fa, la Santità Vostra a volere inasprire questa piaga per curarla, dimenticando ogni altro pietoso riguardo. Quindi l' oratore va disponendo, col sovrano beneplacito della Santità Vostra, le sue giustificazioni sugli argomenti che ha potuto conoscere. Egli non ha mai dubitato che gli venisse meno quella giusta equità, che la Chiesa in ogni tempo, e la Santità Vostra nella sua paterna bontà hanno amministrato ai sommi e agli infimi. Fu talvolta sconfortato dalla idea che le sue ragioni e i documenti arriverebbero ad un volume di scritti, il quale le potrebbe troppo distrarre le preziose occupazioni della Santità Vostra rivolte alle più gravi cure della Chiesa, e dello Stato. Ma per rimuovere questa, purtroppo giusta, difficoltà, egli supplica la Santità Vostra di ricorrere allo spediente comune in simiglianti casi, degnandosi di delegare una commissione o una Congregazione *ad referendum* per esaminare economicamente i fatti.

Due pericoli minacciano l' oratore. Uno è quello ristretto alla Coadjutoria. L' altro assai più grave è l' onore ; imperciocchè una rinunzia, nello stato attuale delle cose e dopo le voci corse, non può essere interpretata da chiunque argomenta

sui fatti, se non come una volontaria approvazione e un carita tevole pretesto della propria condanna.

L' oratore su questo punto non aggiunge preghiere, convinto com' egli è, che il cuore di un Padre amorevole e giusto non saprebbe indursi a colpire chiunque lo supplica di ascoltare le sue umili difese.

Che ecc.

14 Marzo 1860.

APPENDIX E

The following is the letter of Dr. Errington to Cardinal Barnabò referred to in vol. ii. p. 379 : [1]

Eñe ac Revñe Dñe,

Epistola E.V.R. data die 21 Martii non nisi post insolitum temporis intervallum ad manus venit, eo quod a Dublinio discesseram, partes Testes & Documenta invisurus ut negotium mihi ab E.V.R. commissum Mense Decembris præteritæ exequerer.

Moram deinde nonnullam in respondendo admisi, tum quia iterum ad trutinam revocare volebam sententiam quam prius post diuturnam deliberationem E.V.R. significaveram ; tum quia debitum ducebam eximiæ benignitati quam exhibuere literæ E.V.R. ut E.V.R. et EE. PP. S. Cognis exponerem rationem illius sententiæ, cui etiam hodie inhærere invitus admodum officii mei duco. Velit E.V.R. exprimere EE. ac RR. PP. S. Cong. gratum mei animi sensum tam pro materia quam pro forma Resolutionis S. C. in literis E.V.R. expositæ mea merita tanto superantis.

Dignetur etiam, precor, E.V.R. ad pedes Sñi Dñi nostri deponere gratias humillimas pro testimonio luculentissimo in eadem epistola exhibito paternæ Sanctitatis Suæ benevolentiæ erga me ; et eodem tempore S.S. exprimere quantum angor quod iterum conscientia mea compulsus oblatos favores tam præclaros suscipere non valeam, et ita iterum in laborem ministerii Episcopalis admitti.

Non miror equidem si EE. RR. PP. S.C. collegæ E.V.R. qui rerum seriem in causa amotionis meæ a coadjutoria cum jure successionis ad sedem Archiepm Westmonasteriens. nunc pro tunc concesso, vel nunquam audiverunt, vel earundem obliti sunt propter interventum rerum majoris momenti, arbitrati sint

[1] This letter is in the possession of Lord Clifford, to whom I am indebted for its use.

quod amotione mea actu completa non amplius locus daretur opinioni quæ ab acceptatione alterius sedis Episcopalis me cohibuerat existimantem amotioni meæ nullo modo concurrere me debere. Hæc enim sententia EE. PP. S.C. mea etiam aliquando fuit, prout testatur Epistola mea ad E.V.R. data Mense Maii 1859. Eo enim tempore quamvis nollem per abdicationem voluntariam confirmare, et quasi ratas habere, assertiones contra me aliosque qui mecum senserunt factas, erroneas et summe damnosas non mihi tantum aliisque sed et communi Religionis in Anglia causæ, ut putabamus, tamen exhibui me paratum non tantum obedientiam præstare S. Pontifici si me motu proprio amoveret, verum etiam quemcunque alium laborem mihi eo in casu imponeret suscipere. Non enim honori meo vel laborum meorum futurorum fructui detrimentum magni momenti esse futurum credebam dispositionem mere economicam, seu administrativam, qua S.D.N., nulla habita ratione assertionum prædictarum, Coadjutorem a Coadjuto amoveret propter quamdam sententiarum divergentiam.

Hanc quidem sententiarum diversitatem ego ipse prius adduxeram ut rationem quare coadjutoriam suscipere nolebam, et postquam difficultati huic satisfecerat Emus Revmus Card. Arch. Westmonast. et ipse, relicta sede Plymouthens. coadjutoriam susceperam, non semel tantum, eandem ob causam paratum me exhibui oneri et juribus renuntiare coadjutoriæ.

Cum vero Romam circa finem anni 1859, advenissem, relationes in mei damnum et delationes S.D.N. oblatas ipsius animum rectum et cor benignum ita movisse sensi ut formalis rerum contra me prolatarum investigatio omnino necessaria videretur si famæ propriæ et laborum futurorum fructui consulere vellem.

Petitioni meæ E.V.R. suasu factæ, benigne annuens S.D.N. Specialem commissionem deputavit quæ de tota re judicium referret, servato eousque saltem juris ordine ut unicuique partium contendentium allegationes et probationes ab adversario adductæ communicarentur, ita ut responsionibus et observationibus utrinque locus daretur. Allegationem meam, intuitu hujus futuræ occasionis respondendi confectam, adeoque per se solam imperfectam, ad diem constitutum exhibui. Post diuturnam moram declaratum est intercommunicationem alligationum &c. mandatam non convenire saluti Emi. Card. Arch. Westmonast. et necessariam non esse. Hinc statim ad E.V.R. scripsi me partem in causa amplius habere non posse quia intercommunicatio promissa et meæ defensioni omnino necessaria non amplius locum habere deberet. Investigationem tamen prosequens Specialis commissio Resolutionem suam demum S.D.N. submisit.

Ipse vero Summus Pontifex benigne mihi significare dignatus est se mihi collaturum esse sedem Arch. Portus Hispaniæ, una cum delegatione Apostolica ad Rempublicam Haytianam si consentirem renuntiare coadjutoriæ et juri successionis ; renuentem vero (quia talis consensus videretur exhibere me consentientem quoque iis quæ præcesserunt in causa, adeoque in propria condemnatione participem) decreto suo supremo me amovit a Coad. et jure successionis.

Decretum istud destitutionis causæ finem imponens speciem sententiæ judicialis præ se ferebat, et me quasi condemnatum constituit.

Ego quidem scio destitutionem meam pro actu dispositionis economicæ tantum in ipso decreto expresse haberi ; scio pariter E.V.R. mihi sæpius protestatum esse specialem commissionem nullum judicium tulisse : scio etiam Illm̃ et Revm̃ Secretarium S. C. mihi in scriptis asseruisse nullum judicium laturum esse S. Pontificem nisi prius promissa intercommunicatio locum habuisset : quam quidem assertionem Illm̃ ac Revm̃ Ep̃us Cliftoniensis mihi, in nomine S.D.N. scribens, confirmavit : quæ quidem communicatio cum nondum facta sit, certo certius mihi constat nullum adhuc judicium factum esse, nullam sententiam latam.

Vix tamen fieri potest ut ii qui tam intime rem inspicere non possunt eo sensu ea quæ facta sunt interpretentur. Ipsi namque audientes accusationes Romæ contra me esse factas et meam etiam amotionem a coadjutoria et jure successionis a S.D.N. esse petitam ; causam deinde Romæ institutam esse præsentibus in curia partibus ; Commissionem specialem trium EE. Cardinalium ad hoc deputatam esse ; allegationes &c. more judiciali exhibendas ; relationem postea et Resolutionem a speciali commissione S.D.N. esse submissam ; S.D.N. denique decretum amotionis tulisse juxta petita ab adversario in causa ; decisionem talem pro judiciali habebunt, decretum amotionis pro sententia, et destitutionem pro pœna. Hunc quidem fuisse ordinem rerum et eventum alte et late asseruerunt et asserunt adversarii mei.

Huic opinioni et his assertionibus vis additur ex eo quod non verisimile videatur cautelis canonicis, quibus S.M. Ecclesia tam provide famam et jura ministrorum suorum circumdat et protegit, me in re tam magni momenti privatum fuisse. Neque enim probabile videbitur, supremam S. Pontificis auctoritatem supra omnes canones, in simili casu, contra totius Historiæ Ecclesiasticæ experientiam intervenisse, pro bono publico, decernentem per dispositionem economicam destitutionem talem ; præsertim cum privatio juris successionis non videatur remedium necessarium mali urgentis, divergentiæ scilicet sententiarum circa quædam administrationis adjuncta

inter coadjutum et coadjutorem. Multipliciter enim subvenire potest huic incommodo auctoritas Ecclesiastica quin unius vel alterius jura auferantur. Hinc voces etiam sparguntur jus ipsum successionis potius quam coadjutoriam objectum esse præcipuum amotionis.

Huc etiam accedit quod usui Romano non conveniat ut si quis per viam dispositionis economicæ amoveatur, a loco superiori ad inferiorem transferatur; multo vero inferior est sedes Portus Hispaniæ sedi Westmonast.

Ad confirmandum demum opinionem plurimorum citatam animadvertetur quod hodierna propositio Sedis Port. Hisp. nunc primum post destitutionis decretum, cum triennium tamquam suspensus ab officio Episcopatus in silentio ac secessu transegissem, facta sit, et quidem sine adjunctis Delegationis Apostolicæ quæ prius videbatur quodammodo lenire descensum a jure ad sedem Westm̃ast. ad sedem Port. Hisp. Suscipiens igitur sedem Portus Hisp. onus mihi imponerem cui impar essem; vis enim illa et auctoritas sine qua Ep̃us in grege Dn̄i pascendo frustra laboraret mihi omnino deesset. Novam enim Diocesim ingressus essem fama labefactata, pro non bene viso superioribus habitus, ab alia sede altiore depositus, utpote illius regimini minus idoneus, et ad inferiorem relegatus in regione longinqua in omnibus fere a patria physice et moraliter diversa, ubi adhuc minus idoneus multo viderer propter defectum experientiæ, propter habitum et usus vitæ anterioris, propter cœlum adversum ætati meæ provectæ, dum tamen status illius regionis, E.V.R. bene notus, exigeret corporis et aīæ vigorem majorem simul cum prudentia altiore. Si quid displicere contigerit in me vel in meo agendi more, non contenti facilem sibi operam oppositionis crederent esse futuram, statum meum cogitantes et secum reputantes recursum sibi securum patere ad eos qui jam antea me apud Summum Pontificem diffamare, et deinde a loco dejicere valuerant; quin forsan recurrentes spem nutrirent se iterum me visuros esse ab Episcopatu remotum utpote minus idoneum, quod certo me esse negare non possem. Precor E.V.R. ut tædium hujus eplæ solita benevolentia condonet. Invitus quidem scripsi; summa mea erga E.V.R. et EE. PP. RR. S.C. reverentia, et E.V.R. et EE. Collegarum benignitas erga me in Epistola E.V.R. exhibita ad expositionem istam faciendam coegerunt.

Sacram Purpuram osculatus,

E.V. Servus Devm̃us et obligatus,

GEORGIUS ERRINGTON, Arch. Trapez.

Datum Dublinii die 23 Aprilis 1863.

APPENDIX F

(*The account of the Errington Case in the Life of Cardinal Manning*)

When I first read the account of the Errington case in the 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' with its constant suggestion of motive, and the close narrative of events of which the writer remarks that there is no full written record,[1] I was forcibly reminded of a famous witticism of James Anthony Froude in his Oxford days. When Mr. Newman enlisted Froude's services to write one of the lives of English Saints, the biographer having finished his book, and embodied in it the pious legends characteristic of this branch of hagiology, is said to have written thus in his epilogue: 'This is all, *and more than all*, that is known to men of this blessed servant of God; but not more than is known to the angels in Heaven.'

When, however, I had to examine into the Errington case for the purposes of this work, I found that more was 'known to men' than I had supposed. There is abundance of written material. How far the account afforded by that material resembles that given in the 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' or how far it leaves room for the supposition that that account corresponds to what is known by the 'Angels in Heaven,' readers of that work may judge, if they peruse carefully the twenty-fifth and twenty-seventh chapters of this book, and Appendices D and E.

I subjoin, however, some passages[2] from the 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' with notes, appended as samples of the writer's accuracy.

To petition the Holy See to grant him as a favour relief from the presence and aid of his Coadjutor, in the hope that

[1] 'Manning did not like to put down on paper what he had to say about Dr. Errington; it was a subject he preferred discussing as a rule by word of mouth with Monsignor Talbot at the Vatican. Since the case was unformulated against Dr. Errington, it was a subject rather for diplomatic discussion than for written statements or definite accusations.' (*Life of Manning*, ii. 97.)

[2] The following passages are taken from the *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. ii. pp. 91–97.

Dr. Errington would assent to an amicable separation, was the most that Wiseman would willingly assent to. But when Dr. Errington absolutely refused to resign his right of succession unless he was convicted by the tribunals of the Holy See of a canonical offence, Wiseman shrank from initiating such proceedings. The charge of 'conspiracy' alleged by his opponents against Dr. Errington, as resisting in conjunction with eight bishops the authority of the Archbishop, was described by Cardinal Barnabò, the Prefect of Propaganda, as amounting to a 'schism in the episcopate.'

Under these circumstances, Manning himself drew up a memorial for presentation to the Pope, setting forth various charges against Dr. Errington, both in regard to his conduct or line of action as coadjutor and his opposition to the work of the Oblates at St. Edmund's College.

Unwilling to engage personally in these and other charges against his Coadjutor, and thinking it better and safer, on account of his state of health, not to go to Rome in answer to the charges and complaints brought against him at Propaganda by his Chapter and his Suffragan Bishops, Cardinal Wiseman, in 1859, appointed Manning 'procurator'—that is, entrusted to him the office and duty of appearing before the courts or tribunals of Propaganda as the defender of the Cardinal's cause. This official position, which Manning held for three years, gave him a foothold at Propaganda, brought him into closer relations with the leading cardinals and official personages at the Curia, and led to frequent and friendly interviews on Wiseman's and his own behalf with the Pope. . . .

During these years of fierce conflict and controversy, in which the Errington case played the foremost part, Manning was going continually backwards and forwards to Rome. During these anxious years, in Manning's letters to Cardinal Wiseman, and Monsignor Talbot's to Manning, frequent reference is made to Wiseman's 'inertness of will,' his 'incapacity, owing to his state of health, of independent action.' At a critical juncture in the conflict between Dr. Errington and his opponents, Mgr. Talbot wrote to Manning insisting on the necessity of Wiseman's writing a strong letter to Cardinal Barnabò, protesting against the interference of the other Bishops in the question of the removal of the Coadjutor.

Anxious beyond measure as to the fatal results which must needs ensue if anything were to happen to Wiseman before Errington had been deprived of his right of succession, Manning during these years sent constant and alarming reports to Rome of Wiseman's failing health: 'his life hangs by a thread,' or 'a change for the worse may take place in forty-eight hours,' or 'he will never be the same man again.' Manning's love for

promptness in action, natural to his character, was rendered tenfold more urgent by the terrible risks of delay. His impatience chafed under the slow processes of Propaganda. Unlike the impatient and impetuous Archdeacon of Chichester, the Provost of Westminster kept no diary in which outbursts of anger might have been confessed and repented of.

As a last resource, Wiseman was urged to come himself to Rome. The canonisation of the Japanese martyrs afforded a fitting opportunity. He went to Rome, but, unfortunately, he fell ill, and had to undergo a dangerous operation for carbuncle at the English College. Again Manning had to act for him both at Propaganda and with the Pope. This was Cardinal Wiseman's last visit to Rome. . . .

Since the entanglement between the claims of Archbishop Errington to retain his rights, and the demands advanced by Manning in Wiseman's name to remove the Coadjutor not only from Westminster but to keep him out of the Episcopate in England, was beyond the power of Propaganda to unravel, the solution of the Gordian knot was remitted to the Pope.

In the first instance, Dr. Errington was removed in 1860 at Cardinal Wiseman's request, by a decree of Propaganda, from his office as Coadjutor. The demand made on Wiseman's behalf that Dr. Errington should be deprived of his rights of succession was referred to Propaganda. The acccusations made against him by Manning as Wiseman's Procurator, as well as Manning's own memorial addressed to the Pope, were closely examined. The protests of the majority of Cardinal Wiseman's Suffragan Bishops and of the Chapter of Westminster were duly weighed and considered. Lastly, Archbishop Errington was heard in his own defence against his accusers. The case against Dr. Errington was under examination for about three years. Finally the Holy Office came to the conclusion that Dr. Errington had committed no such offence as under the Canon Law warranted the forfeiture of his right of succession to the diocese of Westminster.

Dr. Errington was then requested and advised for peace' sake and for public policy to resign his rights. On his refusal, Pope Pius IX. took the case into his own hands, and on June 9, 1862, commanded Dr. Errington to resign his right of succession to the diocese of Westminster. Dr. Errington obeyed the Pope's command and resigned. . . .

Eye-witnesses of the event still attest that there would have been no Errington case at all had it not been for Manning. It was wholly and solely the work of his hands.

[And a footnote adds the following explanation.]

The late Canon Morris, who had been Cardinal Wiseman's private secretary for two or three years, and had acted in a like

capacity for a time to Archbishop Manning, said to me, 'Your statement is the simple truth : had it not been for Manning there would have been no Errington Case.'

The following facts, already substantiated in this work, will enable the reader to judge of the accuracy both of the statements and of the implications in the foregoing account.

1. No accusation involving any canonical offence *was ever made* against Dr. Errington, either by Wiseman or by Manning. The only formal statement of the case against Errington was Wiseman's own *Scrittura*, in which he based his demand that the Holy See should intervene, and deprive the Coadjutor of his rights, on the ground that the position of affairs was intolerable, and yet that there was no redress through the ordinary channels, for the very reason that no canonical offence could be alleged.[1]

2. The memorial of Manning to the Pope was not a statement of the case against Dr. Errington on Wiseman's behalf, but an apologia on Manning's own behalf, in view of Dr. Errington's attack upon the Oblates.[2]

3. Cardinal Wiseman did 'engage personally' in the charges against his Coadjutor. He did go to Rome in the autumn of 1859 ;[3] Manning not only did not go to Rome in Wiseman's place, but did not go there at all at that time. Wiseman summoned him to Rome in the following year, in February 1860, to reply to Dr. Errington's charges against the Oblates.[4] Manning necessarily had much to do with the case during the weeks of Wiseman's illness, in June 1860 : and he went to Rome in Wiseman's place, as his 'procurator,' *later on*, in 1861,[5] and acted subsequently in the same capacity ; but this was *after* Errington had been deposed from his right of succession, in July 1860. The only deputy sent by Wiseman to Rome in connexion with the Errington case was the present Bishop Patterson of Emmaus, whom the Cardinal deputed, in December 1858 (before the case was under formal examination at all) to lay the state of affairs before the Holy Father. He expressly told Dr. Manning, who went to Rome soon afterwards, that Mr. Patterson *alone* was his agent.[6]

[1] *Vide supra*, vol. ii. p. 389. [2] P. 366. [3] P. 344.
[4] P. 353. [5] Pp. 435 *sqq.*
[6] P. 328. 'I have told him (Dr. Manning) distinctly that you alone are agent for my affairs.'

4. Cardinal Wiseman's visit to Rome, for the canonisation of the Japanese martyrs, was in 1862—two years after the Errington case was over.[1] Wiseman stayed, on this occasion, not at the English College, but at the Palazzo Doria. The 'operation' spoken of in the passage cited above was on occasion of his visit two years earlier when the Errington case was proceeding, and when he *did* stay at the English College.[2]

5. The questions of Coadjutorship and of right of succession were not dealt with separately, nor was Dr. Errington's deprivation of the Coadjutorship separated by an interval of two years from his deprivation of the right of succession. The decree removing Errington from the Coadjutorship was identical with the decree depriving him of the right of succession.[3] The case was under examination not 'three years' but rather more than four months—Errington's *Scrittura* being sent in on March 14, 1860, and the decree of removal being dated July 22. Three Cardinals were appointed to examine the facts at Dr. Errington's own request, to save the Pope the trouble of reading his long *Scrittura*.[4] No canonical offence was alleged or examined into, no canonical process instituted. No verdict of acquittal was given.[5] The commission unanimously advised the Pope to depose Dr. Errington from his position as Coadjutor, and to free him from his right of succession.[6]

6. Dr. Errington was thus deprived of his right of succession not in 1862 but in 1860; not by resignation but by the supreme decree of the Pope already cited. The interviews with the Pope, in which he was asked to resign, were also in 1860, not in 1862. In his letter of April 1863 to Cardinal Barnabò, Dr. Errington speaks of his deprivation of the right of succession as having taken place three years earlier.[7]

[1] Pp. 443 *sqq.* [2] P. 373.

[3] The text of the decree is given p. 393. See also Dr. Errington's account of the decree in Appendix E.

[4] See Appendix D, p. 626.

[5] See Appendix E and pp. 393–4.

[6] See pp. 393–4.

[7] 'He removed me by his supreme decree from the Coadjutorship and from the right of succession. . . . It is pointed out that the present proposal of the Archbishoprick of the Port of Spain is now made for the first time since the decree of deprivation, after I have

7. The statement 'that there would have been no Errington case at all had it not been for Manning,' with which Canon Morris is credited, is quite accurate. But fortunately Canon Morris has left his own account of its meaning, which gives to the words an almost opposite interpretation to that suggested in the 'Life of Cardinal Manning.' According to Canon Morris it was the persevering action of Errington in conjunction with the Chapter in opposing Manning and the Oblates, which the Cardinal could not brook, and which led him to petition for Errington's removal. The suggestion in Cardinal Manning's 'Life' appears to be that it was only Manning's determination from the outset to get rid of Dr. Errington, which led to his deposition [1]

Some, but by no means all, of the mistaken impressions left by the 'Life of Cardinal Manning,' are inconsistent with passages in the book itself—e.g. the reader of the text comes to the conclusion that Cardinal Wiseman did not go to Rome until 1862, whereas it incidentally appears in a footnote that he must have been in Rome in 1860. But it is necessary to set down this record of the facts clearly, as I venture to think that it places Manning's action in an entirely fresh light. So far as the evidence goes, his action was simply self-defensive; and instead of his intriguing constantly during 1861 and 1862 to obtain Errington's deprivation of his right of succession, we find that that deprivation had already taken place in 1860.

Moreover, so different an account of the course of events leads us with renewed wonder to ask on what ground Errington's deposition is ascribed to Manning's 'diplomatic skill' and 'audacity,' [2] or his 'unscrupulous methods of attack,' [3] or what evidence there is to show that 'the hand which struck the fatal blow was the hand of Manning,' [4] that it was 'wholly and solely the work of his hands.' [5] Those who love to picture Manning as a Machiavelli will continue to accept such statements, and will not welcome or even consider evidence which throws doubt upon them. But to

passed three years in silence and retirement as though suspended from the Episcopate.' (Appendix E.)

[1] Canon Morris's words are cited at pp. 263–4.

[2] *Life of Manning*, vol. ii. p. 82. [3] p. 95.

[4] p. 96. [5] p. 97.

those who do study the evidence, even with the utmost prepossession against Manning, these assertions must at least appear 'more than all that is known to men,' as to Manning's share in the case. The present writer, who believes that the best clue as to what is certain to a higher intelligence is to be found in what is probable to our own intelligence, is very slow to believe that any such sinister policy of intrigue in Manning forms part of his history, as it is known to the 'Angels of God.'

That Manning's iron will did materially help to keep the Cardinal firm in carrying through the contest with Errington when once it had begun, is possible enough. The precise nature and degree of his indirect influence must, in the absence of further evidence, remain a matter of conjecture. But the insinuations in the work referred to are based upon an account the material inaccuracy of which would have been evident to the writer had he examined carefully the official documents in which the case is recorded — Dr. Errington's and Cardinal Wiseman's *Scritture*, Cardinal Manning's memorial, and the decree of Propaganda by which Errington was deprived of his position.[1]

[1] It may be worth while to remark on the following passage also: 'On learning that Manning's Anglican letters were no longer forthcoming,—had, so far as could be ascertained, been destroyed by the Cardinal not long before his death, Mr. Gladstone was greatly pained and exclaimed: "Had I dreamt that Manning would have destroyed those letters I would never have returned them to him."' (See *Life of Cardinal Manning*, vol. i. p. 569.) The letters here referred to, the writer will be glad to know, were never destroyed, but are still where they have long been, among Cardinal Manning's papers.

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